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# THE FORUM.

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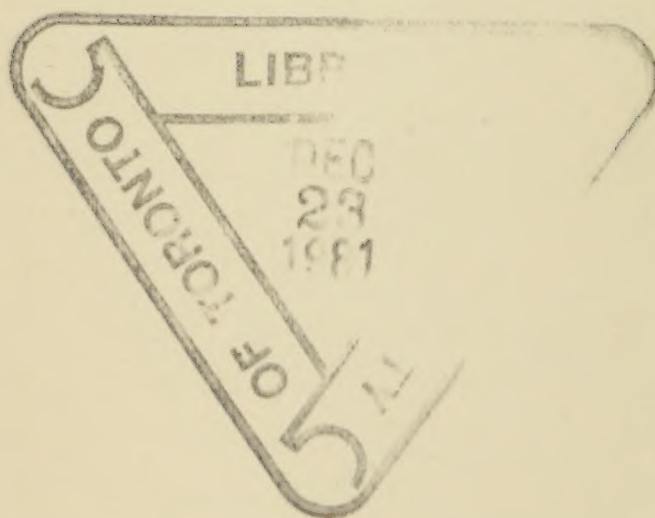
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# The Forum.

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SEPTEMBER, 1888.

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## CAUSES OF SOCIAL DISCONTENT.

"MIKE," said a priest to a thriving parishioner, who, without being a student of philosophy or history, used his perceptive faculties, prospered by his wits, and had become a considerable person in the community, "I don't see your children at the parish school any more." "And because they don't go there any more, your reverence," answered Mike. "But do you mean to let your boys and girls grow up without an education then?" "Not a bit of it, your reverence." "How is that, Mike?" "O, they go to the public school; it costs less, they learn as fast, and they grow up along with them that they are to deal with." "Ah, Mike, but that will never do. You *must* send them to the parish school." Mike's manner changed from grave to gay. Looking his shepherd in the eye, with a self-possessed smile, he continued the dialogue. "Father, you and I came over the water a few years ago, didn't we?" "Why, yes, Mike; but what if we did?" "Well, Father, when you and I came over the water we left 'must' behind us."

Here is a part of the answer to a much larger question. It not only expresses a fact, and a fact of far-reaching significance; it utters a spirit of the national life so pervading and so active as to enter into our more serious problems, social, industrial, political, educational, financial. Formerly, in the older forms of society, it

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was a question of classes; the class dominated and overshadowed the individual. Now, with us, it is a question of individuals, and of more and more individuals, tending to work the people back into a class condition. The mistake of politicians is in trying to settle or to direct material interests without regard to immaterial forces. Many such managers, not without patriotism and a kind of sagacity, neglect this element in public affairs simply from the habit of their minds, inevitably failing thereby to rise to the dignity and power of statesmen. A smaller and blinder kind hate it, are impatient at it, call it contemptuous names, and imagine they can get on by chicanery and manipulation to the accomplishment of party purposes without it. But it refuses to disappear. Caucus and Congress, "bosses" and "workers," will go on leaving it out of their calculations; but it stays by. They may drive it out, but it will come back.

No very deep insight is needed to see that the most troublesome issues now on hand, or approaching, spring from a source which is original only in the sense that it has not existed before on anything like the same scale. Apart from scientific phraseology, more of the people than ever before want what they have not got, think they have a right to it, see it to be in the possession of others about them who seem to have no better natural right to it than they have, and believe that they can get it. There are, therefore, two questions, one of right and one of strength. The physical and moral elements are not very clearly discriminated, but they are both ever present.

An idea of justice, however vague or ill-guided, sustains the physical struggle, however violent. The socialist combination and the mob of anarchists find a sophistical justification in an instinctive notion that they are wronged or unfairly served, however unreasoning that notion may be. On the wisdom, patience, disinterestedness, large-sightedness, of those who are in power and possession, *i.e.*, of the voters, who are the government, depends the fate of the Republic. At present, organization, intelligence, army, police, wealth, occupancy, are on one side. Even with that preponderance, the last five years show how much mischief can be done and misery caused by the other side, and the proportions are shifting. The people at large do not know, because



no confession will tell, in what degree capitalists and corporations are subjects of fear. Are there any thinking men who really suppose that labor-leagues and anti-poverty meetings and strikes, which are certain to play an increasing part in the politics of the future, have nothing behind or underneath them but money, victuals, ease, and fine clothes? Woe to the country indeed, if that is true! Humanity is not so bad. The "lower classes" are not so bad. Even that great question of finance and industry which at this moment arrays the two leading political parties against each other, making the pending presidential election more strictly than any that has preceded it a matter of political economy, has its super-political relations. Mainly it turns on points where the economists, practical and theoretical, ought to have something definite to say and ought to be heard, but it also plainly involves the social passions and sentiments which are agitating the whole American population, in city and country. In all the copious congressional debates upon it, no more sensible or indisputable sentence has been spoken than that of the Representative who remarked that the prosperity of the country is not made by tariff-laws, but by the energy and thrift—he might have added by the self-command and integrity—of the people.

This phenomenon, at any rate, is now presented for consideration, and it is one of vital concern for sober-minded men of every class. According to the curious calculation made in 1884, by the advocates of high protection, it appeared that in the twenty years between 1861 and 1880 the wealth of the United States had been increased by an amount very much greater than the total acquisitions of the people during the preceding 200 years. But prior to this marvelous increase of the aggregate wealth, beggars were unknown and tramps unheard of; to-day vagrants infest every hamlet; deaths from starvation are not unfrequent; suicide in the desperation of extreme want is an occurrence of every day. Teachers of anarchism and communism find multitudes of eager disciples among workingmen, and the latter are forming unions, practically oath-bound secret societies, which are controlled as armies are controlled, by their chiefs, with the sole purpose of wresting from their employers a larger share of the rewards of labor. It is, in fact, a state of social war.



What is the cause of these troubles? The cause is not single, nor does it lie altogether on the surface. If it can be controlled, the study of it is not less practical than the construction of disputed financial schemes and the electing of administrations to try experiments with them. Under one shape or another it will be found to belong, in comparison with the past and with other lands, to those altered conditions of social life which the Irish independent had vaguely in mind when he rebelled at the dictation of his ecclesiastical master. Long-established social distinctions and demarkations are broken up. Prescription has lost its hold. Classes are mixed and fused. No American thinks of remaining in any grade or calling or position because his ancestors have been there, no matter for how many generations. From the bottom to the top is but a single leap, and anybody can make the leap. It is common to speak of this as an unmingled advantage. Undoubtedly it stimulates enterprise. So does it stimulate greedy ambitions, wild expectations, and heated competitions. It sets up impracticable standards. It opens the lists to all, but there is a limit to the prizes, whether of office or fortune. What everybody wants and tries to get only a few can gain. Of aspiration come both the glory and the misery of mankind. Hope that is still hope inspires effort and points to success; hope disappointed and crushed is followed by a reaction of despair, of bitterness, perhaps of crime. A universal scramble for place and profit is not a producer of social peace or a school of social virtue. Take away all the dishonesty in politics caused by an open competition for the offices, and all the dishonesty in business caused by an open competition for wealth, and what an upright people we should be! We are not finding fault with our system; much less are we recommending a remedy. We are accounting for the restlessness, financial upheavals, commercial disasters, unwholesome depressions, and needless impoverishments to which we are subject. We say that one of the causes is an unprecedented temptation to use indiscriminate means to "get up in the world," drawing thousands of men out of the safe, even, and sure path of a steady and contented industry.

Kindred to this inordinate passion, this pull and push, is an artificial estimate of the relative respectability of different kinds



of work. It may seem rather late, to be sure, to be urging the dignity of labor. The point is that while men and women are eagerly determined to get rich, they are fastidious as to the manner and fashion and name of the service that is to accomplish it. The more wealth the country has, the more anxious people of all conditions are to put on the dress and style of wealth. The more the soil yields, the less they want to have to do with the soil. Leaving out of view the immense acreage of tillable but untilled lands at the West, waiting largely for foreign cultivators, observe the agricultural districts in all the Eastern and older States. For fifty years there has been going on a steady process of depletion of enterprise and vigor. Three lines of emigration run out from them—to the small cities and railroad centers, to the great cities, and also, but less, to the newer States and Territories. These emigrants of both sexes want two things: they want money, and they want to get it without working much with their hands. There is also a fascination in social stir and excitement. In their search for chances some succeed, others have not the faculties that win success; some are weak in will, some are weak in principle, some are lazy. They are set free, in a strange place, from home restraints. The men and boys hang about inferior taverns and low boarding-houses and dubious places of amusement, hoping that something genteel and pleasant will turn up for them. They would like to handle other men's money or business, and get a share of it without any other manual exercise. The girls seek situations in shops and "offices." They are glad to be rid of house-work on the farm. Their lives are dangerously exposed, at almost every turn. When off duty they are in a tempting liberty or else a perilous solitude. Dress is never long out of mind. The social instinct never dies. Christianity has made no very thorough, attractive, or genial arrangements for them. From this large and increasing class, male and female, society has something to hope and much to fear. Crime and poverty are far more likely to be replenished from it than from a community of homes. Meantime, what is the condition of the agricultural towns? Very little of the pauperism complained of is found there. The few needy persons, feeble in body or mind, mostly females, are easily and comfortably provided for in a



“town-house,” generally partly supported by a farm attached to the premises, where the healthier paupers must work. Beyond these there is scarcely a pauper to a town. Tramps seldom originate there; they stroll there from the scum and mire of thicker populations. Yet in all these inland towns there is uncultivated or ill-cultivated land enough to support double the existing population. Common labor is in demand. The present writer searched four of these towns in the last season in vain for a domestic, to receive every comfort and three dollars a week. Skilled labor is scantier yet. If you want a carpenter or mason to repair your buildings, you must wait a month for him. Propose to any one of a hundred thousand commercial travelers to work on a farm where two or three dollars a day, five or six hundred dollars a year, can be earned, what would his answer be? Offer one of the city girls every comfort and eight or ten dollars a month in cash for house-service in a good family, what would she say? Within the current week, application has been made, without success, at nineteen well-kept houses of working people, in three villages, for board, at a good price, for two ladies. A farm in New Hampshire, yielding fifteen tons of hay and other crops each season, is reported to have been lately sold for fifty-two dollars, with a house and out-buildings. This is not a poor country. It is a country of abundance, where—except foreigners, by whose side natives are ashamed to work—everybody believes he ought to be rich with little manual toil and in nandsome clothes. In nearly every New England rural town society would be stronger and happier in every element of a useful, intelligent, and virtuous citizenship if the young men and women had been content to live and die there, not accumulating fortunes, but creating a more and more elevated and profitable husbandry; superior to want, voting against all needless taxation, and producing the necessaries of life, which will never fail of a market.

A correction of some of these false ideas and delusive estimates of welfare might be expected of a right system of general education. When public schools themselves have a just conception of what education is, that is, of what human life and character are meant to be; when they are governed and ordered, not by small local politicians, but by committees chosen by reason of a personal



manifestation of human life and character at their best; when teachers are employed who are of that superior order of men and women, and are not either teaching school temporarily as a financial convenience or making the pupils instruments of their own advancement by factitious or showy examinations; when textbooks are not devised and shifted for the profit of publishers; when half the studies are not in subjects and technicalities having no possible relation to the scholar's usefulness or good sense, and when morality is not pushed aside from among the things that children are to be taught, and religion is not forgotten or forbidden; when duties to God and man take their place in those primary conditions of civilized society for which the youth of a strong and Christian nation are trained—then the problems of poverty, labor, wages, communism, anarchy, will be disposed of in a way that the theorist, the *doctrinaire*, and the secret associations have not considered. They will be forestalled.

A distinct occasion of social and industrial disturbance appears in the uncertainty of those many occupations which depend on appointment by the will of men. It will be a long time before a civil service reform obviates a tenth part of the evils of changing political administrations, felt down to the lowest class of the employed. No foresight can guard against the wrench that unsettles thousands of homes every four years, in every part of the country. One of the worst features of the growth of enormous corporations and individual accumulations of capital is their inevitable mutability. The suspension of any one of ten thousand vast establishments turns out into idleness and all its temptations a host of men, women, and children, supplying the countless array of vagrants, tramps, paupers, thieves, rioters. No wonder the owners of large investments and the masters of finance dread a crisis. But the averting of the financial crisis is the duty of thoughtful business men quite as much as of the executive and legislative departments of the government or the professors of political economy. It is one of those attainments of which time and suffering and self constraint are the instructors.

Under these stern disciplinarians our people are already beginning to adjust themselves to the immense hazards of national precocity. Both security in what we have and true progress



toward a better estate will be gained by discovering what dangers can be averted by the sober intelligence, conscience, and unpartisan patriotism of the citizens, and what dangers cannot be because they are involved in mighty drifts of population, race-development, laws of climate, and the elements of nature, which are beyond any personal or corporate calculation or control. If men would study history as they study grammar and arithmetic, or reflect and reason as much as they run about and speculate, they would learn great lessons in that "higher education" which better than any other deserves the name, which confers no titles, but builds solid commonwealths. We cannot stop immigration, with its freight of ignorance and appetite and lawlessness and lust, unless we mean to falsify the fundamental principles and ceaseless professions of the Republic; but we can devote our superfluous wealth to the education of foreigners and natives alike in all that literary and industrial knowledge which is real wisdom; we can hold in check the franchise of the immigrants till they have learned the spirit and letter of our laws; we can regulate the independence of "Mike" and the prerogative of his spiritual ruler; we can in time root and enthrone the ideas of authority, obedience, law, with unhindered penalties and incorrupt courts, in the mind of generations to come. We cannot exterminate unthrift, laziness, incompetency, vice, any more than we can the infirmities of age, orphanage, and disease; but we can abolish indiscriminate alms-giving, rationalize our sentimental philanthropy, multiply our bureaus of charity, punish impostors, distinguish real relief from a cruel and prodigal liberality, gradually substitute simple and moderate employment for an enervating bounty; and we certainly can abolish the tenement-house inhumanity, with all its disgraces, as the breeding-place of barbarity, pestilence, and every species of sensual abomination. We cannot quench the thirst for alcohol; but we can convict the saloon as the destructive enemy of public virtue and peace, and shut it up. We cannot lift the soul of man or woman to a lofty preference of realities unseen and eternal over what is superficial and perishable, or transform selfishness into generosity; but, God helping us, we can so chasten and elevate our standards of living, by school and college and press and household nurture,



that those who come after us shall not have been poisoned and belittled by the passion for material possessions, exclusive privileges, vulgar entertainments, or outside display. These are not unreasonable expectations. If it be said that they promise no instantaneous arrest of the disorders that threaten the social body, and no universal cure of its existing discontents, neither do the theories of the philosopher or the outcries of alarmists. Their latent power lies in the free will, the moral sense, the patient self-discipline of the persons whose well-being is at stake, and there lies the strength of the family, the church, and the state.

F. D. HUNTINGTON.



## THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

THE platform of a political party is accepted as a declaration of its principles and policies. Its value is measured by its sincerity. This is only to be determined in the light of the party's past record and present action. Thus regarded, the recent deliverance of the Republican Party, through its National Convention at Chicago, is peculiarly interesting. In commenting upon it I shall content myself with a simple statement of facts, that neither require argument nor admit of denial. This platform says:

"We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Here this party proclaims itself the self-constituted guardian of the ballot, and insists that the suffrage of the citizen shall be protected. It seems to forget the record that it made in 1877, when, under the guidance of its present leaders, it suppressed this right, refused to count the votes of the States, adopted the policy mapped out by a gang of political buccaneers, and installed, by an unprecedented and unpatented process, a president that every intelligent man knows and every honest man admits was never elected by the people. Further it says:

"We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor, and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores."

Did the framers of this document need to be reminded that, during the twenty-odd years that their party held and exercised absolute power in this country, it never passed nor proposed a law to shut out pauper contract labor, nor to prohibit Chinese immigration? True it is that it fixed exorbitant and, in many instances, prohibitory rates of duty upon the product of foreign labor, but it always left the foreign pauper laborer free to come,



without tax or charge, to grapple with the American laborer on even terms upon his own hearthstone. An illustration is furnished in the testimony of one of their own witnesses, Mr. Frank M. Pixley, representing the municipality of San Francisco, who, when testifying under oath before a committee of the 44th Congress, thus explained how the Chinese were brought to this country, to serve the purposes of our Republican friends:

“The Central Pacific Railroad demanded ten thousand of these laborers, and this demand was greater than the market afforded. Through the Six Companies they sent their money to China and brought them here, and that is the way in which they came.”

But the emptiness of this declaration is best portrayed by the selection made by this convention of a candidate for the presidency. It proves its candor by finding a man who redeemed from a merited obscurity his term of senatorial service by his persistent opposition to every law that sought to protect us from Chinese immigration and citizenship.

This platform declares its party's opposition “to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise.” Its framers had evidently forgotten that their party claimed, and was entitled to the credit of having built up, all the monopolies against which this declaration was leveled, whether of railroads, banks, or other establishments. Those who contrived this instrument failed to remember that the only things that the Republican Party ever gave to this country, were its national debt, its combinations, its trusts, and its tramps. These are new names in our political nomenclature, and owe their existence to the party whose moral deliverances we are now considering. Our Republican friends say furthermore:

“We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican Party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain, for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic Party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 28,000,000 acres of unearned lands, originally granted for the construction of railroads, have been restored to the public domain.”



In the light of this declaration, would it be unkind to suggest, what the history of this country shows, that in the short space of nine years this party, which now clamors for the restoration of all public lands to the use and benefit of actual settlers, did, without warrant of law or semblance of right, vote, in round numbers, 180,000,000 acres as bounty and bonus to railroad corporations, and supplemented this unauthorized generosity by filching from the Treasury \$64,000,000 of the people's money to give to these same jugglers as a complement to the land bounty? Let it be remembered that there never was an acre of the people's land given to a railroad corporation save when this party had both houses of Congress and the presidency in its keeping; and there never was an acre restored to the public domain until the Democracy came back to power in the House and demanded and extorted it. Is it unfair to remind the framers of this remarkable document that they have no just claim as partners in the matter of the forfeiture and restoration of any of this land to the public use, for never was there a forfeiture of a single acre declared except when demanded and enforced by the Democracy in Congress, while such measures have been persistently opposed by a majority of the Republicans in both the Senate and House. About eighty million acres, of which the American people have been despoiled by Republican legislation, have been restored to our domain. On the very day that their National Convention of 1884, in Chicago, was declaring, as does this platform, for a restoration of these lands to the public domain, every Republican in the lower house of Congress, as shown by its records, was busily engaged in filibustering to prevent the passage of these bills. For this work the records of Congress show that the American people owe nothing to the Republican Party.

The platform declares that the Republican Party insists upon the selection of Territorial officers being made from among the *bona-fide* residents and citizens of the Territory in which they are to serve. Unfortunately the record of this party shows that during its continuance in power it never recognized or applied such a just and worthy rule of action. With a flourish of trumpets the platform says:

“We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in



the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of the Free Ship Bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor, by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards."

Do these gentlemen forget that during the twenty years of their rule, from 1865 to 1885, when every co-ordinate branch of the government was in their keeping, except for a brief period when the house was Democratic, four hundred million dollars was squandered upon our navy, and that at the end of this time the only semblance of a naval armament left to the country was such as any third-class power of the earth would blush to own? When they turned over the government to the Democracy, there was not a city upon the Atlantic, Pacific, or Gulf coast that might not have been compelled to pay tribute, or battered down within twenty-four hours by any second-class maritime power. A suspicion of lack of candor upon the part of those who drafted that plank of the platform is necessarily excited, because of the failure to state that the decadence of our merchant marine is shown by indisputable records to be, not the result of war, but the necessary outcome of Republican legislation, in the shape of prohibitory tariffs and navigation laws, which, if not enacted for that intent, have at least resulted in driving our commerce from the seas. The decrease in our foreign tonnage removes all doubt as to the viciousness of the law under which our Republican friends have placed it.

This platform charges that the Democracy has failed and refused to maintain the Monroe doctrine, or "to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital interest and importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and to our influence in Central and South America;" but it fails to tell us where the Republican Party, in its twenty-old years of unrestricted power, ever did aught in that direction, or gave evidence of its friendship to that policy.

It arraigns the present administration for what is termed "its unpatriotic and pusillanimous surrender of essential privileges upon the fisheries question." It indulges in a full measure of bravado and bluster, and shows that it is anything but amiable



toward the British government. This is not to be wondered at. Since 1865 the Republican Party has maintained and extended its lease of power only by battenning and fattening upon the prejudices of a war period of the country's history. Now that its home supply has been exhausted, as proved by its dislodgment from power in 1884, and as the "bloody shirt" will no longer serve its purpose, it would reach for an important element in American politics by a parade of hostile intentions toward a government against which we have no just grievances, and with which neither that party nor any other could afford to seek an unnecessary quarrel, at least not until we have had time to do something toward rebuilding a navy that has rotted and perished, and until we have made some provision for our sea coasts and cities that have been left absolutely defenseless, as a result of twenty years of Republican domination and extravagance.

But probably the most impressive of all the declarations of this platform is the one which assures us that "reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be continued and extended." The record proves that it was a Republican Congress that refused to appropriate money to maintain the Civil Service Commission, under the Act of 1871; and the puling infant died under the denunciation of Morton, Conkling, and Cameron. It may be well to remember, also, that when resuscitated, so partisan was this Commission, that out of one hundred and fifty special pension examiners appointed through a professed competitive system, one hundred and forty-nine were Republicans and only one a Democrat. Nor is it to be denied that the first effort toward an actual enforcement of this law, by a classification of the service in all the departments of this government, was never made until after the election in November, 1884, at which a Democratic administration was chosen, when it was found necessary to put this long-neglected and despised law into force, in order to save the official heads of the henchmen of this party. The country is familiar with the manner in which this law was executed during the campaign of 1884, when, under the Jones and Clapp circular, and other similar persuasive methods, there was not a clerk nor an employee of the federal government who was not forced to con-



tribute from his pay to the maintenance of the party's cause. In contrast to such shameful disregard of law, the record made since 1885 furnishes no instance of an assessment levied or contribution extorted from a single official of this government.

The platform denounces the "hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief." If it was the purpose of the framers of this document to be fair and to tell the truth, why did they not add, what no man will deny, that President Cleveland has illustrated his hostility to pensioners by signing more pension bills than any Republican president who preceded him, and that under a Democratic administration more pensions have been raised and more pension certificates issued, than can be found credited to any Republican administration in the same length of time?

This marvelously consistent document declares that the Republican Party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver. It is no easy thing to comprehend the insolence and utter contempt for history that inspired this declaration. Do the American people need to be reminded that, for the first time in the history of this people, silver was surreptitiously demonetized and stricken from the list of precious metals by a Congress more than two-thirds Republican in both branches, and the bill signed by a Republican president; and that in 1878 it was put back upon the list of precious metals, and all its present properties and powers restored to it, upon the demand and by the united effort of the Democracy, in the face of persistent opposition from an overwhelming majority of the Republicans in Congress? It is also true that, after such restoration was secured, the bill was vetoed under the direction of the Honorable John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, who seemed to find no difficulty in adapting to his own purposes the pliant instrument that he had done so much to install in the White House by methods and under conditions which left that accidental executive completely at his mercy.

But we are told further that, upon its declarations of principles here laid down, the Republican Party "especially invites the co-operation of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threat-



ened by the free-trade policy of the present administration." This declaration, taken in connection with the denunciation heaped upon what is known as the Mills Bill, brings us to consider the fairness of charging the Democracy and its membership in the present Congress with pursuing a free-trade policy. The present average rate of tariff duties is forty-seven per cent. (disregarding fractions); the Mills Bill proposes an abatement to forty per cent. The question presented is this: If an average tariff rate of forty per cent. be free trade, what is it that protects the rate of forty-seven per cent. from the same classification?

But whatever criticisms it may be fairly subjected to, this platform has one merit that should not be denied. For the first time in the history of this country, or in the history of any other civilized country, we find a political organization asking control of national affairs, while boldly declaring that the object with which it lays taxes and imposes burdens upon the people is, not to raise the revenue needed for the support of the government and the payment of national obligations, but to restrict trade between its own people and the nations of the earth. From the organization of this party down to the present time, as often as its conventions have assembled, it has declared its purpose to be the reduction of unnecessary taxation and a correction of the inequalities of the present tariff system. Now for the first time the mask is thrown off, and our Republican friends boldly avow that the declarations made in all their preceding platforms were not sincere; that they were intended to mislead; that they do not mean now and never did mean to correct the admitted abuses of our present system of taxation, or to give the relief so often promised from its burdens. If there be nothing else in this document that merits praise, its framers are entitled to the gratitude of the American people for thus boldly presenting an issue which they have heretofore masked and hidden under specious promises never intended to be kept. They tell us in this platform that, sooner than surrender any part of the protective system, they will repeal the whole internal revenue system of taxation. They seem to forget that it was the Republican Party that devised and established the internal revenue system. They declare in the very preamble of the bill the objects and purposes of its establishment,



and the objects and purposes set forth in that preamble continue to exist to-day. Its mission, if its authors tell the truth, has not been completed, and yet we find in this platform that for the first time the inventors of this system would turn upon and rend it, and all because they are not willing to give up any part of the present protective system.

We are the only nation upon the earth that has to-day a surplus of revenue of which we are unable to get rid. This anomalous condition could not possibly obtain except as the result of excessive and exorbitant taxation. The exigencies of the greatest civil war of which history gives account forced upon our people unusual rates of taxation. The country submitted without a murmur. The war ended nearly a quarter of a century ago, and a confiding people, trusting to promises made only to be broken, have waited patiently for an abatement of their burdens. Hoodwinked for twenty years, they at last demand a settlement, and are now informed that it was never intended to lighten their load or restore them to the rates of peace taxation. This is the only party that ever offered, as a relief from high taxes, to make them higher; this the only platform that ever declared that the tax burdens made necessary by war should be maintained and increased in time of peace. With a boldness that borders closely upon insolence, it declares that the throttling grasp laid by the mailed hand of war upon every industry of our people shall never be relaxed.

We hear no more of protection for infant industries. When these people tell us that no part of the protective system is to be given up, they mean that the present black list, containing more than four thousand articles, is to be maintained; that robber rates upon every necessity of life must forever rule, and that conditions which the wastage of war imposed upon our people must be accepted as our normal state. Upon this issue, thus sharply made, the people of this country are asked to commit their future to a party afflicted with a record that is in keeping with such principles and policies.

A review of the work of this convention would be neither complete nor fair without noticing its dealing with the prohibition issue. Our friends either regarded this question as lacking



the importance which would secure notice in its platform, or else found itself lacking the courage needed to grapple with it; but it did pass a resolution in which, after a coy, maidenly fashion it; took the dogma of prohibition to its embrace. At that very instant these people knew that, almost without exception, the Republican Senators and Representatives in Congress were, as they are to-day, studying how they might give free whiskey instead of free blankets, and free tobacco instead of free clothing, to the American people. When a party dares to demand that war rates shall be abated to the extent that the burdens of prohibitory duties shall be abolished, and the average rate of taxation reduced from forty-seven to forty per cent., the answer comes that this means free trade and the destruction of all the barriers that have heretofore protected American labor. We no longer have armed men by the million in the field to support and clothe, equip and feed. We are at peace, despite the strenuous efforts of demagogues and jugglers to the contrary. Those millions who defended and assailed the Union of the States have been disbanded, and are no longer consumers but producers. When war was on we needed war taxes, and we got them. After a quarter of a century of peace, in God's name let the people have peace rates.

J. C. S. BLACKBURN.



## PROGRESS FROM POVERTY.

THE purpose of the present article is to bring once more into notice certain facts which the writer has given in other publications, which are not only wholly inconsistent with the hypotheses of Malthus and Ricardo, but which must be disproved by Henry George and other writers of his class, who attribute the admitted poverty that is to be found in the worst quarters of our great cities wholly to faults in the government and in the laws, before their empirical methods of abolishing poverty can be entitled to any serious consideration. In recent discussions these statements have been cited as authoritative alike by the advocates of free trade and of protection, of paper money, of the single gold standard, and of the limited coinage of silver. As yet no one has contested the substantial accuracy of the conclusions which I have drawn from these data. The only exception taken to them has been that they are partial and limited and have not covered as wide a field as they ought. In presenting them I have myself always said that they might be incomplete, and that their purpose was rather to give a direction to the line of future investigation than to present conclusions. That direction has been given in the establishment of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and in the resolutions which have been passed by Congress instructing its officers how to proceed in their inquiries. Of their sufficiency each student must judge for himself.

It has long been apparent that the circulation of a depreciated promise of the Government, issued in time of war for the collection of a forced loan, as well as the pressure of the war itself in its effect upon prices, had vitiated all deductions by which the condition of men at one period as compared to another could be determined. No true comparison of conditions can be made in terms of money, when the money itself varies in value; therefore some other standard must be adopted in order that just conclusions may be reached in regard to these relative conditions. The mere rate of wages,



given in terms of money, has proved to be as fallacious a standard by which to measure the relative conditions of working people in this country during the last twenty-five years, as it now is when made use of for comparing the conditions of workmen in this country with those of other countries. The rate of wages in itself constitutes no standard whatever for the comparison of conditions, even when the same money standard is in force, because the cost of labor cannot be determined by a mere comparison of price or rate of wages. I have therefore endeavored to establish a multiple standard for the comparison of the relative conditions of workmen and capitalists in this country at different dates during the last twenty-five years. This multiple standard consists of equal quantities of the same kinds of food, fuel, and materials for clothing, corresponding to the average daily consumption of an adult workman in the Eastern or Middle States.

I first entered upon the investigation of the statistics of the consumption of food by quantity. I ascertained the average quantity and cost of each of the different elements of food consumed in the factory boarding-houses of New England and of the Middle States, such supplies being usually purchased with due economy and used with fair regard to preventing waste. Having established this food standard, measures were next taken to bring the subject to the attention of the Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Massachusetts, Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, and at a later period of the Chiefs of the Bureaus of other States. The result of these various investigations has been that the average ration or portion of food such as actually constitutes the daily supply of an average artisan, mechanic, or other workman, has been well established in all its elements. It varies a little in different parts of the country according to the relative conditions. This average daily ration was next submitted to Professor W. O. Atwater for analysis. The respective proportions of the nutrients, so-called, *i. e.*, of starch, fat, and protein or nitrogenous material, were found to be much above the normal standard of good subsistence. The elements of this average daily ration are given in a subsequent table.

I next computed the average annual consumption of the materials for clothing, of boots and shoes, and of fuel. Having reached



a certain standard in yards and quantity, I multiplied this standard by the population of 1880, counting two children of ten years or under as one adult, and found that the result of this computation more than exhausted the entire product and import of textile fabrics and other necessities of life treated, in that year. The proportion assigned would, however, be warranted by the conditions of life in the Northern and Middle States as compared to the Southern or extreme Western States.

I next attempted to establish a unit of rent or shelter, but the conditions in different parts of the country were found to be so variable as to make this attempt impracticable. It became apparent, however, that the standard of rent or cost of the dwelling-places occupied by working people had varied since 1860 in substantially the same proportion as the cost of the materials for food, for fuel, and for clothing.

The proportions of these elements of life, namely, food, fuel, and materials for clothing, which are assigned to a day's or a year's supply in the subsequent table, corresponding to the average consumption in the Eastern and Middle States, are doubtless above the average consumption of the whole country, especially in respect to tea, coffee, and sugar; but although such is the fact, and although the actual consumption of food, clothing, and fuel may not in any single case have corresponded identically with this multiple standard, yet it may be safely assumed that as the prices of the necessities of life which are included in this standard have varied, so have the prices of the actual quantities consumed also varied.

It may also be remarked that in the Northern parts of this country the price paid for the materials for food amounts to about one-half the annual expenditure in the family of an average workman; in the family of the common laborer the price of food is more than one-half the annual expenditure. If to the cost of food be added the price of fuel and materials for clothing, then the several elements included in the multiple standard correspond substantially to about seventy per cent. of the total cost of living in the family of an average workman. If it be admitted that as the cost to the workman of these necessities of life has varied, so has the cost or price of rent or shelter and sundries varied, we then have in this multiple standard a fair gauge by which to test



the variation in the purchasing power of paper money as compared to specie at different periods, and also the purchasing power of a day's or a year's earnings in time of peace or war, or under the changing conditions which were first brought about by the depreciation of paper money and subsequently repeated during the long struggle for the restoration of the specie standard.

I had made great progress in providing data for this multiple standard before the publication of the twentieth volume of the United States Census on Prices and Wages, compiled by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks; I was therefore in a position to make use of this volume and to check off the data contained in it. I could verify many of the tables from my own knowledge of the facts governing many of the establishments named therein. It is also plain to any one who is accustomed to the examination of statistics that very many of the returns in this volume are correct, while a few testify to want of care in their compilation. The latter may be readily set aside. I was also in a position to add to the data of this volume, which came down only to 1880, inclusive, corresponding figures for the years 1885 and 1886, derived of course from a much narrower circle of establishments.

In making selections from this volume for the comparison of the purchasing power of wages by the use of the multiple standard, I have selected arts or occupations which have been in substantially continuous operation during the whole period under consideration, that is, subject to very few stops or none. I am aware that the adverse comment on this method will be that during this period, since 1860, there has been greater variation in the supply of and demand for labor than at previous dates or periods of economic history. Such stupendous changes could not have occurred in a single generation without giving some support to this criticism. Space will not permit me to treat this branch of the subject; suffice it to say that my own observation has led me to the conclusion that in each period of commercial panic, namely, 1866, 1873, and for a few years of alleged depression subsequent thereto, as well as in the recent period of alleged depression, from 1881 to 1886, the number of the unemployed has been very much exaggerated. In my judgment, compulsory idleness has hardly existed at all, except in connection with the alternate periods of cessation



and of great activity in the construction of railways, and has mainly affected the workmen employed in that branch of industry, reacting of course in a limited measure upon others.

It may also be apparent from the data that I have submitted, that this period of steady reduction in prices since the end of the Civil War has been in fact a period of the greatest progress in material welfare ever witnessed in this or in any other country. The temporary difficulties, local distress, and congestion of labor, limited mainly to some of our great cities, have been mere incidents in the adjustment of society to new conditions of an assured abundance such as were never before achieved. It has happened that there has been temporary want in the midst of general plenty and welfare; but this want has been limited to a very few conspicuous points, where it has perhaps attracted more attention than its proportion called for.

With this explanation I submit the subsequent diagram or object lesson in illustration of the various changes which have occurred in the relations of labor and capital since 1860, first giving the elements of the multiple standard.

### MULTIPLE STANDARD.

TABLE A.—A SINGLE DAY'S RATION, WITH ITS AVERAGE COST IN 1880, 1881, AND 1882.

TABLE B.—400 RATIONS, OR 1 YEAR'S SUPPLY FOR 1 ADULT WITH 35 EXTRA RATIONS.

It is assumed that the prices of meat and fish (fresh or salt) and poultry will have varied substantially with the variations in salt and smoked meats, and as the prices of the latter are more uniformly quoted, the prices used in making up the general standard are those given for salt and smoked meats. In the same way the price of potatoes has been taken as a standard for the variation in the price of all green vegetable food or roots.

A.—One Ration per Day.		B.—400 Rations.	
$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 lb. meat, poultry, or fish, varying according to kind and quality, costing on an average	10	200 lbs. corned beef.	
$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ pint milk, . . . . .	5	100 lbs. salt pork.	
1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. butter, . . . . .		100 lbs. smoked ham.	
$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. cheese, . . . . .		100 quarts milk.	
1 egg every other day, . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$	30 lbs. butter.	
$\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 lb. bread, . . . . .	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 lbs. cheese.	
		17 doz. eggs.	
		1 barrel flour.	
		$\frac{1}{2}$ barrel corn meal.	



A.—One Ration per Day.		B.-- 400 Rations.	
Vegetables and roots.....	2 @ 2½	20 bushels potatoes.	
Sugar and syrup.....	2	80 lbs. sugar.	
Tea and coffee.....	1	4 lbs tea.	
		8 lbs. coffee.	
Salt, spice, fruit, ice, and sundries	1½ @ 2	\$6 worth assumed at all dates.	
	25 cents.	\$100	

STANDARD PORTION OF CLOTH FOR 1 YEAR.

- 10 yards medium brown cotton.
- 10 “ standard gingham.
- 10 “ 36-in. bleached shirting.
- 20 “ printed calico.
- 10 “ 4-oz. woolen flannel, or  
worsted dress goods.
- 5 “ 16-oz. cassimere.
- 5 “ Kentucky jean, satinet,  
or light cassimere.

STANDARD OF BOOTS AND SHOES FOR 1 YEAR.

- 2 pairs men’s heavy boots.

STANDARD OF FUEL FOR 1 YEAR.

- 1½ tons of anthracite coal, or its  
equivalent in bituminous coal or  
wood.

In establishing the average cost of a day’s portion of the above, the prices given in Vol. XX. of the United States Census, in 10 shops east and 10 shops west of Buffalo, 1860–1880, have been averaged for each year designated. These prices have been verified from other sources of information. Prices of dry goods have been verified fully. Prices for 1885 and 1886 have been derived from typical establishments and from market reports. The average prices of 1885 and 1886 were probably less than the estimate used.

In 1887 prices fell a little lower than in 1886, and in 1888 they have begun to rise in some small measure, while there has been no substantial variation in general wages since 1885. A decline has occurred in a few arts, mainly those which are dependent on railway construction, but there has been a moderate advance, or tendency to advance, in other directions. It is commonly assumed, and may be admitted, that wages in agriculture exert a powerful influence upon those in other departments, and that farm labor may be taken as a standard. In the last official report of the Department of Agriculture, No. 51, May, 1888, Mr. J. R. Dodge, the Statistician of the Department, says that “the result of the May investigation of the wages of farm labor is almost identical with that of three years ago; the changes are very slight, though local differences occur, the averages of several sections or groups of States being changed very little.”

The following table presents the sectional averages from 1866 to 1888. It will be observed that from 1866 to 1879 wages were



rated in depreciated paper money gradually approaching the specie standard, and that while wages were nominally less in rate after resumption, their purchasing power was much greater. See subsequent table:

SECTIONS.	1888.	1885.	1882.	1879.	1875.	1869.	1866.
Eastern States.....	\$26.03	\$25.30	\$26.61	\$20.21	\$28.96	\$32.08	\$33.30
Middle States.....	23.11	23.19	22.24	19.69	26.02	28.02	30.07
Southern States.....	14.54	14.27	15.30	13.31	16.22	17.21	16.00
Western States.....	22.22	22.26	23.63	20.38	23.60	27.01	28.91
California .....	38.08	38.75	38.25	41.00	44.50	46 38	35.75
Average U. S...	18.24	17.97	18.94	16.42	19.87		
Average Eastern, Middle, and Western States, excluding Southern States and California.....	23.79	23.58	24.16	20.09	26.19	29.04	30.76

These are the wages per month of farm laborers hired by the year without board, the workmen boarding themselves. The average of 1888 of the whole country, with board, is \$12.36. The day wages in harvest time in 1888, without board, averaged \$1.38; with board, \$1.02. The day wages of ordinary farm labor other than harvest hands averaged, without board, \$0.92; with board, \$0.67. The average of the whole country is, however, somewhat delusive, being greatly affected by the low rates of wages prevailing in the Southern States, especially among the negro population. If we take two States as examples of agricultural communities devoted mainly to wheat and corn, for instance Minnesota and Iowa, we find the average wages per month of hands hired by the year in those States to have been, without board, in 1885, \$25.40; in 1888, \$25.67; with board, in 1885, \$16.87; in 1888, \$17.41.

In harvest time the day wages were as follows:

Minnesota, in 1885,	\$2.29.
“ “ 1888,	2.20.
Iowa, “ 1885,	2.00.
“ “ 1888,	1.81.

The urgency of the demand for labor in harvesting wheat is greatest in Minnesota, whereas in Iowa maize or Indian corn is the chief crop, on which the demand at harvest time is not so urgent.



The day wages of ordinary farm labor in Minnesota and Iowa, with board, were practically one dollar a day both in 1885 and 1888, and from \$1.25 to \$1.30 without board.

I now submit the rates of wages in the manufacturing and mechanic arts, compiled from the twentieth volume of the Census and from data gathered by myself for 1885 and 1886.

**CLASS I.—SPECIALLY SKILLED MEN : FOREMEN, OVERSEERS, BOSS BLACKSMITHS, CARPENTERS, ETC., CUSTOMARILY EARNING \$3.00 TO \$5.00 PER DAY AT THE PRESENT TIME.**

Year.	Average per Day.	Average per Year, 300 days.
1860.....	\$2.45	\$735.00
1865.....	3.57	1071.00
1870.....	4.34	1302.00
1875.....	4.14	1242.00
1880.....	4 14	1242.00
1885 )	Probably higher than in 1880	
1886 )		

**CLASS II.—AVERAGE MECHANICS, ENGINEERS, BLACKSMITHS, CARPENTERS, MACHINISTS, AND PAINTERS CONNECTED WITH ESTABLISHMENTS REPORTED IN VOL. XX. OF THE CENSUS, 1865 TO 1880, INCLUSIVE.**

Year.	Average per Day.	Average per Year.
1860.....	\$1.56	\$468.00
1865.....	2.34	702.00
1870.....	2.43	747.00
1875.....	2.29	687.00
1880.....	2.26	678.00
1885 )	2.40	720.00
1886 )		

**CLASS III.—ALL THE OPERATIVES, EXCEPT FOREMEN AND OVERSEERS, IN 100 ESTABLISHMENTS, REPORTING THE WAGES OF THEIR WORKING PEOPLE UNDER MORE THAN 1200 SEPARATE TITLES: BRICKS, MARBLE, FURNITURE, AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, TIN WARE STOVES, BOOTS, HATS, CARS, WAGONS, FLOUR AND SAW MILLS, IRON, PAPER, AND TEXTILES, EMPLOYING MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, FROM 20 TO 2000 IN EACH.**

Year.	Average per Day.	Average per Year.
1860....	\$1.33	\$399.00
1865....	1.88	564.00
1870.....	1.94	582.00
1875.....	1.77	531.00
1880.....	1.71	513.00
1885 )	1.80	540.00
1886 )		



CLASS IV.—LABORERS, COMPUTED SEPARATELY, CONNECTED WITH ABOVE ESTABLISHMENTS.

Year.	Average per Day.	Average per Year.
1860.....	\$1.01	\$303.00
1865.....	1.56	468.00
1870.....	1.58	474.00
1875.....	1.38	414.00
1880.....	1.34	402.00
1885 } .....	1.40	420.00
1886 }		

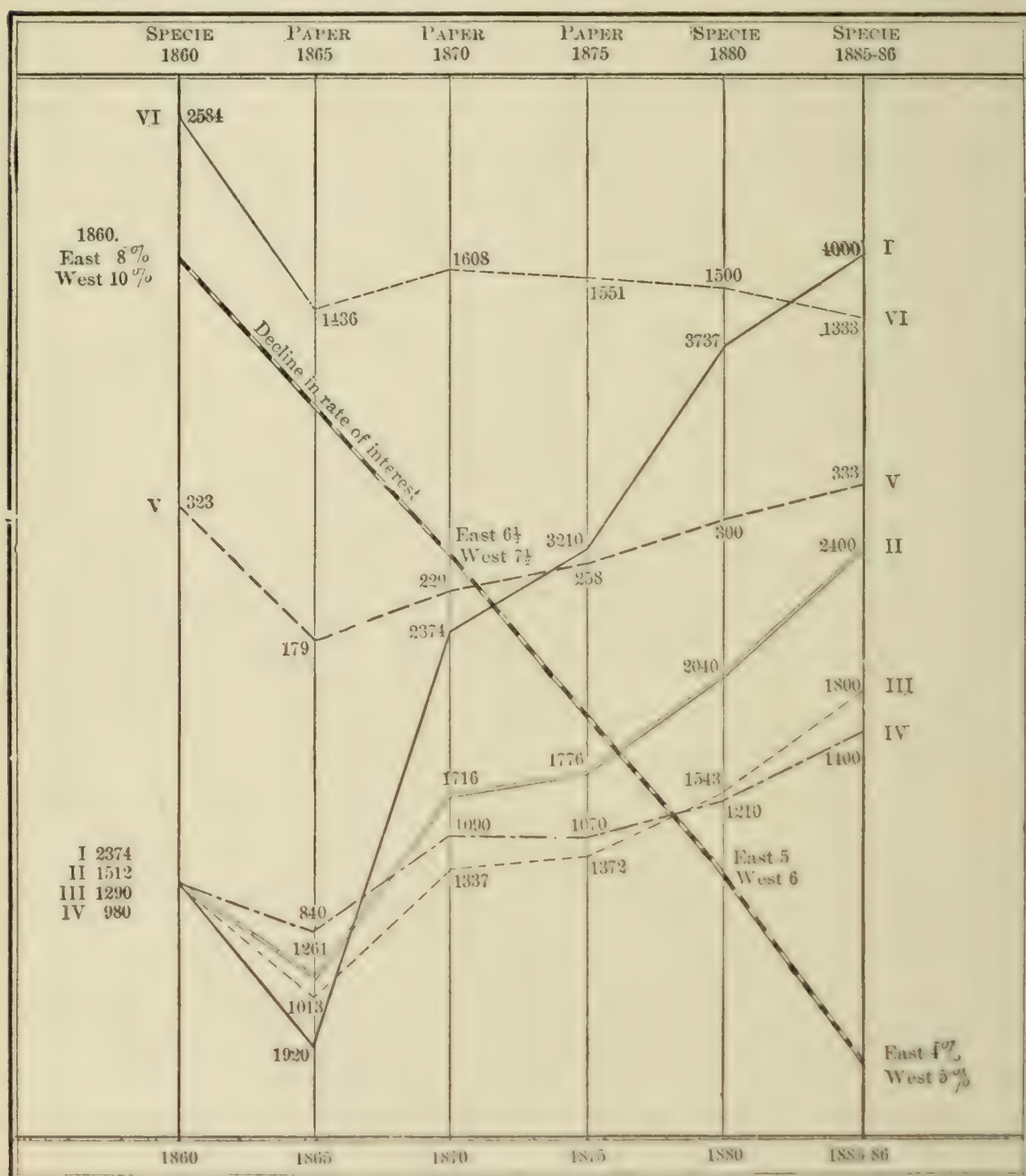
Having thus determined the average rates of wages at different periods, it next became necessary to determine the retail prices of the various articles constituting the multiple standard. The method adopted is stated in the foregoing table. The cost or retail price to the consumers of a single portion or daily supply of the articles constituting this multiple standard, computed for equal quantities of the same kinds of food, fuel, and materials for clothing, has been as follows, the average of each year being given as stated from twenty returns, the average computed on twelve months' prices, month by month :

1860,	\$30 <sup>25</sup> <sub>100</sub>	cents each portion.
1865,	55 <sup>68</sup> <sub>100</sub>	" " "
1870,	43 <sup>53</sup> <sub>100</sub>	" " "
1875,	38 <sup>63</sup> <sub>100</sub>	" " "
1880,	33 <sup>24</sup> <sub>100</sub>	" " "
1885 and 1886,	30	" " "

For the latter years, 1885 and 1886, having less adequate data than for the preceding years, I have adopted a maximum of thirty cents. In point of fact the average price combined of the respective articles was less than this, and probably did not exceed twenty-eight cents. In order that the true relation of these figures may be comprehended the accompanying diagram is submitted.

In this diagram the classes of workmen are indicated by the Roman numerals I., II., III., and IV. The number of portions which each year's earnings would buy is given on the vertical lines under the respective dates. The relative progress of each class of workmen is indicated by the lines projected from left to right, I., II., III., and IV. The line indicated by the numeral V. gives the purchasing power of \$100 of lawful money at the several dates in portions of the multiple standard. The line which passes diag-

onally from left to right, marked "Decline in the rate of Interest," indicates the loss in the purchasing power of capital. The line at the top, indicated by the Roman numerals VI., indicates the purchasing power of the *income* yielded by an investment of \$10,000,



at the respective dates. Let us now glance at the relative conditions of labor and capital disclosed by this diagram.

The gain in the purchasing power of wages, measured by the multiple standard of food, fuel, and cloth, has been from 1860, as compared to 1885 and 1886, as follows:

Class I. . . . .	70 per cent.	Class III. . . . .	40 per cent.
Class II. . . . .	59 per cent.	Class IV. . . . .	43 per cent.



The gain in 1885 and 1886, as compared to the year 1865, when paper money and war had exerted their utmost effect, was as follows:

Class I.....	108 per cent.	Class III.....	78 per cent.
Class II.....	90 per cent.	Class IV.....	67 per cent.

The line indicated by the numeral V. gives the purchasing power of one hundred dollars of lawful money, in specie in 1860, in depreciated paper currency up to 1879, and again in specie in 1880, 1885, and 1886. In 1860 one hundred dollars of coin would buy 323 portions of food, fuel, and materials for clothing. In 1865 one hundred nominal dollars of depreciated paper would purchase only 179 portions, a loss of 44 per cent. in the power of the money, which was partly compensated to workmen by a moderate advance in the rate of wages. In 1885 and 1886, one hundred dollars of coin would purchase 333 portions at the estimate assumed by me, 30 cents per portion, but in fact, nearer 350 portions of the same kinds and quantities of the necessities of life at a somewhat less price, say at 28 cents. The line sloping diagonally from left to right shows the reduction in the earning power of capital as demonstrated by the fall in the rate of interest on the best classes of securities.

From 1848 to 1860 the writer kept a record of transactions by himself or by his associates in manufacturing corporations. The average rate of discount paid in the open market by the corporations enjoying the highest credit during this period was eight per cent., subject to very considerable fluctuations. From 1860 to 1869, inclusive, the rates of discount varied greatly with the circumstances of each case. The war and the continued issue of legal-tender notes rendered any standard of little moment. Railway corporations issued bonds at long dates, at rates of interest from 7 to 8 per cent., but there was little recourse to credit in ordinary transactions. Commercial paper wholly disappeared and all traffic in goods assumed the nature of barter, no one holding money longer than was necessary. In 1870 the slow restoration of specie payment began. Up to 1873, the year of panic, the rate of interest on the best manufacturing notes was on the average six and one-half per cent.

After the panic of 1873 ended, up to the 1st of January, 1879, five per cent. was the average rate. Since the restoration of the specie standard at the latter date, down to the present time, the fluctuations in the rate of discount on the very best commercial notes have been from 3 to 5 per cent.; by the actual record of a broker doing a very large business, they have averaged 4 per cent on 6 months' paper in this section of the East.

By the kindness of Mr. Lyman J. Gage, of Chicago, I have obtained the rates of discount on commercial paper at that point. They are about the same in their proportion, having been reduced from an average of 10 per cent. or over, to an average of 5 per cent. or less, between the dates 1860 and 1886. On Western farm mortgages the change has been much greater. Twenty-five years ago rates as high as 25 per cent. were paid on mortgages of Western land, on what has proved to be excellent security. The rate now charged is seven per cent. and even less.

In order to determine the actual earning power of capital safely invested, it becomes necessary to combine the several factors: first, rate of interest; secondly, income of a given sum at that rate; thirdly, purchasing power in portions of the products included in the multiple standard. Assuming \$10,000 invested, yielding the average rates of interest given above, we get the following results in the income and purchasing power:

1860	Income	\$800	spent at	$30\frac{95}{100}$	cents per portion...	2584	portions.
1865	"	\$800	"	"	$55\frac{69}{100}$	"	"
1870	"	\$700	"	"	$43\frac{53}{100}$	"	"
1875	"	\$600	"	"	$38\frac{69}{100}$	"	"
1880	"	\$500	"	"	$33\frac{24}{100}$	"	"
1885-86	"	\$400	"	"	30	"	"

I have chosen Eastern rates rather than Western. In 1865 rates fluctuated greatly, but I assume no average change from 1860.

If capital could only secure by its income one-half as many portions of food, fuel, and clothing in 1885 and 1886 as in 1860, and if in the meantime the productive power of labor had become one third more effective, which is a moderate estimate, does it not follow that labor now secures the service of capital on better terms than ever before? I submit this problem in economic mathematics to the officers of the Anti-Poverty Society.



It is because these facts are consciously or unconsciously comprehended, that the agitation of what is called the labor question affects but a small fraction or fringe of the working population, and that the special efforts of the leaders to change the relations of workmen and employers last so short a time and have such slight results. On the other hand, the more the workmen organize and discuss these problems, the more fully will the true relations of labor and capital become defined.

Now, while I cannot claim positive accuracy for these formulæ by which I have attempted to present the problem of distribution, I can feel well assured that the margins for error would balance each other, and that even if the figures are not absolutely true, the curves by which the relative condition of laborers and capitalists is indicated are so near to absolute truth as to make any error in detail of no appreciable effect upon the general result. May it not therefore be held that, in a free and substantially homogeneous country like the United States, society adapts itself to whatever conditions may be brought into effect by war, by paper money, or by fiscal legislation?

In order that society in a broad sense may exist, the division of labor and the exchange of product for product or of service for service is an absolute necessity. In the distribution of products, in which the exchange of service mainly consists, there may be more or less friction. When the standard of value or money of the country is tampered with, there will be a greater margin of profit secured by capital as against labor, in order that capital may insure itself against loss from the depreciation of the money in which it is rated. Yet good or bad as the money may be, or costly, unscientific, and ill-adjudged as the system of taxation may be, the discoveries of science and the labor-saving inventions applied to productive industry bring forth or produce, if they do not create, a huge abundance where scarcity had been the rule. Under the higher law which governs society, the direction of which can be but little changed by legislative interference, the benefit of this abundance is ultimately distributed, to the end that those who do the work of production and who are classed as working men and working women, secure to their own use an increasing share of a constantly increasing product. This product is divided among them



selves in the exact proportion to which their relative capacity and ability entitle them. On the other hand, the owners of capital, or those who direct its force, secure to their use or enjoyment a diminishing share of this same constantly increasing product. Yet such has been the enormous gain of the last twenty-five years by the application of numerous inventions, that this smaller share of a vastly increasing product represents at this time a larger aggregate of wealth than was ever attained by any people of any country at any previous period of the history of the world.

The prime factor in the progress of the people of the United States, both in personal wealth and in general welfare, has been the development of the railway system. The service of the railways has continued to increase with great rapidity during the last two years, while the price of that service continues to be reduced. The twenty-six great systems of railway which centre in Chicago from East and West, received in the last four years a little less than \$640,000,000 for moving food, fuel, materials for shelter, and clothing, at the rate of less than a cent (0.854c.) a ton a mile. The charge for the service of these same railways from 1866 to 1873 averaged 2.315; the reduction in the rate of the last four years has been 1.461 cents a ton a mile. Had the traffic for these four years been charged this difference, or been charged what was considered a reasonable rate in the former period, the cost would have been \$1091,000,000 more than it actually was. The service of these trunk lines constitutes thirty-five per cent. of the whole railway service of the country; the reduction in the railway charge on all lines has been as great or greater than on these (in all more than \$3200,000,000) for the last four years. While the mass of the people have thus gained in the aggregate more than \$800,000,000 a year in the cost of distribution in recent years as compared to the period previously named, the construction and operation of the railways have been the source of many of the phenomenal fortunes of recent years. Of some of these fortunes it may be truly said that every dollar which has been gained by their owners is but a token of the service which they have rendered to their fellow-men; of others it may be as truly said that each dollar of their gains is but a token of theft, fraud, and corruption. It may be that some of the most conspicuous representative men in



the railway system, having corrupted the judge of a high court, are now in the position of outlaws, incapable of being trusted, and subject only to the execration of their fellow-men; yet good or bad as may have been the origin of these great fortunes, the railways themselves, under the higher law which controls all the exchanges of men, and in spite of injudicious and restrictive legislation, continue to do their work with ever-increasing benefit to those who consume the products which are moved upon them.

I have thus endeavored to show how the great economic forces which have so recently come into action are steadily working out a greater equality in the distribution of the abundant product which they have brought into existence; yet great as this progress is, it doth not yet appear what it shall be even in the near future. A wholesome discontent now pervades all classes of the community, from which true progress will be evolved in spite of the obstructions of the anarchist and the socialist and the empirical devices of economic quacks and agitators.

Steam and electricity have profoundly changed all the relations of men. The old order of personal intercourse between master and workman is gone. The small self-contained community in which there were none very rich and none very poor has almost disappeared. The new forms of society are not yet shaped or moulded. The one thing most needed now is that the rich men shall know how the workmen live, and the workmen shall know how the rich men work.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

## DISTRUST OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

AN eminent American writes to me as follows:

“There is a radical defect inherent in all systems of popular or republican government, in consequence of which every public interest, however weighty, however pressing, must, if it is to have a hearing at all, find a place in the programmes of political parties. In this way the most vital questions—questions concerning the very existence of the government—come to depend on the result of popular elections. In America we see our coasts defenseless because of the two great political parties neither will permit the other to take the credit—or to enjoy the emoluments—of constructing defenses. For the same reason the United States are without a navy. Again, it is owing to the exigencies of partisan politics that the official representatives of the United States abroad are changed at each Presidential election, the necessary result being that very rarely indeed a competent diplomat is found representing the United States government in any foreign country. There is thus produced periodically a ‘solution of continuity,’ so to speak, in the conduct of diplomatic business, while the new incumbents are learning the details of their official duties. In short, republican government, popular government, seems to fail radically in the efficient execution of measures of the highest importance to the nation both at home and abroad. It would seem as though the policy of a republican government must of necessity lack oneness of purpose, singleness of aim; that such a government is fated ever to be weak and wavering in its diplomacy, unprepared to meet exigencies; that it never can act with continuousness of purpose either at home or abroad, as can a monarchy guided by the will and wisdom of one mind, and ever consciously aiming with all its might to attain definite ends.”

Well! this forms a formidable accusation, and there may be some truth in the charges made. But, as an observer having had some experience of governments in old as well as in newly formed states, I think there is much of this that may be laid to the door, not of any special system of government, but of the general conditions under which men find themselves. For instance, in regard to the complaint that there is no United States navy. This could not have been said in 1812 and 1813, when American ships of better equipment and heavier armament were by no means unsuccessful in their contests with vessels of the British navy.



It may be inferred that should the necessity of naval action again arise, the energy and producing power of the United States would not fail in soon placing on the water ships adequate for the defense of their own shores, and afterward for the attack of foreign places of strength. No one doubts that craft of great steam power, and formidably armed, could in a few weeks be fitted out by the dozen from American ports, and that these would be quite sufficient to cause havoc among the merchant steamers and sailing vessels of any maritime nation with which the United States might be at war. But the general conditions which have at all times acted with mankind, have been at work in postponing the day when America shall be great by sea as she is on land. Where in the history of peoples do we find that they have devoted themselves to becoming a great naval or maritime power before they have fully used the internal resources of their country? It is when a land becomes crowded, when an outlet elsewhere is required, that its population supplements its land resources by carrying and fetching merchandise over the seas. Foreigners do not seek ports until there is something to be obtained from them, and where a territory is rich, much time is occupied in developing its treasures. In Scotland it was not until her eastern seaboard had become well peopled and the agricultural capabilities exploited in the lowlands, that attention was turned in the thirteenth century to the advantages of foreign trade, and the maintenance of armed vessels for their protection. It was not much earlier that England could be said to possess anything like an armed flotilla, and the piratical incursions of the Scandinavians were not met at sea, but on shore, with the defensive forces of the kingdom. The people had had enough to do in working the land and getting an increase of comfort from the resources of agriculture and mining. It was only when these could be manifestly fed by commerce, and commerce required protection, that a navy arose. In America the continent still yields such superior attractions, and the territory with its vastness secures such benefits from internal traffic alone, that attention has not been directed to seafaring. But the sinews of war for both naval and land operations are there, and would soon be used for defense or offense as the case might require.



It may be true that the fiscal policy pursued has been against the transference of the carrying trade to steamers under the stars and stripes. It is certain that for every American flag seen upon the high seas there are fifty or sixty British. No doubt free trade has helped the English in this matter, but it is doubtful if Englishmen, if they were not so crowded at home, would have taken so much to the water. Their circumstances as much as their policy have favored their naval enterprise. So will it be some day with America, when she has filled full of men the great spaces between the shores of the two oceans. With the mass of exports to offer, and with the immense population demanding foreign goods, she will in time draw to her more commerce than has ever been handled in the history of the world by any empire. It is safe to assume that her millions will at a future date prefer to have their own flag over the countless cargoes that will pour from and will pour into her harbors from Asia and from Europe.

The considerations thus set forth in regard to a navy are typical of much else in looking at America. Her resources are so abnormally vast that she may do things without hurt to herself which might swamp or cripple any smaller collection of communities. In commercial phrase, she has so much "margin" that the pranks played with principles which, to men living in little lands, would seem immutable, and whose infringement would imply the impairing of her full powers, make but little impression. It is this margin of power which invalidates such calculations formed by financial and economical theorists. Political economy must always be exercising its influence, but the mosquito bite that kills the invalid is unfelt by the elephant. It is difficult for a European imagination to conceive the efficiency of commercial co-operation working for a given temporary end, such as is exhibited in the States. The possibility of effecting vast "corners," of combining so as to "slaughter" a competing industry, of fixing prices for a time so low that the rival is crushed out, of afterward raising prices—the possibility of such united and sustained artificial interference with the laws of supply and demand—is not believed by European writers. It is because in their countries of small marginal power such operations cannot often be attempted. If Napoleon had been



able to carry out his schemes, and could have united under hostile tariffs and other arrangements the whole of Europe against England, English writers might by this time have begun to believe in such things, but without personal experience they never will believe anything.

The relative size of the territory to the occupying millions, the amount of work that is still to be got through before the inhabitants can handle what nature gives them, the comparatively small proportion of that work which has yet been done, are the cardinal facts which make erroneous almost all comparisons between America and other countries. Within the last century and a half, civilized races have poured forth in hundreds of thousands, for the first time in the history of the world, to occupy a continent whose records are an absolute blank, and whose treasures are limitless and were wholly untouched. These conditions form a state of affairs so new that any lamentations that the United States are not as other countries are in respect of some matters, either among themselves or internationally, seem premature and unreasonable. In regard to foreign affairs, that is, in reference to international obligations and engagements, America has, fortunately for herself, had to make very few of these. Those few she has kept to the best of her power, and as far as the nebulous expressions of the English language would allow her. No doubt when the English language has been still further improved and defined and more precisely adjusted to the wants of a common comprehension, by a longer residence on that continent full of clear air and perspicuous decision, any treaty expressed in "American" will be quite invulnerable. In the meantime it may be correctly observed that it has been the English negotiators who have misunderstood the English language, or have at all events always yielded to the influence of the *genius loci* in their understanding of it. The powerlessness of the Executive to transact a treaty without the consent of the Senate is a provision tending greatly to the sanctity of any arrangement so made with a foreign power. In England, where the government of the day makes a treaty without the necessity of laying it before any more permanent body in the state, the honor of the nation has hitherto been felt to be involved in its maintenance; but a new chapter of events has been opening



with the accession to supreme power of a democratic House of Commons, and no man can tell how far the new wire-pullers of the altered British Constitution may ratify or reject the acts of their servants.

It is the magnitude of her internal interests which has made America careless of foreign alliances. Her attention has been absorbed at home. She cares not as yet to lift her eyes beyond the splendid heritage she possesses. She is fortunate also in her continental neighbors, for the British provinces along her northern border are of her own blood and lineage, and cherish kindred aspirations and work in peaceful rivalry with her, to use to the best the natural advantages of prairie, forest, and ore-laden mountains. The debatable area has not been on the land, but on the coast and its shallow seas. There a small portion of both communities have not "hit it off" with the freedom from contention which has been elsewhere so remarkable. But it is safe to infer from the common sense which influences the Canadians and their neighbors, that a matter which has so little relative importance to the Americans will not be allowed to mar the harmony which is essential between the British and themselves. To allow of any lasting disturbance of their relations from such a cause, would be as ridiculous as if two prosperous farmers were to fall out for the sake of the use of a bit of sea-tangle for the fertilization of their broad acres.

To the South she is also fortunate for opposite reasons, namely, that the Southern neighbor is so much her inferior, and so unlike herself in all respects, that there is no temptation either to enmity or affection. The residents in that land can be regarded from any international or practical standpoint as so many of the tall cacti of the more arid of the lands they dwell in. It is not to the interest of the United States to feel more than a paternal concern in preventing them doing anything which could harm themselves or from becoming instruments of mischief in the hands of more powerful foreign states. Any tendency to expand in a Southerly direction is checked by the **very** breadth of the institutions which have found favor with the American people. Before the war, her Southern citizens were masters in the Southern States. They may hold their own again in time,



but since the negro has been raised to political equality, any predominance on the part of the whites must be sustained by other means than that of mere numbers. Our race does not thrive where the thermometer indicates more than a temperate clime. It is probably felt that in "Dixie's land" the Federal Union possesses a sufficient amount of colored blood, and with wider territories a still larger number of those who are not of the best European blood would become citizens. It is this which has hindered even the desire for the possession of the West India Islands. The width of the suffrage has limited within wholesome bounds the country of the stars and stripes.

In the sentences quoted at the head of this article, the mote in the eye of the writer has seemed greater than the beam in the eye of others, thus reversing the old saying. To those who look upon the United States from a European standpoint, it appears that there is far more of real sovereignty in the hands of the President than there is in the hands of any of the kings who in Europe govern by means of imitations of the English Constitution. That Constitution makes the sovereign reign, but does not allow him or her to govern. In modified forms this is the same in Italy, in Sweden and Norway, in Belgium, and in Spain. It is the same in the Republic of France. Only in Russia, and to a less extent in Germany, does the monarch immediately sway the destinies of his people. It is much to be doubted whether an autocracy provides for the continuity of policy my friend speaks of. During the autocrat's lifetime a continuity may be preserved if some strong minister is trusted and maintained in office by his lord and master. Policy may be continuous in foreign affairs if the sovereign himself remain of one mind. But men change and die. A successor in such a government is more likely to upset tradition than is the federal government of the States. In England, and more especially in Germany, trained diplomats have frequently been made to give way to men sent on special missions; or men have been placed at once in some important diplomatic post without any training save that of departmental government service at home, and without any official qualification other than the good opinion of the minister at the foreign office. In Germany officers jump from the cavalry saddle or from the com-



mand of infantry regiments into the chair of the diplomat, and the sequence of policy has depended entirely on the chancellor. Men quite as able as any to be found in English or German diplomatic posts have been furnished by the nomination of the President of the United States, and the roll which includes Franklin and Adams and Jay and Motley and Lowell and Phelps can sustain a triumphant comparison with any list furnished by constitutional or autocratic empires. Nor has continuity of policy been wanting. During the last century America has steadily asserted her influence in the councils of the nations, and has been successful in all she has undertaken to perform. She has kept out of entanglements into which weaker powers have been led by the misfortunes of position and misjudged ambition. She has kept for her operations the great zone of her own continent, which she has developed so marvellously. While maintaining missions abroad, she has not allowed her representatives unduly to interfere, but has obtained full satisfaction for any infringement of international comity, and the word of her ministers is never heard without respect nor urged without result.

To foreigners, and to Englishmen—who cannot be placed in the same category as men outside the Anglo-Saxon blood bond—the great nation which is the predominating power in the New World offers a spectacle for admiration and envy. She is not obliged, through fear of her position being lowered, to place a tremendous tax on the wage-earning power of her people, by the obligation of military or naval service. All her energies can be turned to immediately useful and profitable work, and yet it is well known to all that in that sphere where she insists on her predominance, her influence will not and cannot be questioned. In smaller matters some inconsistencies may have been shown in her home life, but where is the nation of which the same cannot be said over and over again? Yet in the main, in her home as well as in her foreign policy, “continuity” has been eminently characteristic of her progress. She believed that in a new country, just as our fathers believed the same of an old country, the protection of manufactures is a necessity. America has steadily protected her industries, and has seen them under that system rise and flourish to an extent undreamed of at the time



of her war of independence. The freedom of her institutions, the vast prospects opened to thrift and enterprise, the extent of her possessions, and the great variety of occupations which may there find a home, have attracted to her multitudes from the most enterprising populations of Europe. It is the fashion among some classes in Germany to affect the belief that the Germans who have sought a home in America are a "*gesindel*," the riff-raff of the people flying from the duties of the defense of the fatherland. But no American would back such a statement. Among the best colonists they count the German immigrants of the last fifty years. Where families are so large as they are in Germany, a wider outlet than that afforded by German opportunities is necessary. They who take advantage of the easy communication with the opposite shores of the Atlantic are often the most daring and the most capable of Germany's manhood, and are men who would gladly return to serve in the armies of the fatherland were she in danger; and there is no service, whether civil or military, in the United States, from the frontier of Mexico to the foothills of the Rockies in Montana, where representatives of the martial youth of Germany may not be found.

In comparing systems of government, few of the older republics, empires, or kingdoms are found to enjoy more real stability than the system founded under Washington. Size of country has here again been an element in good fortune, for the size of the territory has caused it to be divided. These divisions or old colonies have conferred on a central government a certain definite measure of supreme powers. That central dominion has ever grown in weight of authority. The American ship of state is built in so many compartments that even if several became water-logged the ship would float. This cannot be said of many older nations. Mere centralization, either in the hands of a monarch or in the hands of a democratic "Chamber," has reached to such a point that any great popular impulse, any wave of passion promoted by disaster and driven by envy and poverty, may break over the vessel, and cause it to become for a time a helpless wreck. This is not conceivable in the case of the United States. There is so much check and counter-check, so slow an operation of the forces of movement, that men have



time to consider. The "common sense of most holds a fretful realm in awe," if some bad influence gain the upper hand for a time in any one of the leagued commonwealths. Then there is the Supreme Court of the United States, than which no surer guarantee of "continuity," and no better check upon unwise legislation, can be imagined.

There would seem to be a Providence which orders human institutions and adapts them to the various conditions under which they are placed, and it by no means follows because quickness of result is hindered in America, that arrangements to secure similar delay in carrying out the wishes that may prevail among a people at any given moment are advisable in the case of smaller lands. That such delay is a great guarantee against passionate action is true. But in little countries passion might only become the more formidable if it encountered resistance, and a change which with irresistible popular power would be bloodless, might only be accomplished by a painful revolution. Each case must be judged on its own merits. There is no doubt that ministerial responsibility, illustrated by the presence of ministers in legislative chambers, and their resignation following on a hostile vote of those chambers, is a more directly democratic system than that prevailing where ministers are nominated by a president or king, and are not directly amenable to the votes of a popular assembly. Very few countries have the guarantees for consideration of great questions which you possess. I have heard the results likened to the use of gunpowder as compared with quicker explosives, in the chambers of heavy artillery. The object is to obtain an explosive which shall not have such quickly rending power as dangerously to affect the piece of ordnance, and that there shall be sufficient time for the combustion of the whole charge, so that when the projectile is sent forth it shall be with the accumulated force of the liberation of all the gases the explosive can produce. So in your popular movements, you devise a system that gives effect to all their force after an interval sufficient to prevent damage to the state, and sufficient also for full recognition of the tendency and strength of action. The partisan orator is wont to reproach his opponent with want of "trust in the people." But the truest trust in the people is shown in that appreciation



of their own work which accepts their experience and not their impulse. It is their action which has surrounded law and order in the States with checks against precipitancy. A people is an aggregate of individuals. Is there one man among them who would not distrust his first impulse, of whatever nature, if it be a very strong impulse, and does not desire that time, however brief, be given him for action on it. First impressions may be excellent, but they become undeniably most excellent when indorsed by reflection and experience. Time has shown the American people, in that comparatively brief period of their existence which has taught them more than has been taught to other nations in half a dozen centuries, that second, and even third thoughts, are better than first impressions. They have ordered their affairs accordingly. To "trust the people" is to accept their own decision, and that means adherence to American precedents of check and counter-check.

Nothing is more striking in the science of comparative politics than the fact that the former colonies of Britain, and those which still maintain their alliance with her, have often taken the point where her legislation stopped as their point of departure. With a firm adherence to her revered common law, they have frequently forged ahead in the solution of questions which are still puzzling the head of their grandmother. In the old country ancient usages bear so heavily on the manners of the present, that political and social changes carried in law act slowly in usage. The permeating influence of those who under more restricted institutions won sway and kept it, still lives on in their descendants, and rank and wealth and education exert a force which lessens, retards, or assimilates, as the case may be, the new currents which were let loose by legislation against the reign of antique ideas. Hereditary reputation will always be a factor in the composition of all human society. We see it in America as well as in England. But in England it has had longer time to work, and it has on the whole used its opportunities well. In the colonies and in America the field has, for good or evil, been more clear of the "prestige" of position and class, and the consequence has been that questions are solved, and solved in the interests of true civilization, there, which are not solved "at



home." There is action and reaction, as between England and her offspring. She modifies by her literature, her law, and her traditions, their youthful quickness; while they, on the other hand, are fully able to read her some very important lessons as to the wisdom of her future course. They have passed through crises which the older country is only now entering. They have felt the pressure of partial and ill-considered legislation passed by portions of their people. They have met it by emphatic action.

It would be impertinent for any one who has not had opportunity for extended personal observation of the States to dogmatize on their virtues or to speak of their defects. But this brief tribute of admiration from one who has long lived by the side of them, who has experienced much kindness from their citizens, and who is a hearty admirer of their polity and empire, may be allowed.

LORNE.



## RELIGION'S GAIN FROM SCIENCE.

NEITHER religion nor science has ever been a fixed thing. Each is a development, but while unfolding side by side, the relation has not been antagonistic at root, however it may have appeared. Religion made an atmosphere for science to breathe, and science helped religion to free itself from burdens of ignorance. For a long while religion held the entire field, and hence it exaggerated itself; it met no limiting and counteracting knowledge, and became identified with its superstitions. When science came upon the stage there was of course a conflict with the Church, but it was no more with the Church than with society at large. Jurisprudence and medicine were as deeply imbedded in unscientific and superstitious theories and methods as religion, and the conflict with the Church was sharper only because its weightier interests provoked stronger feeling.

In later days, what is called the conflict between religion and science has little existence except in circles of inferior thought. An ecclesiastical body votes down evolution by a three-fourths majority, but the world is simply amused; no one regards it seriously. Religion may be somewhat petulant in its answers to the brusque and often premature demands of science; the weak on one side may weep and denounce, and on the other side they may deny and assert; but neither side represents religion or science. Each has no more to forgive or to reconcile with the other than each has with its own previous phases. The conflict between them is no greater than the conflict each has waged with itself. The time has come when the temper of the parties renders it possible to point out the indebtedness of each to the other. The object of this paper is to name some of the gains which have come to religion through the influence of science.

1. Science has deepened reverence. The Hebrew may have been more profuse in his expressions of reverence than is the modern, but it was because his limited conception of creation



brought it within the reach of language; to-day creation mocks expression. Mr. Froude is credited with the remark that "Revelation lost its hold upon the world with the discovery of Copernicus," presumably because the immensity of the created universe forced this planet close upon nothingness and made a near and personal relation of God to man an absurdity. But this remark of Mr. Froude's may go along with his interpretations of history. The transition from one view of the universe to the other may have induced confusion of thought and led men to say: "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him"; but the human mind does not long suffer itself to remain in confusion; it finds its way out in some direction. Doubtless some minds have been driven downward, and lie crushed under the immensity of creation, but in most an opposite and counteracting tendency has prevailed; mind has asserted its dignity and pre-eminence over matter, and has risen to the new conception with an increase in both the quality and measure of reverence corresponding to the increase of conception. All that was needed was a readjustment of mental habits, as of a telescope turned from the earth to the sky; a larger use of the imagination and a larger and somewhat different idea of God. In former ages reverence was limited by the conception of creation, and in still earlier ages it was confined within geographical limits; the early Jew worshipped the God of his own narrow country. But when "the flaming walls of the world" were thrown down by science, the reverence of man rose to meet the greater view. But it may be asked, Is this a fact? Is there more of religious awe and humble reverence before Almighty God? There is not perhaps the ecstatic reverence found in the Hebrew poets, though modern poets are not lacking in it, but there is a reverence distributed, as it were, over all the faculties. Reverence is more than awe or wonder; it is also a love of truth, a confidence in divine laws, a joy in creative wisdom, humility before infinite power, sympathy with the order of the universe. It is hardly necessary to assert that these are increasingly the characteristics of modern thought. They are the source of that dignity of thought and invincible love of truth and reality which belong to the age. It is not necessary to admit that there is even less of that reverence which once found expression before



altars and in adoring hymns; but there is also a pervasive reverence overspreading the whole action of men, which springs from a deeper knowledge of creation. To-day we not only adore God who is above the world, but also God who is in the world. All sober thought, all devotion to truth, all love for humanity, all intelligent obedience to law is reverence in its best sense; and these, if not the products of science, are largely fed by it.

2. Science has taught religion to think according to cause and effect; that is, in a rational way. Religion will never cease to be a matter of revelation and intuition, but so long as it is only such it will be overspread by unreason and superstition. While revelation is regarded as simply full, final, and authoritative assertion, religion is reduced to slave-like obedience, thought is quenched, and man shrivels. When religion is made only a matter of intuition and transcendence, it runs out into vagary and mysticism. Religion cannot indeed part with these features: a God who reveals himself and a spirit in man which mounts directly to God. But religion is a practical thing in a real world; it is an outcome of man's whole nature; it has methods and ends to be gained. Its tendency has always been to separate itself from the real needs and order of human life—to become a thing of the air; its gravitation has been chiefly toward heaven or to some world of dreams and fancies. In other words, it had no genuine law of thought, and hence no order in human life. Science, if it has done nothing else, has taught religion to think according to cause and effect, which is simply rational thinking. Religion needs this balance-wheel, this weight to hold it down to the earth and prevent it from exhaling itself in mere devotion and flying off into remote worlds. Under the tuition of science it is steadily growing, not rationalistic, but rational. It shows an increasing tendency to ally itself with the laws of human nature and of society, and to find a place where its great and transcendent truths can meet with the truths of this world. Religion no longer contents itself with saying: "I believe because it is impossible," but sees the profounder truth that the whole world is a revelation of God, and because it is a revelation it can be traced and understood. It is true that many are swamped in this effort of religion to find an agreement between itself and science, but upon the



whole the gain is greater than the loss, and in all the better schools of religious thought it is felt that the scientific habit must prevail. The day for full harmony has not yet come, and it may never come, for religion and science are not exact correlates, but the man of religion can now say to the man of science: "My thinking in the main is along the same inductive lines as your own."

3. Science has delivered religion from its heaviest incubus, superstition. We will not now stop to inquire why religion runs so readily into superstition, and even into forms most cruel and opposite to itself, though ample reasons could be given and such as would enable us to draw a clear line between the two. The fact of their immersion in each other until each lost its true character will not be denied. Carlyle, in his generous but severe essay on Voltaire, says that "he gave the death-stab to modern superstition." Voltaire may have been the external sign and turning-point of the change from superstitious to rational thought in religion, but he was not the cause of it. The thought of the world does not respond to such a man as Voltaire. His wicker-work of jibe and sneer may have seemed to be a dam, but the force that turned the stream of human thought into another channel was something different. Voltaire, though as great a blunderer in natural science as any mediæval Pope, was a man of quick intelligence, who readily caught sight of the change that had come over the thought of the world; but that change was due to an intelligence which he did not originate and in which he but partially shared. Superstition, however much of it yet lingers, received its death-stab from science. It is not necessary to trace the process in full, but it may be summed up as putting events in connection with their natural causes. A flaming sky was shown to be, not an angry portent, but a display of electricity. Thus in many ways science relieved the world of an incubus of fear and misery that well-nigh outweighed the joy of existence. The Church for centuries utilized for its own purposes the dread phenomena of nature, turning their terrors into instruments of torture through the ignorance and credulity of the people. It may have been sincere enough, but it was the sincerity of a common and universal ignorance. Science has nearly put an end to



all that, and thus has rendered a service to religion as well as to humanity; for it is fatal to the Church to cling to superstitions which the intelligence of the world has discarded. The ecclesiastical body which recently voted down evolution hurt neither science nor the Bible, but it inflicted an enormous injury upon itself, an injury from which only science can deliver it, as it surely will in due time.

It is impossible to over-estimate the blessing conferred by science in delivering men from the misconception that natural calamities are due to moral desert. The deliverances of science are as great as its positive achievements; the heart is as great a debtor to it as the mind. Few misconceptions in religion have caused so much suffering. Job protested against it, and Christ corrected it—the only instance in which he attempted to correct a misapprehension of a natural law, unless indeed he changed the entire view of nature by putting a Heavenly Father over all. The man was not born blind because his parents had sinned; the tower in Siloam did not crush the eighteen men because they were special sinners. But the great argument of Job and this plain word of Christ were sealed to the eyes of the Church for centuries, and nature was turned into a scourge for sins often real enough but in no wise connected with natural events. Nature lost its kind and beneficent aspect and became a terror; men were cut off from it in their sympathies; its powers and forms were pervaded by a malignant demonology, the force of which was only partially broken by gracious superstitions of charms and spells and endless multiplication of the cross and relics of saints, for the Church was merciful as well as ignorantly cruel. The Reformation swept away the grossest of these superstitions, but it did not alter the underlying fallacy. Even less than two centuries ago, a devastating flood of the Connecticut river was attributed by a preacher of the day to the general neglect of family prayer.

There is indeed a region in which general suffering is connected with natural causes, where nature takes vengeance upon the guilty and innocent alike. The great plagues and pestilences are the results of filth. In the light of science the unsanitary condition of a city is a public sin, for which pervading disease is the com-



mon penalty, and from which the innocent poor suffer even more than the guilty rich. But science has taken this matter out of the hands of the Church, and has detected not only the fact but the remedy. The service thus rendered by science to religion, by assigning natural evil to its proper sphere, is more than a work of humanity; it defines for religion its own proper and unspeakably important field—the heart and the conscience. The Church diluted and wasted itself by spreading itself over all the relations of man. Religion is a great, but it is not a universal, thing. Science has driven it within its proper boundaries and back to its great eternal truths.

4. Science has put religion upon the track of the important truth that moral laws are natural laws. The unity of God has not yet had full logical development; it is sufficiently asserted, but it is not practically applied. Dualism lingers in the details, or rather in the lacks of theological thought. The world of nature and the world of religion have been regarded as antagonistic. Asceticism, with its unspeakable misery, is based on the fallacy that the laws of religion are the reverse of the laws of nature. Here again the Church proceeded in direct violation of the word of Christ: "What things soever he (the Father) doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner." This imitation of the Father was based on the broad apprehension of God as a being who sent the rain upon the just and the unjust. Christ's life was a real and practical obedience to the beneficent laws and intentions which he observed in nature: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." This broad basis of natural law was quickly lost sight of; what God did in nature had no beneficent meaning for the Church; its methods were ascetic, and its theology was constructed out of fragments of St. Paul's epistles crudely interpreted, and perverted by the overshadowing influence of Roman law. For more than a thousand years there was scarcely a strand connecting the Church with the world of nature; the God of the Church was not the God of nature. The true anti-Christ had its seat, not in Pontifical assumption, but in this rejection of the will of God as revealed in natural laws. The real break in this false and fatal habit of thought is due to science; first by its forcing the world to give



attention to these laws, and then by pointing out their moral significance. Asceticism has lost its force not more through the influence of a sound exegesis than through that of science, which is convincing men that a law of the body is a law of God, fully equipped with penalty and reward. Upon this vast field of truth science is steadily pouring great floods of light, under the influence of which the sense of duty is broadening, conscience is allying itself with intelligence, public morality is improving, legislation is growing humane and ministrative, and religion is attaining a consistent and therefore commanding theism. There may be theologians who still turn their backs upon science, but the number of those who follow in the steps of Butler and Paley is increasing. I do not mean that theology will be turned into a science of biology, but only that it will leave no truth of science out of sight, and that it will construct its system upon the basis of a God who created the heaven and the earth and all that in them is.

While this revival of consistent theism is due to science, it need not plume itself upon it as a discovery. We find it in the Hebrew Scriptures along with much of wise practical inference and law, but in crude form and without the force of scientific demonstration; and the Christ, under the fullness of his inspiration, struck straight to the heart of this theism. Science has simply re-discovered and set in logical order what the great inspired minds have always seen.

5. Science is delivering religion from the miserable habit of defending doctrines and supposed truths because of their apparent usefulness. No fallacy works greater mischief, and the Church has reaped many bitter harvests of shame and sorrow from upholding it. What is useful, we do not know; or rather we are learning that nothing is useful but the truth. But instead of searching for what is true, too often the Church has sought for what seemed useful and inferred its truth—a false and fatal logic, inducing doubt when truth begins to crowd the doctrine, and at length hypocrisy when the doctrine has been demolished but is retained because it has worked its way too deeply into society to be given up without danger. Again and again has the Church repeated this sad history, but it is a history that now has small



defense except in the columns of denominational newspapers. The relentless rule of science in seeking for the truth—the reality of things—and its refusal to be content with anything else, are becoming general. There never has been and there never will be two general habits of thought; the unity of human society forbids it. The method of science is the inductive; that is, getting together the facts and searching them with relentless scrutiny. This is becoming the habit of thought in all departments, including that of religion. Under its influence many false doctrines have been nearly driven out. By establishing the antiquity of the race, and by including man in the physical evolution of creation, science has left no standing room for such doctrines as that the fall of a single progenitor involved the race in sin and guilt, and that physical death is the penalty of original sin. There is undoubtedly a truth hidden in what is called the “fall of Adam,” but science has destroyed the terms in which it was held, by destroying its chronology, and by showing that physical death antedates man. With the fall of this central doctrine, goes also a huge system of interlacing doctrines of decrees and arbitrary election and reprobation, under which generations have sighed and shuddered. But science is not merely iconoclastic in that field of doctrine known as Calvinistic; it is also re-constructive, and offers Calvinism, if it had the wit to see it, a doctrine of heredity and of the solidarity of the race, which might have satisfied Calvin himself.

Science will never become an evangel, but it has already put us in the way of rectifying old doctrines, and it is also giving us hints of new ones. The immanence of God is an old conception; Augustine and Calvin assert it repeatedly, but their theologies are as bare of it as a stone is of life. But science, unconsciously yet relentlessly, is forcing us up to this conception as the only possible explanation of the universe. Science cannot reveal God, but it is asserting in terms not to be set aside either an immanent God or none. Thus science is driving religion to its own ancient and overborne conception of the Deity—a conception dear to the Church and instinctively felt to be true by all its greater minds, but crowded aside to make room for conceptions deemed more available. It is a doctrine equally



necessary to science and religion; a living, intelligent, purposing Power within creation, the Cause of causes, the Force of forces, the Life of lives, one with creation and yet separate from it. Science requires such a doctrine and religion exults in it; no matter now how wide creation may be, so long as God is in it religion has a near God—its one imperative necessity.

Science has rendered a like service to religion in correcting its doctrine of penalty. The Gospel itself, by its own spirit of humanity, is mitigating and sweeping away the horrible doctrines of eternal torture, constructed out of metaphysical speculations upon the divine character and the significance of moral conduct—doctrines that mocked both the reason and the heart, confusing the one by a certain specious plausibility and crushing or petrifying the other. The peculiarity of the doctrine of penalty, as held for ages by the Church, was that the law of cause and effect, so imperatively taught by Christ, was lost sight of, and a heathen Tartarus substituted, in which punishment bore no relation to the evil done, and the non-elect were everlastingly tortured for the glory of God. The Church rebelled first against its cruelty, then against its injustice, and finally against its absurdity. It is indeed still held as nominal orthodoxy in some quarters, but it is the thinnest of departing ghosts. It is difficult to say how far the reaction against the doctrine of penalty might go if it were not met by science, which actually reinforces essential and substantial orthodoxy, by itself teaching a stringent doctrine of penalty. In no respect has religion so eagerly availed itself of the service of science as just here, in teaching us to think of penalty under the law of cause and effect, and insisting on its certainty and severity.

The influence of science in making religion more practical; in calling its attention to the details of life and making them matters of conscience; in showing how closely all things are united and hence how duty covers all action; in breaking down arbitrary distinctions, as of secular and religious, by showing that no such lines are found in nature; these are points which the limits of this paper shut out from discussion. There is, however, a certain service rendered to religion by science which cannot be passed by. I refer to the fact that science of itself



is unable to solve any of the great problems which most interest men, and which form the substance of religion. It is a profound remark of Novalis that "Nature is a kind of illuminated table of contents of the spirit." The solution, the full explanation of things, cannot be found in this "table of contents," but in the spirit. Science describes only processes, never beginning nor end nor why nor how. It is, as Novalis says, a picture; it cannot explain itself nor anything in it. This self-demonstrated limitation of science is of service to religion, by deepening its sense of responsibility as the real teacher of mankind. Science is of immense help in the search after truth; it opens paths, it smooths the way, it prescribes methods, it arranges facts; but truth itself—the truth of God, of man, of duty, of character, of destiny—this still remains in the hands of religion and always will remain there.

T. T. MUNGER.



## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MIRAGES.

TO the student of human nature there are few printed pages so impressive as the one in the encyclopædia which contains the list of the Popes, two hundred and sixty-two in number, beginning with Petrus, A.D. 41, and going on in nearly unbroken succession to Leo XIII., A.D. 1877, a period of eighteen hundred and thirty-six years. What a rebuke to the pride of human reason is the long endurance of an institution irreconcilable with human reason! What enemies the papacy has had, both within and without the fold! What genius, what valor, what patriotism has assailed it, age after age! What dynasties it has survived, the weakest of them apparently stronger than itself! How uniformly, when Christendom has been divided against itself, it has taken the side the most opposed to the educated sense of Christendom! What cogent and obvious reasons have generally existed for the discontinuance of the long series! But there it stands, awaiting the addition of another name; and there is no man wise enough to fix a probable termination of the catalogue. Forty years ago Carlyle compared the papacy to a worn-out copper kettle, incapable of repair, and having no further business to do but to fall to pieces. It shows no sign of being about to perform this duty.

Some such thoughts as these naturally occur to us on reading in the newspapers of Dr. McGlynn's attacks upon "the ecclesiastical machine," combined with his pathetic endeavor to abolish poverty by hiring a hall and holding a weekly meeting. Which will disappear first from the world, poverty or the Pope? Who can tell?

Few of us have a right to laugh at the amiable Doctor, since every good American is by right of birth a savior of the world, and there are people all about us who think they know precisely why the reign of peace and plenty on the earth does not begin this very year. A single obstacle generally blocks the way. "If there were no distilleries, there would be no jails." There are



several thousands of our fellow citizens, virtuous and thoughtful people, who believe that things will never go right in this troublesome world until we keep Saturday instead of Sunday. The least rational of these ideas is better than indifference to the human lot, and probably there are few well-disposed persons who have not at some period of their lives indulged a flattering, delusive dream of a new era about to dawn.

When I began to take an interest in public affairs, the mugwumpian mind of the United States desired to have four things come to pass: the abolition of slavery, civil service reform, international copyright, and a tariff on luxuries and semi-luxuries for revenue only. Of these four I, for one, expected to live long enough to see the accomplishment of three. International copyright, for example, to youthful inexperience, fond of books, appeared a measure so obviously right, reasonable, and best, so in harmony with the design of the Constitution, and it was such a scandal to select from the whole of Christendom its most precious fifty persons for spoliation, that I looked to see members of Congress contending for the privilege of introducing the bill. After forty years of fitful effort it is still uncertain whether we shall have it.

Then the cruel absurdity of founding an important national interest, like manufactures, upon a basis so unstable as a string of decimal fractions in a tariff book, stimulating what would grow too fast without stimulation, making many of our factory towns the most hideous objects in the universe: surely *this* could not last! But it has lasted, and we hear politicians attempting again the imposture which was stale and odious in Henry Clay's time.

The undoing of Jackson's fell work of 1829 in debauching the civil service by depriving it of reasonable stability: that appeared as easy as it was urgent, for no creature outside of the office-seeking class had then, or has now, a word to say in favor of it. Every public man of eminence, not himself an office-seeker, was fully committed to this one reform; Benton and Van Buren, Clay and Webster, all favored it. Yet, the public servant remains in 1888 the precarious and unhappy person he was in 1830.

These three subjects, important as they were in themselves, seemed secondary and even trivial, forty years ago, compared with the agonizing problem of slavery. The most sanguine



person, North or South, did not count upon a length of life that would include within its term the end of American slavery. There was a languid belief that in some way "Providence" would deliver us, white and black, from bondage; but the most confident gave Providence a very long time in which to work. No one thought to see and be a part of free America. Behold this most difficult, most rooted, and most hopeless of all our problems solved! It found its solution twenty-three years ago last April; while those easy, simple, obvious questions remain to worry and perplex us. The sudden and complete extirpation of an evil so immense, and so buttressed about with defenses, appears to be a departure from the rule of slow progress. It was not. As a mere reform, *i. e.*, a conflict between right and wrong, or between public and private interest, anti-slavery made the usual slow advance. The movement toward abolition was in full vigor in the first Congress. Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine were active in it before Washington had been a year in the presidency. If in 1860 the people had been called upon to vote upon an anti-slavery issue, such as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, how many votes would have been cast for it? Not many thousands. Slavery was swept away by the cyclone of war. Posterity will doubtless cherish the names and services of the Abolitionists, but the mundane system of which they and we are a part is not such as admits of revolution by ink and oratory. Viewed merely as a moral reform, it had made little substantial progress in eighty-four years. We might rather say it had retrograded, for in 1776 the educated mind of America was abolitionist; in 1860 it was not.

Mr. Gladstone spoke some time ago of the American Constitution as the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man. Was it struck off at a given time? The strength of the Constitution lies in the fact that it was not, in any proper sense, the work of human minds at all. The situation existed: thirteen States intending to remain thirteen, yet under a necessity to become one. The merit of the convention was in correctly interpreting this situation, and in limiting its work to the invention of the mere devices that secured the independence of the thirteen governments while affording the



requisite efficiency to the one which was, on some occasions and for some purposes, to wield the power of the whole. There was great merit in this; but the special happiness of America was in the evolution of the circumstances with which the convention had to deal. And here again, as if to mock and put to shame the strict limitations of human talent, the man who rendered it possible for the convention to agree upon a constitution was not a member of it, nor was he held in honor by it. That individual was called Captain Shays, whose "Rebellion" in Massachusetts, the year before, impressed all minds, even to panic, with a sense of the urgent necessity of government. No man was so powerfully affected by the Shays movement as the President of the convention George Washington. We cannot read the letters of the period without perceiving that the Shays panic of 1786 rendered possible the *E Pluribus Unum* of 1787. Calhoun, who did more to abolish slavery than any other non-combatant, has a fine monument in South Carolina, but poor Captain Shays, who also had a real grievance, and who also narrowly escaped the gallows, lies in a neglected grave in the State of New York.

The most interesting movement of a reformatory nature that now invites public attention in the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and all the northern nations, is that which aims to prevent the abuse of intoxicating drinks. The evil wrought in these countries by intemperance is at once so terrible and so obvious that a man may well be pardoned who loses in some degree the use of his reason in contemplating it. But surely this cancerous evil in the body politic cannot be cured by any specific, whether it be a pledge in the Father Matthew style, or Mr. Blair's amendment. The temperance movement involves and includes the entire problem of human welfare. The intemperance that so justly appals us everywhere is far more a consequence than a cause of evil, and, like diphtheria and typhoid fever, imposes tasks upon the community as well as upon the doctor. The sly drams that gradually destroy the respectable sons of respectable sires betray more than a morbid appetite. They reveal a kind of bankruptcy, moral and physical, which the deadly stimulant relieves, as borrowed money enables an insolvent to postpone the day of reckoning. They follow naturally from a life of ill-



rewarded, uninteresting toil, unrelieved by a social evening and a cheering Sunday. I occasionally spend some time in a factory town, one of those painful places so numerous in New England, to which our fiercely stimulating tariff has given a development far too rapid for the interest of the human beings concerned. We may say of many of the operatives in them that, from one week's end to the other, they scarcely hear one pleasant sound, scarcely taste one morsel of agreeable food. They hold their lives on conditions which forbid honest joy, innocent mirth, and beneficial communion of spirit with fellow beings. The men rarely see a woman who is not worn, defaced, and disfigured by excessive labor, who presents or can present to the male of her species the charm which nature intended to be the inspiration and the reward of his life. There is just one thing which can give a brief exhilaration to persons living in circumstances so false, unnecessary, and unnatural, and that is strong drink. Hence we hear, and truly hear, that the rum-seller controls the politics of the place.

To make head against this evil, all the conditions of life in those towns will have to be reversed. Some of the towns themselves may have to wither away and perish, like the mining towns in the West. It may not be the dictate of good sense and sound policy to bring linen rags from the shores of the Mediterranean to the interior of the United States, and then lure poor people from the ends of the earth to make those rags into paper. We may finally conclude that this is a forced and unnatural industry, and, if not, we shall have to demand of the capitalists who create these towns to make them fit for the abode of human beings.

The men who have undertaken to stop the use of rum in the northern hives of industry have undertaken a task which necessitates the regeneration of those places, so as to render life in them natural, safe, and pleasant, suited to the proper rearing of children. Of all the words ever printed in this periodical, the most awful and heart-rending are those which occur in an article by Bishop J. L. Spalding, in the number for March, 1888: "Capital, steam, and electricity, organized and controlled by shrewd and capable men, whose one object is gain, act upon a population of operatives like a malarial poison." The sentence is frightful, but incomplete, for it contains no allusion to the blighting protec-



tionism which hurried those towns into premature existence. Blighting is the descriptive word. The towns which protectionism stimulates into a bad, swift growth, differ from the peaceful and happy villages they displace very much as a canker-blighted apple-tree differs from one in healthy condition. The population of the tree "increases with phenomenal rapidity," and the canker-worm savings banks show abundant deposits; but the population ought not to be there. These are not reasons for ceasing to strive against the domination of the rum-seller and the rum, but for striving against them in rational ways.

In looking back over the past, which is our best teacher, we are struck sometimes by the rapidity and ease with which great changes are effected, and sometimes by the slowness and baffling difficulties of the process. Many readers have smiled at the generous and sanguine Jefferson, who was so overjoyed by the brilliant success of Dr. Channing in Boston, sixty years ago, as to see in it the promise of an immediate collapse of ancient beliefs which he hated. "I trust there is not a young man now living in the United States who will not die a Unitarian." After the lapse of sixty-four years, we find Mr. Howells in his latest novel speaking of the "shrunk congregations" of the Unitarians, even in New England, and certainly some of them could not bear a long continuance of the process of shrinking. The sanguine Voltaire, too, when the chief of French police said to him, "You will not destroy the Christian religion," meaning the despotic ecclesiastical system of Bourbon France, the young poet answered, with full assurance of faith, "We shall see." A hundred and sixty-eight years have passed over France since he first saw the inside of the Bastille, but, as a French priest remarked some time ago, the chapel bell still calls to mass in the Rue St. Jacques, just as it did when Voltaire was a schoolboy there. Voltaire, too, undertook a task which included the entire march of human nature. Since man began to strive for truth and freedom, never has there been put forth an energy so sustained and so skillfully directed as his, to make good his word to the chief of police. Much was accomplished in many directions, and the way prepared for more; but the Christian religion exists, and presents upon the whole a more imposing appearance of life and vigor in many countries than it did then.



For, against any radical change in the thoughts and affairs of men are ranged many influences and powers, all entering into the composition of what is called the *vis inertiae* of things. Habit, prejudice, interest, indolence, poetry, sentiment, fear, and fashion are all conservative. "Get good society on your side," Voltaire used to say; "the *beau monde* rules the *monde*." Two can play at that game. We find that during the last fifty years the tactics of Voltaire have been used against him, and the *beau monde* in every land makes a point of going to church.

On the other hand, how swift are men and nations to seize an obvious and unquestionable improvement. The telephone runs over the world in two years, while the Andover controversy, begun in St. Augustine's day, shows little sign of coming to an end. Mahomet founds his religion in a life-time, and Wesley creates a sect more rapidly than leaders can be found to man it, while we are still unable to decide whether we ought to tax a man's overcoat or his whiskey.

There is a law governing these things, if we could find it out. We can learn nothing of this nature except by going to school modestly to mankind, and humbly asking questions of the countless host who have lived before us. When we do this we find that important changes in human affairs have accomplished themselves by the method of substitution, something more suitable taking the place of something less. We cannot get a mechanic to cast aside the implement that lessens his toil by pointing out its defects. Habit, prejudice, pride, interest, and fashion make him cling to it with a tighter clutch the more you demonstrate the imperfection of its mechanism. But when you show him a better tool, you make an impression on his mind, and he is soon ready to ask the price of the new article.

This is a very homely illustration, but the principle applies to all the movements that have greatly changed the conditions of human life. The old Greek religion had been undergoing a process of dissolution for four centuries before St. Paul preached in Athens; but its hold upon the masses of the people does not appear to have been seriously weakened. From that time its decline was rapid enough to be measurable. The substitute accomplished that which the wit and genius of ages had failed to effect.



Think of the power of that substitute even in the single matter of the sacrifices, and what a relief it must have been to the whole Roman world to substitute a little piece of clean, convenient bread for a costly and turbulent animal! Fifteen centuries later, when the consecration of that bread had become itself a monopoly more costly and odious than the sacrificial animals had been, came Martin Luther, with a substitute invisible and immaterial, which could not become property. Luther could have accomplished no more than Erasmus, nor as much, if he had not provided an intelligible substitute for the sacrifice of the mass. And yet how superior, in an intellectual sense, was the gay, acute, and learned Erasmus to the bovine and boisterous Luther! Consider, too, Voltaire and Wesley: one, a man of genius, wealth, tact, and persistence, unrivalled in his century; the other, a man of slender endowments, whipped by his mother into unquestioning acquiescence with doctrine. But Wesley provided for the usages which he discredited a substitute exactly suited to the masses whom he could reach, and he counts to-day his followers by millions.

So of drinking. Within the memory of men now alive, a conspicuous and important class have become temperate. The three-bottle men of Sheridan's day have no successors in ours. Among people of leisure and education, deep drinking is almost unknown. A person may dine out one hundred successive evenings without seeing a single individual apparently the worse for drink, and this happy change has come about chiefly by the way of substitution. The crude and deadly drinks, the infernal brandy-bottle and the vulgar punch-bowl, and all the low orgies which these represented, were supplanted, first by the strong wines of Spain and Madeira, then by the less strong and daintier wines of France and Germany, and finally by smaller portions of these. The same process will doubtless continue and extend until the law in all civilized lands will place brandy, rum, whiskey, and gin in the list of poisons, not to be procured without a doctor's prescription. We shall finally abolish bad drinking houses through the substitution of less bad drinking houses, and these by good drinking houses, a process already begun.

Perhaps, too, the process will not be as slow as we have some-



times feared. Many can remember when the Peace Society was a popular jest, fighting being accepted as an unchangeable need of human nature; but the moment the substitute was distinctly announced of a world's court of arbitration, it became a serious topic. It is probable that young men who will cast their first vote next November will live to see such a court established in Christendom, and the general disarmament which will naturally follow. A thousand tragedies failed to deliver Texas and Tennessee from the mania of duelling, but when the law was passed excluding from all public honors the man who had once been out in a duel, either as principal or second, the mortal dread of this new kind of dishonor supplanted the terror of another, and the custom declined. What rational hope was there for Ireland until an English premier accepted the substitute of Home Rule, after the continuous failure of British Rule for seven hundred years? Now, at least, there is hope.

How limited is the power of direct effort, even when made by men of eminent genius, to effect radical changes! "Events are imperial." Words are potent when they give fit expression to feelings already existing. Readers who love to turn over the gossiping writings of John Adams may remember that few things irritated that irritable gentleman more than to be told that Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" brought about the Declaration of Independence. He thought that the credit of expediting the business of 1776 was chiefly due to a gentleman of other initials. But what could that wonderful pamphlet of Paine's or the stalwart oratory of Adams have done for Independence in 1776, if the wanton burning of Falmouth and Norfolk had not first weaned the fond colonists from the mother country? "Common Sense" would have been burned by the hangman, and Mr. Adams would have continued to walk the streets of Philadelphia shunned by respectable citizens, as he had been only a few months before those imperial outrages occurred.

There is a tide in the affairs of men. He who goes with the tide goes easily and goes fast; but though he wield the oars with dexterity and force, it is still the tide, the deep and tireless tide, that chiefly bears him along. Nothing is more necessary sometimes, or nobler, than to stem the tide; the greatest of every age



have done so; but those who have done it with success have finally utilized the tide itself, or created one for themselves. They have been wise as well as valiant, and this makes the difference between Sydney Smith and Mrs. Partington.

The destiny of man is hemmed in on every side by hard conditions which can be mitigated, but not materially changed. We cannot escape the limitations of our lot, do what we will. If we who are now alive could return to life two thousand years from the present time, we should doubtless remark with pleasure many changes in the aspect of things and some decided improvements—perhaps fewer people and those better provided—but we should certainly find that not one of the essential facts of human life had altered. Life would still be short, and nearly all of it spent in the mere business of prolonging itself. Man would still be weak and prone to error. The human race would still be poor. The lion would still have the lion's share. Rude strength would still push aside and stride past amiable weakness. There would still be in every well-disposed mind the old conflict between duty and inclination, between reason and prejudice, between the higher impulse and the lower propensity. Competition would still be the mainspring of the activity of men. Appearances would still deceive, and men would be both guided and misguided by their own experience.

The two thousand years behind them would instruct and delude them as our last two thousand instruct and delude us. Lies crushed to earth would rise again, as they do now. Error a thousand times refuted would still prevail. Probably the world would be as like and as unlike its present condition as the age in which we live is like and unlike the age when Socrates was wise in Greece, and Aristophanes burlesqued him. But in that future time June and October will still be enchanting months; Christmas will come in December; the high pleasures will still be cheap and accessible; and a person of good sense will still be able to pick his way through life with some comfort and much enjoyment, besides adding a little to the general weal.

JAMES PARTON.



## THE USE OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES IN WAR.

AMONG the potent agents of modern civilization, few are entitled to rank higher than the class of inventions known as high explosives. Making their first appearance in a practical form near the close of our civil war, they supplied the power needed to execute the gigantic works of internal improvement which absorbed the energy of the nation so soon as the sword was laid aside for the arts of peace. Mountains which had defied the iron horse opened as if by magic to yield him passage; reefs which had barred the way of commerce disappeared; mines increased their yield many times; oil wells nearly choked again flowed freely; in a word, our mechanical age found a new slave, and harnessed him by the side of steam and electricity, to revolutionize old methods, and stamp the nineteenth century as one of unexampled progress.

But the millennium has not yet come. No sooner has a new form of energy appeared, than the problem how it can best be applied in war is studied, and in the feverish condition of European politics these investigations are prosecuted with terrible earnestness. How high explosives may be misapplied for purposes of wholesale murder, unfortunately remains no longer to be learned on either side of the Atlantic. That they will also play an important part in legitimate warfare no one doubts, although the lack heretofore of actual experience leaves the matter still somewhat in the region of speculation. It must, however, be admitted that the prospect is appalling to humanitarians, and inventors find it expedient to justify their new devices by explaining that the object in view is "so to aggravate the horrors of war as to render its occurrence impossible." The certainty with which this sentiment makes its appearance, usually coupled with the wish that "our own government shall have the first opportunity of benefiting by the discovery," confirms the judgment of the immortal Autocrat of the Breakfast Table that, "given



certain factors, a sound brain should always evolve the same fixed product with the certainty of Babbage's calculating machine." These twin ideas are rarely absent when a proposal of supposed unusual atrocity is suggested, but since they prove the inventor to be both a philanthropist and a patriot, their recurrence is an encouraging indication of the tendency of modern thought.

There is another aspect in which the subject may be viewed. The nations of Europe are becoming more and more vast camps of soldiers, and any advance in knowledge which tends to place the weak upon an equality with the strong is of undoubted benefit to mankind. Do modern improvements in the means of carrying on war, and especially do these novel destructive agents, tend to produce this result?

In the early years of this century, the preponderating naval power of England weighed heavily upon her commercial rivals, and Fulton headed his remarkable monograph upon Torpedo Warfare with the sentiment: "The liberty of the seas will be the happiness of the earth." The germ of a new mode of naval attack then planted has borne fruit many hundredfold, but to-day it is not easy to perceive that nations which neglect their navies are more able to maintain their maritime rights than in the epoch when Baltimore clippers swarmed upon the ocean as privateers or letters of marque. Evidently, to decide the probable effect of high explosives upon war, we must consider with some care how these new agents will be employed, and what they demand in the way of preparation.

War has been waged for ages upon land and sea, but in the light of recent progress it is not safe to be too sure that the twentieth century may not witness the extension of the arena, even to the region of clouds. Thus far, however, the ambient air remains unpolluted by violence, save in the struggle of angels and fiends recounted in "Paradise Lost"; and we may limit our inquiries to ordinary conditions governing land and naval combats.

The most characteristic feature of high explosives is the suddenness of the chemical reaction, which enormously increases the intensity of the forces developed. This, together with the larger volume of gases generated and the greater heat developed, accounts for the phenomena presented. It is noteworthy that while



the genius of inventors within the past twenty-five years has increased the quickness of explosion almost to the limit of instantaneous reaction, or detonation, as it is technically called, results of scarcely less importance have been secured in the opposite direction, by reducing the velocity of combustion far below what was in vogue before. Thus, on the one hand, detonation places at the option of the engineer the delivering of a blow of almost inconceivable intensity without the delay of tamping, while, on the other hand, slow combustion permits him to communicate a velocity of two thousand feet per second to a ton of metal, without overtaking the endurance of the long, built-up steel guns of to-day. In a word, he has at command a series of explosives whose speed of combustion ranges from eighteen thousand feet to one or two feet per second, and the solution of any problem of ballistics is only a matter of time and judicious experiment.

The term "high explosive" is restricted to the class whose velocity of combustion is very great, approaching detonation. Important differences in chemical composition, in physical condition, and in safety of handling exist; but for the present discussion these are immaterial. So also is the mode of placing the charge in position. It matters not whether it be adjusted by hand, or fired from a gun, or from a pneumatic tube, or even from a catapult patterned after those of the Middle Ages. The destruction is due to the forces developed by chemical reaction, and must not be mentally associated with any of these unimportant particulars. This proposition is so self-evident that its statement seems puerile, but experience has shown that, with non-experts, when the mode of translation is novel, it is often credited with the work performed. It matters not whether a hundred-pound charge of dynamite exploded in a crowded street, were dropped by a balloon or carried there in a cart, but in estimating the military importance of the event, many spectators would give the balloon credit, not only for bringing it, but also for the destruction wrought.

High explosives will doubtless be used with armies in the field, in regular sieges, in naval battles upon the ocean, and in contests between ships and forts. Each application will be considered in turn.



The engineer trains of all modern armies are supplied with a sufficiency of the new agents to perform the work of removing stockades and other obstacles of like character, to overthrow bridges, to destroy captured artillery, and to meet other ordinary contingencies of the service. When the necessity of transporting a supply of high explosives first became apparent, no variety was known which was not liable to ignition if struck by a bullet. But even the explosion of an ordinary caisson loaded with gunpowder is a calamity, while a similar accident happening to a ton of dynamite would spread havoc throughout the vicinity. Studies for steel bullet-proof armor for wagons sufficiently light to admit of mobility were therefore made, but not very successfully until the march of improvement introduced new varieties of high explosives free from this defect. Engineer work of the character indicated above has been done by the use of gunpowder ever since its discovery, but the necessity of tamping to develop sufficient intensity of action has always been a drawback. Time is precious under fire. The new explosives act so quickly that air pressure affords all needful tamping, and they have thus supplied a real want of engineer soldiers in the field.

Whether the artillery will derive equal benefit from these agents, by their substitution for gunpowder in shells of the small calibers used in campaigning, is more doubtful. Should the experiments now in progress prove successful, it will be possible to reduce the size of the cavity, and thus provide more metal and rend it into more numerous fragments at the explosion; but it is doubtful whether the gain over the present pattern of shrapnel will warrant the change. The increase of density in the projectile is an advantage, but it seems probable that larger calibers than are used in field artillery are required to make the change one of practical importance.

Much larger calibers are used in siege operations, and the defense will have to face a vastly more formidable fire than ever heretofore. The French have adopted melinite for charging shells, and are rumored to throw enormous quantities, nearly two hundred pounds. The Germans, after several years of experimenting, have selected Walsrode wet gun-cotton for this purpose. Charged with the latter, a 6-inch shell, 6 calibers long, carries 22



pounds; and under favorable conditions throws out 9 cubic yards of sand from its crater (13 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep). An 8-inch mortar shell, 6 calibers long, carries gun-cotton charges from 42 to 57 pounds in weight, and throws out 20 cubic yards of sand. The 11-inch mortar shell is charged with 110 pounds of this high explosive, and its use has been proved to be entirely practicable. Missiles like these will entail extensive modifications even in the most recent types of permanent fortifications erected for land defense; and the subject is now discussed among European engineers in what appears to be almost a spirit of panic.

Let us consider, for example, what these figures imply in the way of bomb-proof cover, without which, both for *personnel* and *matériel*, no defense is now practicable. Very recently a series of experiments has been conducted at Kummersdorf, upon a fort modeled after the pattern used by France upon her German frontier, and, it is claimed, with results which prove that the parts best covered, even the magazines, can be reached with overwhelming effect. When earth cover, even the 16 feet which General Brialmont has considered sufficient, is trusted, the first shells throw out such enormous craters that the weak masonry arch is soon reached and penetrated; but in the case of the largest shells (11-inch) even 16 feet of earth cover is deemed hardly adequate against the first projectile. Increasing the usual thickness (3 feet) of the masonry arch, fails to give the security desired, for the mass of earth above serves as tamping, and thus augments the destructive effect; even 6 feet of masonry thus covered proved insufficient to oppose the 8 inch projectile. On the other hand, if concrete without earth cover be used, it is soon shattered by the falling shells; eight feet of masonry proved sufficient for a single shell, but not for several falling near the same place unless a harder surface than usual was employed. An exterior skin of iron gives the best results, but iron in any form is enormously expensive. Moreover, a second inner skin seems to be needful, to prevent fragments of masonry from being driven down into the casemate from the inner surface of the arch, under the tremendous shock of the explosion.

But magazine and bomb-proof cover is not the only thing to be considered. Large gun-cotton shells falling at the foot of scarp



walls soon undermine them, unless protected by massive flagging. Falling in uncovered communications, the craters quickly impede passage; falling in uncovered gun emplacements, platforms are destroyed and the service of the artillery is prevented. Armored turrets or cupolas surrounded by armor-protected glacis edges, are held to afford the only satisfactory resistance, when the concentrated and well-directed practice of a modern siege is reinforced by the use of these tremendous shells; but what nation can afford to incur the expense of protecting its land frontiers by such structures in numbers sufficient to give security?

But it is not only in shells that these high explosives will make their appearance in modern sieges. It must be remembered that the besieged will make use of the same weapon, and that they will have facilities for employing larger calibers and under better cover than the attack can provide. All experience has shown that when fire above ground becomes too murderous to be endured, recourse will be had to mining.

It is not easy for one unfamiliar with sieges to picture to himself what is meant by a war of mines. Burrowing laboriously under ground in Egyptian darkness, which the dim candle serves only to reveal, breathing a poisonous atmosphere, often tormented by dripping water which threatens caving, and always exposed to instant destruction if the counterminer succeeds in exploding his charge first, the soldier finds this service perhaps the most severe which falls to his lot. High explosives will bring new terrors to the work, but the advantage will be clearly on the side of the defense. It is the object of the besieger to traverse in this manner space too dangerous to be crossed above ground, and then suddenly to form a line of craters which shall afford cover nearer to the fort. To effect this object masses of earth are to be lifted; and for this the sustained force of burning gunpowder is more effective than the blow delivered by the detonation of a high explosive. The besieged, on the contrary, desires to crush the galleries of his enemy without disturbing the surface and thus opening a crater in which a lodgement may be made. Detonation favors this object, for the crushing effect is far greater relatively to the lifting effort than in the case of a gunpowder explosion.

In soil free from rocks, both parties will find employment for



these new agents. When a miner learns by the sound of the hostile pick that his enemy is approaching, it has been the custom to push a branch in that direction as small as possible in cross section, but as long as the emergency will permit; to place a moderate charge of gunpowder in the extremity, to tamp it thoroughly, and by its explosion to stifle the unwelcome stranger before he discovers his danger. This operation can be executed much more rapidly than heretofore by the aid of high explosives. A four-inch auger hole about a dozen feet long will be bored toward the enemy, a few ounces of the explosive will be pushed to its extremity and there detonated. This will form by compression a chamber large enough to receive the camouflet charge designed to give the *coup de grâce*. The chamber is usually found to rise above rather than fall below the level of the auger hole, thus causing difficulty in loading, but the plan will no doubt find practical applications in future wars.

What influence these high explosives will exert upon naval engagements on the ocean is a matter of speculation rather than of knowledge, for experiments are lacking to give the requisite information. The next war will probably throw light on the subject, for the German navy has definitely adopted Walsrode wet gun-cotton as the charge for projectiles of large caliber, as well as for torpedoes, and other nations cannot afford to lag behind in so important an advance in armament. For torpedoes gunpowder has long been out of date.

In coast defense high explosives are accepted as the only suitable charge for buoyant submarine mines; and for ground mines as well, when a choice is to be had. The distinction between these two classes of mines arises from the necessity of reducing the bulk of the charge to the minimum, and increasing its intensity of action to the maximum, when it is to be floated above the bottom. In strong currents the size of the case becomes very important, because the water pressure, by inducing a partial revolution about the anchor as a center, and hence a depression of the mine, may prevent the contact with the enemy's hull, which causes the explosion. A water cushion of a few feet is needful, both to serve as a tamping, and to conceal the position of the obstruction, and tidal changes of level still further restrict the ad-



missible oscillation of the case. Moreover, it goes without saying that a bulky mine implies excessively heavy anchors and substantial moorings, thus adding to the cost and difficulty of handling. For these reasons, and others, the more intense the action of the explosive the better is it adapted for use in submarine mining.

The effect of high explosives in shells fired from ships against land batteries will increase in a far less ratio than is anticipated for ordinary siege operations. The circumstances in the two cases are radically different. A siege battery is placed in the sheltered position best suited for attacking a particular part of the fortress, and fire is deliberately maintained night and day until the desired result is accomplished. Hence many of these terrible projectiles will certainly fall within a small area containing elements of vital importance to the besieged. Ships, on the contrary, swing to their moorings and roll with every swell of the ocean, thus affording an unstable platform, ill-suited to precision of gun practice; moreover, they will themselves be always exposed to a concentrated fire of the same projectiles, from widely separated batteries concealed from view as perfectly as the nature of the site permits; and gun-cotton shells are no more welcome in the unarmored parts of a modern ship of war than in a land battery. Hence, unless a decisive result is reached promptly, a retreat becomes inevitable. No instance of a long-sustained naval attack similar to a land siege is recorded in history; and while greater destructive power in the projectiles will enhance the effect of the bombardment, that close and persistent accuracy of fire which makes it overwhelming will be absent. Moreover, the more massive constructions long ago demanded in sea-coast forts will do much to limit the destructive effect even of these new agents. Upon the whole, therefore, it would appear that the gain resulting from the use of high explosives in shells is rather on the side of the forts than of the ships.

No reference need be made to the proposed mode of projecting charges of high explosives from pneumatic guns, because no official trials have yet been made with the pattern proposed by the inventors for service; because the ranges claimed are too short to meet the requirements of the problem; and because throwing



the new agents from ordinary guns will do away with the supposed need of the invention. That larger charges may perhaps be thrown from a pneumatic tube than from a gun, is not very important, because the destructive effect of the explosion increases only with the square root of the weight, *i.e.*, a 400-pound charge is only twice as destructive as a 100-pound charge, and in most cases four 100-pound charges are more to be dreaded than one 400-pound charge.

The general question under consideration, whether the use of high explosives in war will probably tend to place weak and ill-prepared nations upon an equality with the strong and well-prepared, may now be answered. The foregoing analysis will have failed of its object if the conclusion is not apparent. Unfortunately the march of civilization tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and this special national problem forms no exception to the general rule. The nation which is content to fall behind the rest of the world in its preparations for war, will not find itself in a better condition to resist because the attack is made with dynamite instead of gunpowder. The simpler the weapon the less is training required to use it effectively, and modern progress has only added new weight to the time-honored maxim: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

HENRY L. ABBOT.



## RHETORICAL PESSIMISM.

I HERE refer to an exaggeration of the suffering that is in the world, and especially of the suffering that besets animal life. Such exaggeration is extremely common, even among writers from whom we have a right to expect more careful statements. Of the style of speech which I have in mind a striking example is found in an article by Miss Cobbe, in the "Contemporary Review" for January last. A short extract will sufficiently indicate the nature of this. "Every robin chirping in the holly," she cries, "has been a parricide! Every cuckoo filling the April woods with soft sound has been a fratricide!" Miss Cobbe writes in the interest of religion. She feels, however, that it is absolutely necessary to divorce our religious feelings from any relation to nature. She has faith that at some time the riddle may be solved, but at present the separation must be made. She reminds us of some priestess whose temple has been invaded; who seizes her sacred vessels and bears them, weeping, to some safer shrine.

On the other hand, in the "Nineteenth Century" for February, Professor Huxley uses a like exaggeration of statement to prove that theism is impossible. One or two examples will illustrate his way of treating this matter. He describes in vivid terms the relation between the wolf as pursuer and the deer as pursued, and adds, "We should call men like the deer innocent and good, men such as the wolf malignant and bad." Now, here is a statement the truth or falsity of which can easily be determined. Except from the tenor of this sentence I have no reason to believe that Professor Huxley is a vegetarian. If he is not, he need look no further for the man that is like the wolf. He is himself such a man. Possibly, while the rhetorical glow with which this passage was written is still tingling in his veins, he sits down to his dinner of fish, flesh, and fowl. He thinks none the worse of himself for it; and the persons about him, all doing the same



thing, have no condemnation. He did not himself take the life at the cost of which his meal was procured; but this is a case where the legal maxim holds good, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*. Meanwhile he does not consider his butcher "malignant and bad;" and certainly he has no such feeling toward the friend who sent him a hamper of game of his own shooting. Of course, as Professor Huxley wrote, he imagined both the wolf and the deer to be men. The vegetarian, if he happened to be equally illogical, might, in like manner, make suppositions in regard to Professor Huxley's dinner which would lead us, if we were sufficiently illogical, to shrink from him as a cannibal. Such suppositions, however, are out of place in the one case and the other. But all this, it may be said, does not affect the fact to which Professor Huxley referred. My object is, however, simply to call attention to an exaggerated and sensational method of stating the fact.

On the same page Professor Huxley speaks of the examples of "contrivances directed toward the production of pleasure or the avoidance of pain," and admits that it may be proper to say that these are evidences of benevolence. "But if so," he adds, "why is it not equally proper to say of the equally numerous arrangements, the no less necessary result of which is the production of pain, that they are evidences of malevolence?" It is very easy to answer this question. Pleasure is a direct result, pain is an indirect result, of the "contrivances" that produce them. We do not call the surgeon cruel when he gives pain, although we call him kind-hearted when he relieves it. We do not say that he delights in suffering, even when he practices vivisection, and thereby inflicts pain which can result in no good to the sufferer. The heaviest charge that could be brought against Nature, in this connection, is that of indifference. We might maintain, if we wanted to say the worst, that she loves each of her children so well, that while she is fitting out each for the preservation and enjoyment of life, she forgets, for the moment, her care for the rest.

This exaggeration has oftenest reference to religious belief. It has, however, another aspect which is scarcely less worthy of notice. Our love and trust toward Nature are almost as precious



as our religion. If God is our father, Nature is our mother. I am not sure that the loss of the sense of the motherhood of Nature is not almost as much to be dreaded as loss of faith in the fatherhood of God; if, indeed, it does not practically amount to pretty much the same thing. Criticism which is aimed at the latter cannot fail to strike the former. It is idle to try to avoid this connection, as is done by some writers, who are pessimistic when they speak of the world with reference to a deity, and optimistic when they speak of it as a manifestation of unconscious nature.

Before referring to other examples like those already adduced, it may be well to glance at the facts of the case. The elements oftenest referred to in this connection are death, and the suffering that leads to death, or that accompanies it. So far as death itself is concerned, if it is an evil, it can only be because life is a good. To point to death as an evidence of the evil of life, is like pointing to shadows to prove the darkness of the day. Less obvious, but equally true, is it, that if life is a good, death is also a good. The world, however large, is limited in its capacity for the accommodation of guests. If life is a good, all the more desirable is it that the occupants of the world at any one moment should not have the monopoly of it, to the exclusion of the innumerable myriads of other possible occupants. Especially is this the case in regard to animal life, which, after maturity has been reached, has little advance or variety. The same round is run through over and over again; and it is easy to see that not only the amount, but the intensity, of happiness is increased by the constant irruption of fresh and eager lives. In some free exhibition on a holiday the children who have seen the spectacle would gladly remain and see it over and over again; but they have had their chance, and, however unwillingly, they turn their backs upon the stage. They are made to give place to others, and the sum of happiness is thereby increased.

So far as the suffering attendant upon death is concerned it receives an added terror from this association. In the case of man, at least, it is probable that, on the average, the vicarious suffering at birth is greater than the personal suffering at death; yet it impresses us much less, because it marks a beginning of a



life rather than an end. The fact is that death, with its greater or less pain, is the price which is paid for life. What specially troubles us is that our entrance fee is exacted when we go out. It seems thus to be all loss and no gain. We forget how much has been purchased by it.

If death is, on the whole, a good, then it is an unreasoning horror that is excited by the contemplation of the means by which death is brought about. An animal probably suffers less that is struck down in mid career than one that lingers into the helplessness of age. Miss Cobbe, as we have seen, says that every robin is a parricide. I am not an ornithologist; but I imagine that this bird story is to be taken, like the birds that children try to catch, with a grain of salt. I should suppose, indeed, that after the first year it would be a "wise" robin that should "know its own father." I should doubt if the robin were so constructed as to perform the parricidal act. Granting the statement to be literally true, instead of being, as I suppose, a bit of absurd sensationalism, the act, however intended, is a merciful one. From a physical point of view, the act of the Fijian, who put his parents to death before the infirmities of age came upon them, was a merciful one. We are filled with horror by the fact that animals sometimes put to death their wounded or disabled companions. It is what we do out of compassion to our old or suffering pets.

Dr. Hedge, in the March number of the "Unitarian Review," divorces religion from nature, as was done by Miss Cobbe. This separation is based by him upon the existence of "noxious animals, like the scorpion, the cobra, the shark, the devil-fish, and others which seem to embody a malicious purpose, and to conflict with the goodness and loving-kindness which we wish to associate with the idea of God." A fisherman with his boat and his seine is, however, a vastly more terrible object than the devil-fish, though he may not strike us as such; and the devil-fish, the shark, and the rest are simply natural instruments of accomplishing the fact of death in the least painful manner.

But does not the weaker live in constant terror of its impending fate? The pursuit of the deer by the wolf is often described as if it were like the chase of the wild huntsman, in which there



is no rest. This also is doubtless exaggerated. Death, we know, is always lurking for us, and will, at last, strike us down; but how little does the thought ordinarily disturb our peace. The best analogy that we have is found, however, in the skittish horse. How he starts at every sound! But this is more like play than terror. When the horse is freshest and most full of life it responds with the most spirit to such provocations. So the deer is easily startled. It flees even when there is no pursuer. The analogy of the horse would lead us to suspect that there is an element of play in this mobile life. At last it meets the fate which all its days it has shunned, without dreading it, and with *un mauvais quart d'heure* it pays the price of living.

The exaggeration under discussion finds its favorite field in the theory of natural selection. It lays hold of the term "struggle for existence," and pictures in glowing words the terrible nature of the strife. The world, we are told, is a battle-field in which might makes right. Professor Huxley, in the article already referred to, speaking of this strife, says:

"From the point of view of the moralist, the animal world is on about the same level as a gladiator's show. The creatures are fairly well treated and set to fight, whereby the strongest, the swiftest, and the cunningest live to fight another day."

I doubt if this is to be taken more literally than the other passages which I have quoted from this essay. The robin and the sparrow, for instance, are, in relation to their enemies, not very strong or swift or cunning; yet they hold their own against them. On the other side, the worms, in respect to which these little birds are strong and swift, possess neither of these qualities. Nature has many ways of caring for her children. The hare is preserved by its timidity, the little birds by their very homeliness and by the shaded coverts in which they dwell, the earth-worm by the very lowliness of its life. The creatures that are the weakest hold their own against the strongest and the most terrible. Darwin has taught us that the singing bird has conquered its place in the world by its song, and the painted bird by the very beauty of its plumage. Of course, where the strong meets the weak in single encounter the strong has the best of it; but, so far as species stands related to species, the stronger has no advan-



tage. Indeed, the carnivorous would seem to be at a disadvantage as compared with the herbivorous. They are dependent upon the herbivorous, while the latter are wholly independent of them.

The relation of the struggle for existence to ethical theory is often dwelt upon. Lessons are drawn from it which would lead us to exclude the element of sympathy from our lives, or else we are solemnly warned against the teaching which this theory would naturally suggest. An article in the "Andover Review" for April, which is in other respects valuable, yet gives an example of this sort of reasoning. "The whole explanatory function of evolution," it tells us, "is the right of the strong." Among other specifications, it affirms that "the exposure of infants, which we cannot contemplate without horror, would find in it abundant justification." That there are occasional instances among animals of parental neglect and cruelty cannot be denied. But if nature, in the wide sweep of animated existence, teaches us anything, it gives us the lesson of parental care. The lion in its fierceness, and the humming-bird upon its peaceful nest, unite in giving us the example of this. The parental tenderness is often self-sacrificing as well as self-forgetting. How writers can tell us, over and over again, that nature cares only for the strong, while the helplessness of the young is everywhere so tenderly cared for, is a mystery. Each generation of life is bound to its predecessors and to its successors by this cord of affection. Here, in the very heart of nature, we find a self-forgetting love and devotion toward the weak, which can easily, under favoring circumstances, expand, as in human life it does expand, into far-reaching benevolence. Even were it otherwise, it would be absurd to draw lessons from the principle of natural selection. The law of the survival of the fittest is one that enforces itself. Its application varies with every changing circumstance. There is no reason why we should apply the law of the strongest to man more than to the sheep. The law of natural selection speaks in the fact that the more tender-hearted races of men are supplanting the fiercer.

One other form of the exaggeration we are considering is found in a habit of judging nature, and the Author of nature, if it have an author, as we judge individual men. Professor Huxley



uses this form of speech: "If we permit ourselves to criticise our great mother as we criticise one another." Miss Cobbe quotes from John Stuart Mill, to the effect that if "imitations of the Creator's will, as revealed in nature, were applied as a rule of action, the most atrocious enormities of the worst men would be more than justified." Neither of these writers seems to perceive the absurdity of the comparison. John Stuart Mill says: "In sober truth, nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to each other are nature's everyday performances." What else could we expect? The same could be said of the best-ordered state. No man can take his neighbor's property or life with impunity; but the state, in an hour of need, can deal with the property and lives, even of the innocent, as it sees best. Nature, we are told, is unmoral. So is the true juryman. Sympathy is one of the best elements of our humanity, but the juryman sins if he listens to its voice. So the judge. The judges of our Supreme Court would sin if they decided according to the merits of a law, rather than according to its meaning and its constitutionality. In this sense Nature is unmoral. It is her business, so far as we may judge from the result, to establish a basis and framework of unvarying law, which will make possible the higher life of the spirit. Such a basis, at least so far as we can see, is the only condition upon which this higher life is possible. If Nature, as she is embodied in Professor Huxley and Miss Cobbe, looks with a certain horror at some aspects of her work, it is not because she has experienced a change of heart, but because she has reached the point where, through the seeming severity of her previous inflexibility, the larger and finer sentiments have their place.

There is suffering enough in the world, we all know; it is weakness to ignore or to underestimate it. But it is no sign of strength to picture it with sensational exaggeration, whether this is done through superficialness of thought or through the magnifying power of an intense sympathy. Least of all is it admirable if it is done in order to change the fair face of Nature into a bogey to scare the unthinking and tender-hearted.

C. C. EVERETT.



## UNIFORM LAWS FOR RAILWAYS.

PUBLIC sentiment is undoubtedly waking up to the fact that something must be done to secure a better condition of our railway affairs. Nearly all men agree that the only remedy in the premises is some sort of proper and adequate government control, but whether it should be National or State there is difference of opinion. The roads have hitherto been under State control, but if that has ever been proper and effective, it certainly has not been so of late. Indeed, the homely old adage, "too many cooks spoil the broth," has long been conspicuously verified by our railway situation. When we had only a few local roads, it was proper of course that each should be subject to the laws of the State in which it lay. To-day, however, there are practically no local roads. Every road is part of the vast network which overlies the whole country and affects the people and business of all the States. There could be no more ridiculous spectacle than that which we have of late years presented, in our attempt to regulate this great system by thirty-eight different sets of laws, the spectacle growing more ridiculous with each succeeding day and every additional mile of track laid down.

Admitting State control to have been a failure thus far, the question follows, Can it ever meet the requirements of the case? The first requisite for proper and advantageous working of the railways is uniformity of law for them. This is a self-evident proposition. What is right for a railway in Maine should not be wrong in Texas, and what is wrong in Minnesota should not be right in Florida. The privileges accorded to railways in one State should not be withheld from those in another, nor should the salutary restrictions surrounding railway management in any section of the country be wanting in any other section; while everybody must appreciate the countless unnecessary difficulties attending the operation of every railway so located as to be subject to more than one of the thirty-eight sets of laws. So pal-



pable are these facts, it is assumed that there cannot be material improvement in the railway situation till uniformity of law for the roads has been secured. Is it possible under State control?

No defect in connection with our railway interest is more glaring or has worked greater evil than the ease with which control of properties is secured and retained by means of borrowed stock, a method with which every one versed in our peculiar ways of finance is familiar. While this method is permitted, it will continue possible for railways to be controlled by those who have no ownership in them, and no marked improvement can be hoped for. To abolish it, therefore, would be a most desirable step in the direction of railway reform. All that is required to do away with it, is enactment by each of the States of a brief but explicit law forbidding any but sworn *bona-fide* owners of shares to vote at meetings of railway stockholders, and making purchase or sale of shareholders' proxies a criminal offense.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, a missionary in the field of railway reform should set out to secure the enactment by all the States of this simple but palpably necessary law, would it be possible for him to succeed within the time of a single life, unless indeed he were among the fortunate few to whom "money is no object," and were willing to dispense it with marvelous liberality? What hope could there be of securing uniform laws as to capitalization, for the restriction of which every interest in the country is crying out? Does any one believe that all the States—those for instance in which the anxiety to acquire additional railways is equalled by the readiness to confiscate them after they have been acquired—could be persuaded to establish, like Massachusetts, a check upon construction of unnecessary and useless roads? Does any one suppose that all the State legislatures could be induced to pass the same laws concerning railway combinations and consolidations, which are clearly contrary to the spirit of our institutions, if not against the public good?

But if uniformity of law as to these points were possible, there can be, under State control, no protection for railways from the disposition in certain sections to oppress them by unreasonable legislation and to rob them of earnings; nor is it possible to establish responsibility for managers, because "no man can serve



two masters " or more. The argument might be continued, but it is surely unnecessary to establish the hopelessness of better things among the railways under State control. Granting, therefore, that State control is unequal to the reforms which are demanded, our reliance for improvement in the situation is upon the general government.

If national control should be tried and found no more effective than that by States has proved, we should be compelled to the mortifying admission that our government, with all its boasted advantages, is not equal to the solution of one of the most important economic problems that have ever confronted us. But there need be no fear of such a conclusion if railways were under national control. It would easily meet all the requirements of the case. It would evoke peace and order out of chaos and turbulence, and under it our great railway interest, which because of its so many defects and abuses has come to be a national shame, would be a thing of national pride.

National control doubtless suggests to the conservative reader an army of men appointed by and drawing pay from the government, and " voting solid every time " for the party in power. But without discussing whether it would not be vastly to our advantage to secure quiet and effective working of the railways and stability in the value of their securities, even with an increase, no matter to what extent, in the number of office-holders, it is well to soothe the conservative reader by assurance that national control does not mean ownership, nor operation, and that therefore it does not mean increase in the number of government employees.

Control, according to Webster, signifies " power or authority to check or restrain ; " and what is urged is what experience and the existing condition of things demonstrate to be demanded, namely, " power or authority " on the part of the national government to " check or restrain " the railway interest. The manner in which it is proposed that this power should be applied was set forth in a previous article,\* suggesting that railroads be under the same kind of control as national banks, subject to a national law applying to all roads alike. A commission of the ablest and most

\* Published in the FORUM for May.



experienced practical railway men was proposed, to have supervision, under government, of railway management, making frequent examinations of accounts, and holding managers accountable for faithfulness and honesty in their offices. It was also suggested that no roads should be built without permission of the commission, and that the commission should fix rates for tariff. The conservative reader will perceive that this sort of control would not increase the number of office-holders to any appreciable extent, nor would it make railways factors in politics; on the contrary it would take them out of politics; and it would supply, what has been shown to be an absolute requisite, one law for all the roads.

In such a law a few lines would suffice to restrict within proper limits the capitalization of new properties, and to surround railway combinations with the restrictions necessary for the protection of the public welfare and shareholders' rights. The recent suggestion to establish an auditing bureau in connection with the New York Stock Exchange, is the best evidence of need for daylight upon railroad finances; but no examination of railway accounts would be effective or carry weight with it that was not backed by government authority and coupled with penalty for crookedness of figures.

Under national control, with examinations by experts, and authority on the part of the commission to call for sworn statements, there would be an end to secrecy of railway financiering; the precise condition of every railway, financial and physical, would be a matter of public record, and managers could be held responsible for their acts. With its advent would come the "decline and fall" of the magnate. No longer thereafter could he win fame and fortune by conquering territory and crushing rivals; his power to juggle with properties and fleece stockholders would be at an end.

The only way in which a stop can be put to rate wars, is by taking the rate-making power out of managers' hands, and lodging it with a capable and disinterested commission, sworn to protect the interests of all concerned, of those who own just as religiously as of those who use the roads. The building of unnecessary roads cannot be checked, except by entrusting to such a commission power to govern the matter. The commission would



never refuse permission for the construction of a road for which there was a show of reason; nor would it grant permission for the construction of a road, the building of which would clearly be a crime.

It is not claimed that under national control there would be no strikes on the part of railway employees, but it is claimed that strikes are a perfectly natural concomitant of the condition of railway affairs under State control. Employees constitute the base of a pyramid, of which managers are the apex; and while there is a constant "rough and tumble" going on at the top, it is the height of absurdity to expect a condition of serenity at the bottom. Employees, from engine drivers to section gangs, are men of more or less intelligence. They read the newspapers. They appreciate the situation always, and discuss it among themselves. Being human, they are prone to take a hand occasionally in a "free fight" going on about them; and when, by reason of useless competition and rate wars, they are too hard pressed, it is not strange that they sometimes shove back angrily. The suggestion of chimerical theories for the prevention of strikes among them accomplishes no good, nor does the occasional "beating" of a strike at an expense of millions settle the matter. In the clash of interests between labor and capital, strikes cannot be positively prevented. They constitute, however unwarranted and unjustifiable at times, labor's *dernier ressort*, and the only thing that can be done with reference to them is to surround labor with such conditions as will reduce the liability of their occurrence to the minimum. The way to accomplish these conditions in the case of railway labor, is to establish peace, order, system in railway affairs; a quiet, smooth, and harmonious working of the roads, in place of the everlasting agitation and struggle among them. National control would effect this change. Another consideration of no little weight is, that if the general government was, to the extent indicated, behind the roads, and railway officials were *quasi* government officers, that fact would have much influence in preventing strikes and destruction of property in the event of strikes, because all men stand in awe of the general government, and are not prone, under any provocation, to take unseemly liberties with it, or with anything that belongs to it.



National control would protect the roads from confiscatory State legislation, and there is no other way in which such protection can be assured. There is just now, and properly, much indignation against certain States, wherein the railways have been recently cruelly oppressed. But the sentiment of the people in these States has not been wholly unwarranted, and their action has been to a certain extent incited by the methods of the railways themselves. The managers, by slashing rates in times of war, have demonstrated how cheaply railways can be operated under pressure, and have thereby actually invited the tariff restrictions against which there is so much complaint. The matter, however, is one of such wide importance, involving interests of such magnitude and affecting so many, that the States, being parties in interest, and therefore presumably not impartial, should not have absolute power to deal with it, lest they do, as they have certainly recently done, grievous wrong.

The railways have done more than all other agencies combined to build up the States and make them rich, and they ought, it would seem, for that reason, to encourage and protect the railways rather than to oppress them. But if the States be disposed to cripple the agent which has contributed, and does contribute, so much to their prosperity and wealth, they should not be permitted to despoil railway owners of their property. Though railways have not been by law so declared, they are in fact national highways, precisely as much as are the waterways. For the same reason that the people do not permit obstruction of river navigation, they should not tolerate interference with the operation of railways. Take, for instance, the roads upon which the action of the States referred to bears now so heavily. They were not built by the residents of the States; on the contrary, they have no appreciable money interest in the roads. The people built the roads, not for development of, nor use by, any particular State, but as national highways, and the mere fact that they pass through a State should give it no right to interfere with them. If an individual, because a railway runs through his property, should assume to interfere with its operation, it would be trespass upon the rights of the State. For a State, by legislation or otherwise, to obstruct a national highway, should be none the less trespass upon the rights of the people.



There is no feature of this difficult problem more important than the relations of the States to the railways; the power which the States possess, and which some of them too frequently abuse, to affect the value of railway property. When a State cripples the railways within its boundaries or robs them of earnings, to permit the wrong to continue, upon the theory that it will one day work its own remedy, is an unspeakable outrage upon a most valuable and important interest. The rights of ownership in railway property are as sacred, and should be as sacredly protected, as rights of ownership in land or other property. And when there comes a difference or a contest between the people of a State and the owners of railroads in it, the owners being non-residents and without voice in the State to defend their rights, adjudication of the matter should not be with the State, but there should be intervention by a third and disinterested party for the protection of both parties to the contest, and the prevention of injustice to either. The only party equal to the demands of such a case is the national government.

We exult in the freedom of our government and are very sorry for those who suffer the despotism of Russia, but it may be questioned whether what goes on in Russia presents a parallel to what we sometimes witness here. Take, for instance, one of the States referred to. Its railways have cost hundreds of millions. The people whose money is invested in them might as well, so far as protection of their interest is concerned, be residents of a foreign country. Their property is completely and entirely at the mercy of three irresponsible parties, who, by reason of a political "pull," chance to be railway commissioners, and who, having nothing at stake in the matter, neither know nor care for the owners of the railways. Instead of constituting an impartial tribunal, the commissioners represent the State as against the roads, and their business is to secure for their constituents the service of the railways at the least possible cost. By the dash of a pen, and in the twinkling of an eye, these puissant commissioners deprive the railway property, which has cost so much, of its earning power, and cut millions from its value. The owners of the property appeal to the courts, and the Governor blandly remarks that such a course on the part of the owners is unwise, because if the



courts interfere with the action of the commissioners, he will carry the matter to the legislature, and then the owners will regret their action. To call this sort of thing "government by the people," when those who have most at stake have no say in the matter, is certainly wide of the mark.

At the bottom of this trouble between States and railways is a feeling, undeniably general in agricultural sections, that men are entitled to transportation as they are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that any charge for it is a tribute which they ought to evade if possible. They don't begrudge any other interest fair return on capital and labor invested, but when it comes to transportation they hold that the lower the rates for it are forced, the nearer is the solution of the railway problem. Unfortunately this view is to a great extent encouraged by the press,\* and pandered to by politicians.

Waiving consideration of the importance of railways and their right to a fair return upon capital and labor invested, and recognizing how vital to every interest is cheap transportation, the assertion is made that there is such a thing as transportation being too cheap. That is to say, there is a point of cheapness for it beyond which further cheapness affords no appreciable benefit to any interest, certainly no benefit in any way commensurate with the wrong it works to owners of railway property, whose interest is entitled to just as much consideration as any other; and for that reason neither competition nor legislation should be permitted to force traffic rates to a point at which, while doing positive good to none, they cause loss to many.

The suggestion of national control is almost invariably met by a question as to the advisability of governmental interference with private interests. If a railway is a private interest, then neither the State nor the national government has any business to meddle with it. A saw-mill is a private interest. It concerns nobody but its proprietors, and for the government to interfere with them in any of their rights would be unwarrantable and in-

\* A Western paper in discussing the previous article said: "Harmony among railroads means co-operation between managers to rob the unorganized masses, the scheme being to get the greatest amount of money out of the public."



excusable. If a railway is like a saw-mill, then neither the State nor the national government should interfere with it; both should keep hands off. But a railway is not a private interest. According to Lord Chief Justice Coleridge of England, "a railway is a public trust charged with remuneration for private capital invested"; and being a public trust, it is the sacred duty of the government to surround it with every possible safeguard, guarantee, and restriction, in order to secure its safe, honest, and most advantageous administration. For the government not to do so, is worse than a mistake; it is a crime.

Another objection urged against the suggested reform, is the dread which exists in the minds of so many as to the danger of centralization. How can there be centralization in a government like ours, "of the people, by the people, and for the people"? In the language of a distinguished jurist, "the national government is nothing but the people." They are the sovereign, and presidents and congressmen are their creatures. If we had a governing class, if men were presidents, or senators, or judges by virtue of birth, then there might be danger in centralization. But if the people are sufficiently intelligent to govern themselves, they will never create a government to destroy their liberties. And they will always be just as able to protect their rights in the general government as in the States.

But discussion of centralization is not germane to the subject, for the reason that an argument in favor of national control cannot be construed as endorsement of or apology for it. On the contrary, centralization means taking power from many and concentrating it in the hands of few. National control would take power from few and put it into the hands of many; would take from railway managers the power which they now have and so frequently abuse, to the detriment of their stockholders and the country at large, and would lodge it with the people.

With national control the everlasting "trouble among the roads" would come to an end, and the system would work smoothly and noiselessly for the welfare of every interest in the country. Confidence would take the place of distrust, and the money of every people on the globe would pour in upon us for investment in our railway securities, as the people of every



nationality now pour in upon us to make their homes on our broad prairies. Foreigners have faith enough in some of our railway stocks to-day to buy them at prices which yield less than four per cent. per annum. National control would inspire such confidence abroad in the securities of all our roads that they would all be greedily absorbed by foreign capital on the same basis of return. Our great and growing railway interest would afford investment for the surplus capital of the world.

As the Constitution was framed half a century before a mile of track was laid in the country, of course it is useless to seek in that instrument for special provision as to national control. But the absence of such provision argues nothing against the suggested reform. On the contrary, it only shows that the framers of the Constitution knew nothing about railways nor dreamed of what was to come. If they could have looked a hundred years ahead, if they could have foreseen our great railway interest and the endless defects and abuses incident to it by reason of State control, they would undoubtedly have provided for its control by the general government. The drift of what their purpose was, is certainly evident in the paragraphs conferring upon Congress power "to regulate commerce among the several States" and "to establish post roads."

In the absence of special provision bearing upon the matter, there is difference of opinion among those who are "learned in the law" as to the best way to the "consummation so devoutly to be wished." There are those who think the Inter-state Commerce Act may be so amended and enlarged as to confer upon the government complete control of railway affairs; others assert that a constitutional amendment must be had before the government can take steps in the matter; while some believe that the government is not only without power now, but that a constitutional amendment would convey none as to existing roads, for the reason that as to them it would be *ex post facto*; that the government never can do more than offer the privileges of national charters to such of the roads as may choose to avail themselves of them. But if national control would be for the country's best interest, there surely must be some way to secure it. Neither the Constitution nor State laws should stand in the way. They were



made for the people, not the people for them; and when they operate to prevent what would be for the people's good, they fail of the purpose for which they were created, and there should be no hesitation in making them conform, by alteration and amendment, with the public need.

Our railway interest is the greatest on the globe. It ought to be a source of pride; but how deplorable its condition. By reason of over-capitalization, unnecessary competition, oppressive legislation, dishonest financiering, and reckless management, it drifts like an overloaded and water-logged ship, helpless, in the trough of the financial sea. With the rolling of the waves it may lift a little at times, but it may well be feared that after every lift it will settle still lower. Indeed, granting continuance and spread of existing conditions, the time may be nearer at hand than we suspect when few if any of our railways will pay interest on their stocks. Is such a suggestion absurd? Only a few years ago a foreign syndicate invested thirty millions of dollars in what was very properly considered our best and safest railway stock, upon expectation of eight per cent. dividends; what would then have been thought of a suggestion that it would not be long before the buyers of that stock would be very glad to receive dividends at the rate of four per cent. per annum, instead of eight?

FREDERIC TAYLOR.



## WHAT SHALL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TEACH ?

TEN years ago an opportunity was offered me to go abroad on a kind of educational mission. The late Dr. J. G. Holland, editor of the old "Scribner's Monthly," the predecessor of the "Century," asked me to write a series of articles for his magazine on European universities. The subject was one of peculiar interest to me, and one with which I was familiar. But I soon discovered that to render an account of a university—of its government, policy, and methods of teaching—is a task which requires extensive preparatory studies. In a country like Germany, where the whole system, from the lowest to the highest, is coherently and carefully graded in accordance with psychological principles, each year's work being based upon and proportioned to that which precedes it, the study of any one branch of public instruction leads, of necessity, to the study of all branches. The general excellence of the university teaching may be superficially appreciated, but it will not be understood without acquaintance with the intermediate instruction, and the intermediate instruction is but a further progressive development of the work of the primary instruction. It is all organically coherent. Although not by any means perfect, it is the result of long and watchful experience and of a painstaking and conscientious endeavor to conform to the laws of psychological development in the child.

I was very forcibly impressed with this fact during my residence in Berlin, where I obtained permission to attend the recitations in various gymnasiums. Our methods appeared slipshod when compared with the methods of these thorough and serious Teutons. Everywhere a spirit of progress was perceptible; but nowhere so strikingly as in the primary classes. The tendency to make learning hard and tedious, and to impose unnecessary and tyrannical discipline, which characterized my own scholastic experience, has left many traces in the advanced classes; but the elementary instruction was delightfully adapted to the intelligence of young children, and so entertaining as to make one regret



that his own school-days were over. Every legitimate means was employed to impress the senses; stereopticon views, plaster casts, pictures, and other kinds of simple apparatus were displayed. The children were made to co-operate with the teacher, and they were compelled to use their own understanding; all mechanical memorizing was carefully avoided.

After my return home the contrast between the German methods and those employed in our own schools became glaringly apparent. With all due regard for what we have accomplished in education, it seemed impossible to avoid the conclusion that we had not kept pace with the times. Go into one of our public schools, and how perfunctory, how mechanical the teaching usually appears. There are instances, of course, of teachers whose personality imparts life and interest to the instruction; but even in such cases the methods are antiquated; the apparatus of instruction is the same as we used in our own childhood; and very little effort, as far as I have been able to detect, has been made to take advantage of the progress of pedagogic science in foreign lands. I do not contend, of course, that everything that is new is *ipso facto* excellent. The excellence of any system of instruction, whether foreign or native, is relative and depends upon what it aims to accomplish. In the United States, it is claimed, we do not desire to develop the type of man which the thinly-veiled despotism of the Hohenzollerns requires, and the system which was devised to train subjects for the service of a military state, would therefore be ill-adapted for a republic.

But granting all this, it does by no means follow that we can learn nothing from German experience. It is the substance of what is taught rather than the method of teaching which molds the minds of children and makes them republicans or royalists. The bias given to the mind in early childhood by teaching and environment, largely determines the political sentiments of youth and manhood. There is nothing inherently unrepblican in object-lessons, any more than there is in the old-fashioned method which they are displacing. The human mind is in its structure and character essentially the same everywhere, and the best method of imparting knowledge to a German child is apt to be the best method of developing the intellect of an American child.



I have found it necessary to preface my remarks on the public schools with this argument, which may to many seem superfluous, because whenever I have orally discussed the subject I have been met with this objection, that German methods of teaching were royalistic, and utterly unfit for adoption in American schools. A careful study of the German system of instruction failed to reveal to me any such tendency; and I may add that I did not begin my investigation with any prejudice in its favor. I was at that time a firm believer in the excellence of everything American, and was convinced that our public schools were our chief glory, and immeasurably superior to those of any other country. If I have been shaken in this belief, it is chiefly because during the last twenty years we have been standing still, while Germany and France have been progressing. We have been so well satisfied with what we have, that we have seen no need of improvement. The result has been that we have been outstripped by the Gauls and the Teutons, and what was, no doubt, half a century ago, the best school system in the world, is to-day antiquated and ill-adapted for the work which it undertakes to accomplish. The world is perpetually moving; valuable ideas on vital subjects are perpetually being advanced and discussed; valuable experiments are being made and valuable results attained. Now, who will claim that those who have charge of our public schools regard it as part of their duty to keep up with pedagogic science as it is represented in the best foreign periodicals? I have known a dozen or more principals and superintendents of schools, but scarcely one of them has the faintest acquaintance with the discussions which have, during the last quarter of a century, replaced the wooden and mechanical teaching of the past with more vital and useful methods. A certain intellectual provincialism, which is extremely prevalent in the class of men from which school teachers are usually taken, inclines them to look with distrust, if not with contempt, upon the literature of all foreign countries except that of England. The Germans are dismissed as being unpractical, the French as being flighty or immoral; and of course it would be absurd to study the mental effusions of nations which are afflicted with such grave defects. In consequence of this attitude on the part of the men charged with the



welfare of the schools, a general stagnation has set in; and we witness to-day, without laughing, the tragi-comedy of a superintendent of instruction, whose fitness for his position is to be tested, walking into the presence of his judges with legal counsel, and submitting to the latter whether or not he ought to answer the questions designed to ascertain his own mental caliber and capacity. Was there ever a more absurd incident in the history of education? And what is still more remarkable, the great majority of the public view the affair as simply a personal quarrel in which their own interest is very remote; and half the press take sides against the excellent and conscientious woman who, in her official capacity, sacrificed her personal comfort and interest to her sense of duty to the public.

I expect to meet with much opposition when I declare my conviction that our public-school system will sooner or later have to be radically remodeled. It is an academic system—a university curriculum on a restricted scale—similar in kind, differing only in degree. The culture which it imparts is academic, and has but small reference to the life which the great majority of the pupils will have to lead. It kindles an ambition in them which, in nine cases out of ten, is destined to be disappointed, and engenders, as a consequence, discontent and disaffection toward the state which fails to satisfy the expectations it has aided in arousing. “All of you, boys,” I once heard a principal of a public school say to his pupils on Commencement Day, “have as good a chance of becoming presidents of the United States as Abraham Lincoln or Ulysses S. Grant had, when he was of your age.” Apart from the fact that it was an absolute falsehood, it seemed to me incredible that a man charged with the welfare of those boys could assume the responsibility involved in such a declaration. How must life look to a man who, with the White House as the final goal of his endeavors, spends his days in dreary toil, making shoes, measuring ribbons, doing chores, or sawing wood? Of course, the majority of the boys who were encouraged to aim so high, scarcely took the advice seriously; but for all that, it influenced them insensibly, stimulating an overweening sense of their importance, and creating a discrepancy between the actuality of existence, as it daily encountered them,



and the aspirations which they felt justified in vaguely indulging. To those of them who were exceptionally endowed, this discontent may have been a stimulus to efforts which, in time, may have lifted them out of their original sphere of life, and much increased their usefulness to themselves and society; but in a far greater number of cases an ambition which is out of all proportion to a man's ability is unsettling in its effect, tending to swell a class already too numerous among us, the existence of which I regard as a menacing phenomenon. I refer to the class which, without fulfilling any useful function, lives by speculation, by betting on races, and by political work of an unavowed kind. These men, disdaining to toil with their hands, impatient of the slow rewards of agricultural labor, flock to the large cities and earn a precarious livelihood by all sorts of ventures. This so-called sporting community, the numbers of which seem to be constantly on the increase, constitutes the obverse side of the prosperity and enterprise of the self-made man. The same spirit which produces the one produces also the other. The failures of the one and the successes of the other are the results of the same ambition; but for every one success, the noise of which resounds through the land, there are a hundred unrecorded failures. And these failures constitute a disorganizing force in society, which counteracts the organizing and integrating power of legitimate enterprise. They hinder social and political development; they retard reform, and often annul the effect of salutary laws.

Now the question will occur to many: Is it fair to hold the public schools responsible for these phenomena? Is not a large proportion of humanity predestined to failure? Has any system of education been devised which unerringly leads to success? To these questions I shall give the most careful consideration. I answer the last one unhesitatingly in the negative. There are failures, there always must be failures, however excellent the system of education, because a large number of children are constantly born who are ill-adapted to their environment. But one of the objects of education is to minimize the effect of this imperfect adaptation and thereby minimize the number of failures. The number of children who are absolutely unfit for any kind of honorable activity is happily very small. An overwhelming ma-



jority would make useful men and women, in more or less limited spheres, if they were trained to meet and cope with actual conditions—if they were fitted by education for the life which, in all likelihood, they will have to lead. The educational system should be adapted to the average intellect, and take no account of exceptions. It should aim first to inculcate that which is useful, instead of aspiring to impart accomplishments which foster tastes and habits uncongenial to the actual environment of the children. The kind of teaching which the public schools now furnish (beyond reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic) is calculated to make the pupil ill at ease in any position requiring physical labor. He has been taught that there need be no limit to his ambition; that it is the glorious privilege of every American to aspire to anything under the sun, and that fortune and power are within the reach of every son of the Republic. I have myself heard many discourses of which this was the gist; and the selections in the various school-readers bear testimony to the same spirit. I do not, of necessity, reprobate this spirit; although I think that as a predominant and uniform tendency it is unwholesome. It is of more importance to impress a child with his duty toward God and man than with God's and man's duty toward him. It is better to inspire him with a sense of the dignity of honest toil, even in the humblest sphere, than to stimulate his ambition for the presidency of the United States. A man's dignity depends upon his character and his usefulness to his fellow-men, rather than upon the country where he was born, and although patriotism is a noble sentiment, it should be made to foster personal worth for one's country's sake, rather than empty boasting and an overweening self-esteem.

There was, perhaps, a time in the history of our country when the *mélange* of general accomplishments of which the curriculum of the public school is made up, could be imparted to all children with less disastrous results than at present. As long as the Republic was new, and the vastness of its unoccupied domain opened an enormous field of action to every citizen, a well-endowed native American had an excellent chance of gaining independence and fortune. Twenty years ago there was very much wider elbow-room here than there is now; the competition for daily



bread was less severe, and a lower degree of ability sufficed to lift a man above the necessity of manual toil. Multitudes of hungry foreigners stood ready (as indeed they do yet) to take the part of helots in the business of this continent, so that the natives might rise upon their shoulders. It did not matter so much in those days if the public schools equipped a child beyond the requirements of his actual condition, because a fair proportion of the children would be aided by such an education to mount a few steps higher on the ladder of fortune. But what I contend is that the circumstances are greatly altered; and we can no longer, without serious detriment to society, proceed upon the supposition that every man was born to be a gentleman. Industrial education, which, without fitting a child for any definite trade, yet develops manual dexterity and respect for physical labor, must take the place of the academic education which we have hitherto imparted. Reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic equip a man for the ordinary business of life, and enable him (according to the degree of his native intelligence) to fulfill his civic duties. An outline of American history, communicated in familiar conversation with the teacher, might be added to this; and all the rest of the curriculum should be devoted to instruction in industrial branches. The boys should be taught the use of tools, and whatever natural dexterity they may have in handling them should be carefully developed. Industrial drawing, as an aid to carpentry and rudimentary cabinet-making, trains not only the hand, but the eye as well, and is of incalculable use in all mechanical occupations. Modeling in clay is another exercise which educates the senses and the taste, and stimulates intelligence of the kind of which a workman has need.

The present curriculum of the public schools takes little or no account of sex, and gives girls practically the same education as boys. I am aware that there is a large class of people who think this a great recommendation. But in an education which had utility in view, the distinction of sex could not be ignored. Girls, in the normal order of things, are destined to become wives and mothers; and I, for my part, can see no objection to their recognizing this destiny, and being educated to discharge the duties of that noble vocation with the highest possible efficiency.



That objectionable prudery which makes every allusion to future motherhood a tabooed subject between teacher and pupil, is responsible for a large fraction of the ills of society. I would have girls instructed in hygiene, the properties of food, the diet proper to infants, and, as far as possible, in all the practical branches which have the most direct bearing upon the life which they are to lead. It is of very small consequence whether they know decimal fractions and the boundaries or population of China; but it is of the utmost consequence that they should not waste the hard-earned money of their future husbands by an unintelligent household *régime*, and it is also of much importance that they should know how to take care of their children, how to escape avoidable disease by a rational diet and regard for sanitary laws.

I doubt if any one realizes the enormous waste of life and health which the ignorance of mothers entails upon society. A young mother, uninstructed in the subjects mentioned, is bound to experiment ruinously with her own health and that of her children, and gain experience at the cost of untold tears and suffering. Witnessing this common tragedy, I have not been able to restrain the reflection that we are lamentably failing in our duty to our girls, both rich and poor. We give them a stone instead of bread. We give them ornamental accomplishments, and we teach them to blush at the thought of the state for which God has destined them, instead of arming them with useful knowledge which would enable them to cope intelligently with the conditions they will surely encounter. What nobler office can the public schools fill than this? Even if the cost be doubled, the benefits accruing to the state from this kind of education would be many times multiplied. Instruction in the chemistry of cooking alone—a very simple and fascinating subject—would save the community, in the aggregate, ten times the amount of the increased taxation. Skill in the making of simple garments would save another item scarcely less considerable. The poor are wasteful from ignorance, and their ignorance in all practical subjects bearing upon their own lives is directly chargeable to our system of instruction.

The young daughter of a workingman who “graduates” from one of our high-schools to-day, is about as ill-equipped for the



business of the life which she is likely to lead as could well be imagined. She has learned just enough to become discontented with her lot; the studies she has pursued have insensibly produced a habit of thought which is and must be out of tune with her surroundings. She imagines herself too good to accept a well-paid position as a domestic servant, and aspires instead to become a teacher, an office assistant, or a saleswoman. The competition for places of this kind is already so great that the wages have been depressed to a point where they scarcely suffice to furnish the mere necessities of existence. The temptation is then great to increase the scanty revenue by illegitimate means; and I am told on good authority that the ranks of abandoned women in our great cities are largely recruited from these poor strugglers for an imaginary respectability.

I began this paper with an allusion to the educational system of Germany, and maintained that it is in advance of our own. The industrial system has by no means, as yet, been substituted for the academic; but industrial schools for the cultivation of mechanic arts are springing up all over the empire, and already exert a considerable influence in the way of enhancing the excellence and commercial value of German fabrics. The methods of teaching in the Fatherland are enlightened and efficient, and pedagogic science is constantly giving rise to earnest discussion and experiment, and engaging much of the foremost talent of the nation. I might also have cited France as an instance of a country which, during the last ten years, has made the most astonishing strides in industrial education. The recent report of Consul Schönhof to Secretary Bayard, which contains an abundance of interesting information on this subject, will readily convince any one who has doubts of the enormous practical and commercial significance of this educational revolution. It is merely a question of time when the American people will be ready to follow the example of Germany and France. But while we are waiting to be convinced, much precious energy is wasted, many thousand children who might be educated rationally are educated irrationally, and many thousand lives that might attain a moderate usefulness and contentment are doomed to futile aspiration and discontent.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.



## THE INCREASE OF THE ALCOHOL HABIT.

ALTHOUGH man from time immemorial has been addicted to the use, and too often to the abuse, of alcoholic beverages in some form, it is only of late that attention has been directed to the baneful effect of the alcohol habit on whole classes of society, and even on entire populations. Of the influence of these intoxicants on the individual we have abundant evidence from the days of Hippocrates down. It shows us that human nature has been much the same in all periods of historic time; excesses have been followed by their legitimate penalty, whether committed by the Roman senator in Falernian wine, or by the modern bricklayer in some unpalatable and unmentionable liquid fire. Of the bad remote effects of such excesses even antiquity had some knowledge; for a law of Carthage forbade to parents, on the day which is most critical in pre-natal history, the use of any other beverage than water. Sporadic attempts were made in many of the free towns of the Hanseatic league to limit the alcohol habit. The number of inns and other places where liquor was sold was restricted, and the adulteration of wines and beers was promptly and often cruelly punished. Sound as the policy thus inaugurated was in principle, it was adopted in too narrow a field to be enduring. It was left for the political economists, physicians, and humanitarians of the nineteenth century to systematize observation, to institute statistical inquiry, to analyze the direct and indirect causes, and to suggest remedies in this important matter.

The main directions in which alcoholism affects the health of the individual and of the race are two. The first relates to the generation guilty of excess, the second to the offspring.

It is an incontrovertible proposition that the increase of insanity in our large cities and industrial communities is due to two factors: the increase of parietic dementia and the increase of alcoholic insanity. Leaving out of consideration the fact that alcoholism is an important contributory factor of the former



disease, the figures showing the increase of the latter are sufficiently alarming. During a period of ten years, in which the population of Berlin increased six per cent., the proportion of cases of alcoholic delirium increased seventeen per cent. in the general hospital. In 1856 the percentage of the alcoholic insane in one of the French asylums (Ste. Anne) was 13.62; in 1862, after several variations, it had risen to 25.24, and it still continues rising. At the same institution, the proportion of male alcoholic insane in 1870 was 282 per thousand. In 1871, aggravated perhaps by the incidents of national defeat and communistic insurrection, it had risen to 315 per thousand. The total proportion of the insane in France who owed their insanity to alcohol in 1864 was a little over ten per hundred. In Germany it is to-day twelve per hundred. Lunier, the distinguished statistician to whom we owe many of these figures, also shows that where the consumption of alcoholic beverages has doubled *per capita* of the population, the alcoholic insane have increased in a similar ratio, the figure representing the proportion of male alcoholic insane doubling, and that representing the corresponding female class increasing two-fifths. A corresponding increase in the suicide ratio, which has a similar significance, is also observed. There were in France, in 1848, one hundred and forty-two suicides attributable to the excessive use of alcohol, and in 1868, without any great increase in the general population, there were four hundred and seventy-one.

The ancients drank, and drank to excess, but it would seem that, excepting the degenerate period of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, bacchanalian excesses were committed in connection with public festivals, associated with great and stirring emotions, or such as brought into play the gregarious instincts of the participants. They were committed in the open air, and the liquor drunk was the natural product of a natural process. Tobacco was unknown. All these facts tended to dissipate or neutralize those evil elements which to-day produce the worst phases of the alcoholic habit. Alcoholism among the ancients was therefore mainly or exclusively known in its acute phases; the drunken frenzy in which Alexander the Great killed Clitus being a familiar example. With the introduction of tobacco and playing cards, the



saloon, the cellar-dive, and the bar-room usurped the place formerly held by the inn. The enlargement of cities deprived their inhabitants of rustic sports, and led to their seeking in other and more dangerous channels an escape from mental and physical strain, and a variation of routine monotony.

It is generally conceded by those medical writers who are unshackled by prejudice, that a certain amount of alcohol can be ingested with perfect impunity. That amount has been accurately determined by Dujardin-Beaumetz in the course of experiments made in the abattoirs of Paris. Transferring the result of his experiments to the human species, he concluded that a man weighing one hundred and twenty pounds could take the equivalent of two ounces of alcohol a day for years without injury to any organ of the body. But when the amount taken daily exceeds the toleration point, prolonged abuse is followed by results which are as sinister as they are insidious. In the dead-house of the Philadelphia Hospital, Formad found that of two hundred and fifty chronic alcoholists nearly ninety per cent. had fatty degeneration of the liver, sixty per cent. had congestion or a dropsical state of the brain, the same proportion an inflamed or degenerated stomach, while not quite one per cent. had normal kidneys. So far as the bodily suffering, misery, and death represented in these figures are concerned, it might be urged that indulgence simply carries with it its own punishment, and that if the individual chooses to shorten his days by drinking it is no more a legitimate object of governmental concern than would be the indulgence by old maids in injuriously excessive amounts of tea or coffee. It is another question, however, whether the state, aside from its right to watch with a jealous eye the ravages of a habit which may convert the ordinarily quiet and peaceable citizen into a raving maniac, or which through its effect on a pilot, an engineer, or a brakeman may endanger hundreds of innocent and valuable lives, is not bound in self-protection to antagonize a vice which blights the offspring of mankind, and largely recruits the ranks of that weaker element in the community which includes the criminal and pauper classes, and which, in part, fills our asylums for the insane, the idiotic, and the deaf mute.

This is no random statement on a par with the glittering gen-



eralities that disfigure and weaken the arguments of prohibitionist writers. It is based on abundant statistics and confirmed by observations so numerous that the counter-allegation of accidental coincidence will not stand. Of seventeen children of drunken fathers observed by Voisin, three were idiots, two confirmed epileptics, one suffered from a congenital spinal disease, and the remainder died in early life with convulsions. Of eleven children similarly descended, cited by Dagonet, nine died in the same way. Of one hundred and seventeen such births recorded in Alsace-Lorraine, thirteen were still-born and thirty-nine died of convulsive disorders shortly after birth. One drunken father had seven still-born children in succession, another lost eight of twelve by convulsions. It is not alone as a direct result of inebriety that a defective nervous system is thus transmitted. Even in his sober intervals, he whose nervous system has been shattered by alcohol is liable to have a degenerate or diseased offspring. Of eighteen children recorded as born under these circumstances, Voisin found eight epileptic and ten idiotic. As if to prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that such degeneracy is due to the alcoholism of the parent and to that alone, two French investigators, Mairet and Combemale, performed a series of experiments on dogs, by which they showed that the same result which the chronic inebriate is accused of producing in his offspring, through selfish indulgence, can be produced at will in the offspring of lower animals by compulsory induction of the same vice in them. A dog was coupled with a drunkard partner. Of six pups born, three only were living, and these were all dull and stupid. One of them, when grown up, was in turn coupled with a healthy partner. Of the three grandchildren then born one had congenital disease of the spinal cord, one a deficiency of the heart and circulatory apparatus, and the third was an instance of generally arrested development. This experiment was duplicated and its general result confirmed. An analysis of the alcoholic habit in the department of Finisterre, where alcoholism is the curse of both sexes, showed that it produced weak-mindedness, idiocy, hydrocephalus, epilepsy, and criminality to an almost incredible extent. Fortunately for the community, the stock blighted by the curse of inebriety ultimately dies out. But often the malign influence extends through



three and four generations before becoming extinguished in sterility and death. A French physician, Goyard, assures us that the women employed in the nurseries and children's hospitals of his country, empirically recognize the children of alcoholic parentage by their emaciated, shrunken-faced appearance, and their continual crying. He notes that they are the first to succumb to epidemic and endemic diseases.

It would be, however, an error to assume that the alcohol habit is itself propagated by direct and exclusively hereditary influences. With the exception of that impulsive form of insanity known as dipsomania\* (erroneously confounded with inebriety), which is as apt to occur in the descendants of those who owe their nervous taint to other causes than alcohol, no cases of essential transmission of the alcohol habit are recorded. If such transmission really occurred, it would be reasonable to expect it to extend to the variety of liquor indulged in. The following are the facts which have led theorists to assume a transmission of the alcohol habit. The child of the drunkard is more apt than the child of sober parents to be weak-minded and prone to bad influences. He sees his parent drink, lives in the neighborhood of the same rum-shop, is compelled to purchase drink for his father when indolent or paralyzed by previous excesses, and eventually, misled by curiosity or by comrades, takes the first forbidden sip. In this way the vice is transmitted, not as a tangible bodily condition, but as a result of bad example and vicious association. It is also to be borne in mind that, contrary to what the laity suppose, a tolerance of alcoholic beverages is not transmitted by the immoderate drinker. His descendants do not bear excesses as well as the descendants of temperate parents, for he has mortgaged the resisting power of his offspring. That

\* To avoid misunderstanding it is well to remember that inebriety and dipsomania are only accidentally related. The inebriate is the chronic drunkard of every day observation. His vice is a mixture of indulgence and habit, and eventually he exhibits the disease signs collectively named "chronic alcoholism." The dipsomaniac has periodical outbreaks of an impulsive craving, which in the absence of liquor would be gratified by any other narcotic, or in the absence of narcotics would explode in some violent manifestation. If alcohol were banished from the face of the globe, inebriety were impossible, but there would still be dipsomaniacs.



inebriety when once established, whether in the original drunkard or in his descendants, tyrannizes the individual till he sinks its resistless victim, is significantly manifest in the records of the New York County Work-house. Of 1000 persons committed to that institution on the charge of being habitual drunkards, 936 had previously been thus committed from one to twenty-eight times. Even among the wealthier classes, as shown by the statistics of inebriate asylums and homes, at least two-thirds relapse after their alleged recovery.

This liability to relapse is the great difficulty encountered by those who attempt the reform and cure of the inebriate. It must be confessed that there is but one radical remedy, and that is the compulsory enforcement of total abstinence. The question arises, whether sober and industrious citizens, who are the overwhelming majority of the population, should be curtailed in anything that they regard as an enjoyment or a relaxation, because a minority, composed of weaker brethren, cannot be redeemed from a bad habit save at the expense of those who are neither directly nor indirectly responsible for their excesses. The further question would arise, whether much would be gained by curing the inebriate of one habit, and allowing him to contract another. It is charged that in prohibition States, like Maine, the use of opium and its various preparations shows a progressive increase. The writer knows a number of patients who plunged into excesses in tobacco or narcotic drugs after being checked in alcoholic indulgence, thus developing conditions fully as serious as those produced by alcohol, if more insidious and less explosive in their violence. The inebriate is a bruised reed, and will yield to other temptations when the channels leading to a resumption of his original vice are blocked up. The writer believes that no one who has familiarized himself with the medical as well as the social aspect of the question will seek a remedy in sudden revolutionary methods. The procedure of those who would, at one blow, destroy all breweries, distilleries, and vineyards reminds him of the quack who attempts the cure of the morphine *habitué* by the sudden withdrawal of the drug. This violent procedure sometimes succeeds, but always at the price of indescribable and needless suffering. What is true of such a case individually



considered, would be true of the whole community if the use of alcoholic stimulants were to be suddenly suppressed.

The remedy, so far as it lies in the hands of government, should operate more gradually and reasonably. Analytical chemists and experimental physiologists have demonstrated that the worst effects of alcoholic indulgence are attributable to spirituous liquors adulterated with cheaper but more damaging alcohols, some of which have been shown by exact experiment to be eight times as poisonous to the system as the alcohols resulting from natural fermentation. It has also been shown that alcoholic diseases have largely increased since what the French term "vinage" \* has been resorted to in the preparation of wines. Inasmuch as it is the liquors thus prepared that constitute the bulk of what the inebriate drinks, it would seem that two things were clearly pointed out to the social reformer. First, to urge government to supervise the manufacture of all alcoholic beverages, and to punish relentlessly those who resort to adulterations of an injurious character. Secondly, to favor the use of the products of natural fermentation as against the products of distillation. It is certain that for one inebriate who has become such through the use of beer, ale, or porter, there are three who have become so through the use of wine, and five hundred who owe their disease to brandy, rum, whiskey, and gin. Indeed, it is an exception to find any person committed to the work-house for habitual drunkenness who is not an indulger in one of the four last-named articles. I cannot recall a single case of alcoholic insanity due to the abuse of malt liquor alone, and very few which were due to wine as compared with those attributable to spirituous liquors. It is true that the phenomena of chronic alcoholism are in their severity proportionate to the amount of alcohol ingested, irrespective of the degree of dilution; but the danger of spirituous liquors lies in the fact that the smaller bulk of each drink invites frequent repetitions, and that its convenience of stowage enables it to act in greater toxic quantities and in briefer time than either vinous or malt liquors. There can be no question that the greater mass of alcoholic crime, pauperism, insanity, and inheritable degeneracy

\* The addition of alcohols, often of the cheaper and more dangerous kinds, to wines deficient in natural alcohol.



would be done away with if, by high taxation, rigid governmental supervision of distilleries, discriminating licenses operating so as to discourage the sale of spirituous liquors, the public were weaned and diverted from their use to the more harmless indulgence in wines and beers. It is true that even if mankind abandoned the former, and indulged only in the latter, all the evils of the alcohol habit would not be eradicated. But its ravages would involve a very small percentage of the population; they would not be as rapid, and rarely, if ever, as severe, as at present. The contrast so happily sketched by Hogarth in his cartoons "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane" is as true to-day as it was in his time, and he anticipated with his crayon, by more than a century, the conclusions of a committee of a society devoted to medical jurisprudence in New York City, in whose deliberations I was privileged to take part. That body essentially confirmed the propositions of the International Congress on Inebriety held in Paris in 1878; propositions which are becoming more and more definitely established in the discussion now being held before the French Academy, and whose adoption is imperative and urgent. With the present rate of increase of inebriety and resulting alcoholic insanity and degeneracy, the races which are the bearers of modern civilization will largely owe their degradation and extinction to it, and its inseparable concomitants.

E. C. SPITZKA.



# The Forum.

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OCTOBER, 1888.

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COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

THERE are men who make a deeper impression upon their contemporaries by the force or charm of their personality than by their genius or other gifts; and such a man is Count Leo Tolstoi, though his genius and his gifts are undeniable. He has written much and well; yet his extraordinary popularity, not only in Russia but in France, England, and other countries, cannot be accounted for only by the excellence of his writings. It is especially during the last few years that he has attracted an unusual amount of interest and attention, and this has been due in large measure to that revolution in his views, aims, and character to which the religious world gives the name of "conversion." Of this inward revolution he has, in various forms, published an account, and he has proved the depth of his sincerity by a total change in his manner of life. The realistic novelist has become a religious reformer. He now makes it his one aim to prove to the Christian world that, partly through ignorance, but more from insincerity, it has entirely mistaken the character and travestied the institutions of the faith which it professes to maintain.

To explain and justify the position which he now occupies, Count Tolstoi has published what may be called his "Confessions;" and a man who publishes a sincere autobiography is sure



of the world's attention. Nothing is so interesting as the heart of man. When in the midst of a very commonplace scene Terence introduced the famous line,

*"Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto,"*

the Roman people at once responded to the sentiment, and rose from their seats with a thunder of applause. The line of Pope,

*"The proper study of mankind is man,"*

at once became proverbial, because it gave epigrammatic form to a general conviction. One of the greatest of living poets, Mr. Robert Browning, has told us that he has taken for his lifelong subject "man's thoughts, fears, hates," and that he regards nothing as so supremely worth delineation as "the development of a soul's history." But to study mankind in the abstract is one thing, and to study human nature by self-introspection is quite another. Mr. Browning, while he takes the anatomy, and even at times the morbid anatomy, of the soul as the theme for his interpretation, contemptuously repudiates the notion that he is ever portraying himself. He shows us his shop-front, not the secrets of his house.

Rousseau begins his "Confessions" by saying: "*Je forme une entreprise qui n'eut jamais d'exemple et dont l'exécution n'aura point d'imitateur. Je veux montrer à mes semblables un homme dans toute la vérité de la nature; et cet homme, ce sera moi.*" He was mistaken in saying that his task was unexampled. Profound as is the gulf of difference which separates St. Augustine from Rousseau, yet the Carthaginian saint has laid bare his heart to the world as completely as the French sage. Those two confessions stand practically alone in literature. But it is certainly not good as a rule to wear one's heart upon one's sleeve for daws to peck at. Few would think it right to lay open the inmost secrets of their being. They do not think that the multitude can be edified by laying bare to the coarse general gaze the

*"Abysmal depths of personality"—*

the secrets of the microcosm, the inner chambers of that hallowed individuality where the soul is alone with God. The most distinctive parts of the confessions alike of St. Augustine and of



Rousseau have probably done more harm than good, and he who breaks down the holy barriers of dignity and reticence is violating a law which nature herself has beneficently imposed.

Yet the impulse which led to the publication of those books is far from rare. The individual man, if we can but see him as he really is, will ever be an object of intense curiosity to all his fellows. A sincere representation of human life can hardly fail to secure notice. If Count Tolstoi's books have appeared in edition after edition and translation after translation, the reason is because the world learns from him to see life as it is. He has studied mankind. He has photographed the society into which his circumstances have thrown him. He has revealed himself and the inmost workings of his own mind, alike in his novels and in his autobiographic revelations. And now, on the glaring stage of publicity, he has flung convention to the winds, has adopted that form of life which he regards as alone true to "Christ's Christianity," and laying aside the prerogatives of his rank, wealth, and fame, labors (we are told) among his own laborers, and lives as a poor man among the poor. He therefore makes an interesting and unusual figure in the literary and social history of the nineteenth century. So many-sided are the aspects of his activity that he might be called a Russian La Rochefoucauld, a Russian Rousseau, a Russian Zinzendorf, a Russian Flaubert; not that he in reality resembles any one of these characters, but that he presents certain affinities to them all.

Count Leo Nikolaiévitch Tolstoi was born at his maternal estate of Jasnaja Poljana, near Toula, in 1829, and is therefore fifty-nine years old. After a home education he went to the University of Kazan, and in 1843 entered the faculty of Eastern languages. He left the university after two years, but continued his studies at home until 1851, when he entered the army, went to the Caucasus with his brother, and began to write his earliest novels, "The Cossacks" and "Childhood and Youth." In 1853 he served under Prince Gortschakoff on the Danube, and subsequently took part in the defense of Sebastopol, which he has described in his "Sebastopol in December, in May, and in August." When the war was over he resigned his commission, and devoted himself to literary work, living on his estate in



summer, and at Moscow and St. Petersburg in winter, until 1861. He then became a magistrate, and retired into the country, devoting himself mainly to the education and improvement of the peasantry. In 1860 he wrote his "War and Peace," and in 1875-77 his "Anna Karenina." Since that time he has abandoned fiction, adopted a sort of communism, and occupied himself mainly with religious works.

In this paper I propose to speak first of his novels; then of his inner life; and lastly of his religious opinions.

I. His works may be broadly ranged under four classes: fiction, education, autobiography, and religion.

In fiction he occupies the remarkable position of being the founder of the realist school. That "naturalist" or "impressionist" literature which has dragged down such men as Zola and others into the very nadir of degradation, owes its impulse to the Russian count. The Vicomte de Vogüé admits that before the appearance of this school in France Tolstoi had been led by his own genius to photograph life in its most cruel realities, in its most fugitive *nuances*.\* It would, however, be grossly unjust to leave any reader under the impression that Tolstoi has sinned as the French writers have done against all morals and all taste, or has prostituted the name of art to the service of lubricity. He dwells on details which are often painful, but he is never impure, and with him the details are the accident not the end. They are due, in him, to an "implacable psychological observation." His "*micrographie acharnée*" is only an attempt to set forth life as it is, in all its natural surroundings, with exactitude and simplicity. He is not a stylist like Turgeneff. Style would add nothing to the pictures of life and society which he so faithfully portrays. "*L'idéal a cessé, le lyrique a tari*," says Ste. Beuve.† The aim of Tolstoi, and of the modern school in general, is to hold up the mirror to human nature, and to depict it with subtle observation alike in its outward features and its

\* "*Revue des deux Mondes*," Aug., 1882. Dostoiévsky shows the same characteristics.

† Quoted by Matthew Arnold in his paper on Tolstoi in the "Fortnightly Review" for Dec., 1887, one of the last contributions to literature of that distinguished and beautiful spirit.



most hidden motives. For this reason his best novels are not easy reading. They become fatiguing alike from the crowd of characters with which they are thronged, the episodic and inconsequential character of many of the scenes, and the manner in which the characters act independently, with no bearing upon each other except that loose external contact leading to nothing which we find also in life. Mr. Arnold instances the chapter in "Anna Karenina" in which Levine is hopelessly late for his wedding because his careless servant has omitted to bring his portmanteau. His clean linen is all packed up, and he cannot possibly be married before the *élite* of Moscow society in a dirty shirt. We naturally expect to find that the scene will lead to something. But it leads to nothing. It is simply a photograph of something which probably occurred in the experience of the novelist himself. There is an exactly analogous triviality in "War and Peace," where a young lady is dressing for a ball, and where, absolutely *à propos de rien*, Tolstoi stops to give us the grave piece of information that at the last moment a tuck has to be run into the young lady's dress. To write thus is truly to paint life in the style of Teniers or of Quentin Matsys.

Tolstoi's best work is undoubtedly the novel just mentioned, "Anna Karenina." It is a picture of Russian life, terrible in the merciless fidelity of its realistic coloring, and interesting in its study of various characters. The story mainly turns upon the married life of Dolly and Stiva; the courtship and married life of Kitty and Levine; and the married life of Anna and Alexis, broken by her illicit union with Wronsky. Never was married life, in its petty details, trials, and tragedies subject to a more microscopic gaze. Stiva is a sort of Tito Melema; he is a Russian prince, handsome, healthy, smiling, impetuous, intensely sensuous and egotistical, fond of good wine and good dinners, and never rising above the impulses of a genial selfishness. At the opening of the story we see the tranquil happiness of his wedded life in peril of total shipwreck from the discovery of his intrigue with the governess of his children. From this disaster he is saved by the fine tact of his lovely sister Anna Karenina, who, with inimitable grace and skill, brings about a reconciliation between him and his injured wife. His



wife is the perfect type of a tried and toiling woman; the simple, honest, and loving Dolly. Kitty, who is Dolly's sister, is on the eve of being engaged to the handsome guardsman, Count Wronsky, but Anna meets him first at a railway station and then at a ball, and the two fall hopelessly in love with each other. Anna's husband, Alexis, is a worthy but disagreeable and pedantic official, much older than herself, whose habits are tiresome, and whose formal, unemotional temperament entirely fails to satisfy the warm heart and richly endowed nature of Anna. Hardly trying to resist her passion for Wronsky, who is entirely devoted to her, she is swept away by the stream, until at last she ends in guilt, which it becomes impossible to conceal. Her husband, ostensibly from high Christian motives, inflicts on her no punishment beyond absolute separation from her lover. She is brought by illness to the verge of the grave, and as she lies on what she believes to be her deathbed, she brings about a reconciliation between Alexis and her lover, who in shame and remorse returns home, and makes an attempt at suicide. But Anna recovers from her illness, and Wronsky from his wound. Her affection for her husband, renewed for a time by his noble and forgiving conduct at one supreme moment, yields to slow and growing repugnance. He is formal and exasperating, and possesses as little as herself the secret of duty which may smooth down the agony which must otherwise result from the incompatibility of temperaments in an ill-assorted marriage. In the despair of a nature which cannot exist without love and sympathy, she leaves him to live with Wronsky. Then we see the long, slow agony of this unhallowed union; not only the loss of position, the shame of necessary isolation, the coldness of society, and the separation from her beloved little son, but much more the tortures of jealousy and irritability, the impossibility that the man should sacrifice so completely as the woman does the ordinary pursuits and interests of life, the blight which falls over both careers, the certain and terrible Nemesis of violated laws. The long misery and misunderstanding of Anna end in her committing suicide by flinging herself before a passing train. In this picture, which is painted with consummate fidelity, lies the chief moral of the story: and rarely has there been a more powerful illustra-



tion of the thesis of the book of wisdom, "Wherewithal a man sinneth, therewith also shall he be punished."

I have already warned the reader against the supposition that this tale of

"a crime

Of sense, avenged by sense that wore with time,"

resembles in any respect the immoral romances with which France has become so fatally familiar. The story in one of its main currents deals with adultery and its consequences, but it deals with them in no unholy spirit. The tale is told not because the author loves to dwell on what is impure and painful, but because he desires to give an awful and lurid warning, and to show that this warning is founded on the inevitable certainty of natural laws. "Much in 'Anna Karenina' is painful," says Mr. Arnold, "much is unpleasant, but nothing is of a nature to trouble the senses, or to please those who wish their senses troubled. This taint is wholly absent."

Side by side with this story we have that of Kitty and Levine. Kitty at first refuses the unconventional and somewhat vacillating young man, but after she has recovered from the illness caused by Wronsky's desertion of her, she learns to love him and feel his worth. They marry, and though Levine is crotchety, unsettled, and in many respects a trying husband, and though they have serious quarrels and misunderstandings, they are yet very happy. Of Levine I will say no more, because the autobiographic sketches of Tolstoi show us that Levine is practically a picture of himself.

Some may prefer "War and Peace" to "Anna Karenina." It is undeniably a very great work, though there can be no readers who do not suffer from the intolerable tedium of its crowded confusion and otiose minuteness. They must not, however, complain of this "tangle of emotions and hurried transcript of incidents," in which there is no concentration; for the very desultoriness and irrelevant detail of the book belong to the inmost idea of the writer. His apparent purposelessness is part of his purpose. We find in his pages what we find in the living world, and he leaves us with ineffaceable impressions of the horror, haphazard, and futility of war, and of the thrice-redoubled vanity of



a life which is not illuminated from within by the light of the unseen. The book was written at a stage of the author's experience in which human existence seemed little better than a tomb in which no lamp was lit.

Before we proceed to the later works, we may see in two of his smaller romances a specimen of his methods.

One of these is the "Death of Ivan Ilüch." Tolstoi is apparently fond of studying the grim phenomena of the deathbed, and so of going to the very verge of that awful abyss which no man knows. In "Anna Karenina" he has given us in elaborate detail the death of Nicolas Levine, and in "War and Peace" the death of Prince André. Ilüch is a very different personage. He is a *bourgeois*, without moral and without ideal, caring only for the money and vulgar comforts which life can bring. In this elaborately detailed sketch we see the hypocritic egotism of his three bosom friends, who cannot be induced even by the near presence of death to give up their game at cards, and the vulgar self-absorption of his commonplace widow. The faithful attentions of his peasant nurse, Guérassim, are the only redeeming feature in this very realistic journey to the edge of the Unknown.

Another instantaneous photograph (if I may use the expression) of life, not this time among the wealthy Russian princes of the capitals, or the *bourgeois* of the humbler towns, is the little story entitled "A Poor Devil." The hero is a drunken country peasant named Polikei. He so far conquers his temptations to drink and to dishonesty as to bring back to his mistress, from the bank in the neighboring town, a sum of four hundred and sixty-two rubles. But unhappily the rough cap in which he puts the money for safety has a hole in it; the money drops out upon the road, and when he returns he is so horror-stricken at the mishap, and at the suspicions which it affixes to his character, that he at once goes into the garret and hangs himself. Incidentally the little tale is remarkable for the manner in which it illustrates the misery caused by peasant conscription, and for its vivid description of the mode of life among the lowest serfs of a Russian estate.

We cannot leave these novels without noting the predominantly gray and dismal coloring of all Russian romance. Tolstoi's



later convictions have led him to abandon the pride of nationality, but he has been unable to resist the influences of the *Zeitgeist*, and is inevitably, in both the great phases of his life, a child of his nation and his age. "Pessimism," says another Russian writer, N. Tsakin, "is a characteristic feature of all those epochs of history in which the mass of human suffering is at a maximum, and moral aspirations are entirely out of harmony with social conditions. Involved in an unequal conflict with their surroundings, men come to regard life as a terrible burden, and seek refuge in suicide, or in strange, mystical, and extravagant theories of society." Russia is now passing through such a period, and it is the resultant pessimism and poetic melancholy which have attracted so much interest in Europe during the past few years. Turgeneff has been described as a man with "a great grey face, sad and weary alike of the world's folly and wisdom. A man in whose face you read "Russian" at the first glance, *enfin, l'homme de ses œuvres*." If Tolstoi in his novels shows the impress of the intolerable weariness which weighs upon the upper classes in Russia, in his later developments he shows the result of the same influences which have led to the existence of such sects as the "Christi," the "Skopsty," the "Negators," the Prigoony, the followers of Khodkine, of Colonel Doobowitz, and of Michael Popof. His views may differ from theirs as the views of a good and able man differ from those of monstrous fanatics, but they illustrate the unhealthy ferment of society, and are founded no less on strange misinterpretations and one-sided appeals.

II. Tolstoi has long been interested in education. When, in 1861, he became a country magistrate, he founded peasant schools at Jasnaja Poljana. His "Alphabet" and his "Reading Primers," drawn up for these schools, have become widely popular in Russia. He also founded an educational magazine, to which he contributed articles based on personal observation of the little *monjiks* (peasants). We have the description of Jasnaja Poljana from the pen of its founder, and it must be confessed that it is based on very *doctrinaire* principles. Tolstoi thinks that a school has no right to interfere in education, which is a purely family affair; that it has no right either to punish or to reward; that its



best police and administration consist in leaving to the pupils absolute liberty to learn and arrange among themselves as they think best! The result of acting upon these impossible theories seems to be, in many instances, to create a perfect bear-garden. The information which has been given to the world about the workings of the school may be insufficient, but it is not likely to encourage practical teachers to imitate the model set before them.

III. But it is time to turn to Tolstoi's autobiographic works, which have been widely circulated in manuscript, but were not allowed to be published in Russian. They have been translated into French under the titles "*Ma Confession*," "*Ma Religion*," and "*Que Faire?*" and the substance of them has been published in English under the title of "Christ's Christianity."

In the first of these works he tells us how he came to believe. He was left an orphan at an early age, and was brought up mainly by an aunt. Up to the age of twelve he had given a traditional assent to the faith of the Orthodox Greek Church; but one day a boy from school, coming to spend the Sunday with him and his elder brothers, announced it as the latest discovery of his gymnasium that there was no God, and that everything taught them on the subject of religion was an imposture. Demetry, his eldest brother, then at the university, lived the life of a strict Pietist, but the other brothers adopted the unbelief which, under external conformity, is all but universal among youths of the upper classes in France and Russia. The young Tolstoi read Voltaire, and began to regard religion as a mere form, especially because he observed no difference of essential character between believers and unbelievers, and was never practically reminded of the fact that he was a member of the Orthodox Church. A faith accepted on trust, and upheld by authority, but unsupported by the cogent evidence of living example, gradually faded out of his mind. It was a house of cards, which collapsed at a touch, and the only difference between him and others was that his skepticism was more conscious, though he still supposed himself to believe in a God, and to accept (or not to deny) an undefinable something which he called the teaching of Christ. But even his belief in a possibility of perfection soon gave way before a desire for earthly success. He yielded to his passions because all efforts



after virtue were derided, whereas even his aunt taught him, as Lord Chesterfield had the infamy to teach his son, "*Rien ne forme un jeune homme comme une liaison avec une femme comme il faut.*" Her one desire was to see him marry a rich bride, and become an adjutant to the emperor. He says:

"I cannot now recall those years without painful feelings of horror and loathing. I put men to death in war, I fought duels, I lost at cards, wasted my substance wrung from the sweat of peasants, punished the latter cruelly, rioted with loose women, and deceived men. Lying, robbery, adultery of all kinds, drunkenness, violence, and murder all committed by me, not one crime omitted, and yet I was not the less considered by my equals as a comparatively moral man!"

It is perhaps necessary to warn the reader that he must not take this confession quite *au pied de la lettre*. St. Augustine, Bunyan, Whitfield, and others have after their conversion used, respecting their past selves, a violence of language which must not be understood from the point of view adopted by the ordinary man of the world.

He became an author (I follow his own narrative) out of pride and love of gain; succeeded, and was flattered; and finding that his fellow writers, while proposing to be teachers of mankind, contented themselves with a life of dissipation and worldliness, he did the same. But before three years were over he was completely disillusioned by the hollowness of the pretensions which had at first attracted him. He continued, however, to live the blind life of vanity and egotism for six years longer. He still believed vaguely in progress, but the belief was shaken partly by the sight of an execution in Paris, partly by the early death of his brother; and although he found some satisfaction in his schools and his newspaper, they involved him in difficulties, and he was forced into the conviction that he was trying to teach without knowing how or what. After an illness from which he recovered by a visit to the steppes, he married, and for fifteen years was absorbed by the cares and duties of family life, which led him away from the search as to what life meant as a whole. He only aimed at personal and family happiness, and taught the same in his novels, obtaining, he says, "an enormous pecuniary reward and great applause for valueless work."



But gradually a sort of torpor grew on him, a perplexity and stoppage of life, which perpetually menaced him with the two questions, "Why?" and "What after?" He tried in vain to get rid of those questions by treating them as childish; but more and more he felt that his life was no life. Though he was strong, healthy, rich, famous, increasingly prosperous, and blessed with good children and a loving wife, the thought of death forced itself upon him with terrible persistence; art lost all charm for him; learning had no solution to offer for the problems by which he was tormented; the thought of suicide constantly haunted him as the only escape from the *ennui* and purposelessness of even so prosperous a lot as his. The theories of development and materialism became senseless to him. He went through the same experiences as Solomon and Sakya Muni and Schopenhauer, and was as much disgusted as those mighty predecessors with the ignorance, the self-indulgence, and the stolid indifference which inevitably and on every side confront the sensuous life which is not founded on a sense of the Unseen.

Levine, in "Anna Karenina," is first delivered from a similar agony and disquietude by the answer of a peasant to the question, "Why is one farmer more humane than another?" "Men are not all alike," said the peasant; "one man lives for his belly, like Mitiovuck, another for his soul, for God, like old Plato."\* "What do you call living for his soul, for God?" asks Levine. "It's quite simple," answered the peasant; "living by the rule of God, of the truth." Levine made no reply, but the phrase rang in his heart, and impressed him with the conviction that the one thing worth living for is to be good.

It was even so that Tolstoi's deliverance came. He found no real faith, and often an avowed unbelief, among the learned, the wealthy, and the noble, and therewith a concomitant misery. He found pure conventionalism among the religious classes, and with all their unnecessary and unreasonable doctrines, he saw no difference between his own life and theirs. But he found true faith in all its simplicity as a force of life among the unlearned and the poor. Experience had taught him that the intellectual and scientific life of the cultivated classes was not real life, but

\* Plato is a common name, it is said, among Russian peasants.



only an epicurean consolation. Among the people, on the other hand, he found that faith, even though mixed with superstitions, gave them resignation and peace. In the huts where poor men lie, there was none of the morbid egotism which he detested in himself and in the society with which he was familiar. "The *moujik* acts instinctively, as if he were alone in the universe, and has no introspection." He began to see that if life had seemed to him like a shameful injury, death an evil joke, and suicide a haunting temptation, it was not because he had thought incorrectly, but because he had lived ill. He learnt that "to know God and to live are one. God is life."

He renounced the life of his own class as being only a semblance and a shadow, and he adopted the simple life of the working classes. But the creeds, the liturgies, and the ritual of the Orthodox Church failed to satisfy him, and specially because they involved the spirit of self-satisfaction and intolerance. He ceased to conform to the church. Confirmed by a dream which once more brought home to him the awfulness of life and death, he endeavored to disentangle the false from the true.

IV. The history of that search is contained in the book, "What I believe." For fifteen years he had been a child, for thirty-five a man, without religious belief. In the book just published, which was written in 1884, he says:

"Five years ago I began to believe in the teaching of Christ, and my life was suddenly changed. I ceased to care for that which I had previously desired, and began to long for that which I had not cared for. What had formerly seemed to me good seemed bad, and what had seemed bad seemed good. It happened to me as it might happen to a man who, having left his home on business, should suddenly find the business to be unnecessary, and go home again. All this came from my understanding the teaching of Christ otherwise than I had formerly understood it. . . . Christ has spoken to all the millions of the simple. I believed and was saved."

The full history of the grounds of this change is reserved for two works on which Count Tolstoi has long been occupied: a criticism of dogmatic theology, and a new harmony of the four gospels. Love, humility, self-abasement, self-sacrifice, the return of good for evil, and not the dogmatic statements or outward ceremonies of the church, had always seemed to him the things



essentially vital in Christianity. The church, he thought, while nominally accepting these principles, has weakened and undermined them. She has substituted the obscurest dogmas for Christ's most categorical rules, which rules she has entirely explained away. After repeated search, the central principle of all Christ's teaching seemed to him to be, "Resist not evil," or "him that is evil." He came to the conclusion that a coarse deceit had been palmed upon the world when these words were held by civil society to be compatible with war, courts of justice, capital punishment, divorce, oaths, national prejudice, and indeed with most of the institutions of civil and social life. He now believes that the kingdom of God would come if all men kept these five commandments, which he holds to be the pith of all Christ's teaching, *viz*: 1. Live in peace with all men. 2. Be pure. 3. Take no oaths. 4. Never resist evil. 5. Renounce national distinctions. He believes that the faith which overcomes the world is faith in the teaching of Christ; that on this teaching, literally carried out, depends the sole complete happiness of mankind; that its fulfillment is neglected; that the life of all who neglect it is miserable; but that its fulfillment is possible, easy, and joyful, and will save each individual man as well as all mankind from inevitable ruin. And believing this, he has shown the sincerity of his belief by acting up to it. He has renounced all feelings of anger and enmity. The descendant of Count Tolstoi the friend of Peter the Great, he refuses, for himself and others, all titles, rank, or any name but that of man. He repudiates the fame, praise, or learning which tend to separate him from others; he strives to get free of the evidences of wealth in his food, dress, outward appearance, and mode of life. He lives in a simple and laborious routine, earning his own bread. He refuses all oaths, lives in purity, and regards all men as brothers. He accepts all this teaching immediately and directly from Christ, attaching to his words an importance infinitely greater than to anything in the rest of the Bible. Most of the Bible does not seem to him to reflect the spirit of Christ at all, though it has been brought into artificial and unwarrantable connection with it. Hence he rejects the chief doctrines of the church: that of the Atonement by blood, that of the Trinity, that of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon



the Apostles and his transmission to the priesthood by laying on of hands, that of the need of the seven sacraments for salvation. He sets aside the authority of Paul, of councils, of fathers, popes, or patriarchs, and believes himself to be the immediate disciple of Christ alone. A recent visitor describes him as he lives now in his country home, on terms of homeliest friendship with his peasants, amid the silence only broken by the songs of birds, the voices of children, and the murmur of the bees in the acacias.

“In the room which is next to his little study lies his shoemaker’s outfit, his awl, his knife, and his leather. On the wooden partition wall hangs the scythe, with which a little later he will renew the pleasures of mowing, which he has eulogized in ‘Anna Karenina.’ In an hour or two the great novelist, perhaps the greatest living novelist, will appear in his *moujik’s* garb, with the dark loose coat and leather girdle, and we shall sally forth together over field and forest, drinking in the glad sunshine, and exulting in the beauty and glory and melody of spring.”

Now any man is to be venerated who, even if his belief be partial and erroneous, makes immense sacrifices in proof of his professed convictions. Self-sacrifice is always fruitful, and even if Christ’s teaching be practically misunderstood, yet the honest attempt to carry into practice its essential principles can hardly fail to bring down a blessing. But we are compelled to ask, Is this interpretation of Christ a true one? Are all men bound, or is any man bound, to act as this great writer has done?

I will here only express my belief that, though actuated by the noblest sincerity, Count Tolstoi has been misled by partial and one-sided interpretations of the meaning of the Gospel and the mind and will of Christ. To enter into the proof of this is impossible in this article, for I have already exceeded the space at my command. Meanwhile the reader who feels troubled lest it should be his duty also to forsake all the conditions of his life, and to take up the position and work of a common laborer, may rest for the present on the principle, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. With few and rare exceptions the whole of Christendom, from the days of the apostles down to our own, has come to the firm conclusion that it was the object of Christ to lay down great eternal principles, but not to disturb the bases and revolutionize



the institutions of all human society, which themselves rest on divine sanctions as well as on inevitable conditions. Were it my object to prove how untenable is the doctrine of communism, based by Count Tolstoi upon the divine paradoxes, which can be interpreted on only historical principles in accordance with the whole method of the teaching of Jesus, it would require an ampler canvas than I have here at my disposal. Tolstoi says:

“Everything confirmed the truth of the meaning which I found in the teaching of Christ. But for a long time I knew not what to make of the strange idea that after eighteen centuries, during which the Christian faith has been confessed by millions of men, and thousands of men have consecrated their lives to the study of this faith, it was granted to me to discover the law of Christ as a new thing. Yet strange as this might be, so it was!”

The assertion is made with an unconscious and magnificent egotism. It breathes “the superb confidence of a reformer,” but it sufficiently condemns the conclusion of this great man. He is not the first who has understood the real meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, nor will he be the last. The church in general has not been mistaken as to the inmost essence of Christ’s revelation. Many thousands of men are living in accordance with his precepts though they accept the ordinary laws and institutions of national life. To show the points wherein Tolstoi labors under a mistake, as many a sublime enthusiast has done in former times, would require many pages; but we may be sure of this, that all Christians have not been laboring under a delusion so complete as he imagines.

“One accent of the Holy Ghost  
The listening world has never lost.”

F. W. FARRAR.



## THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION.

IN the three previous articles in the FORUM I have endeavored to present facts which prove

First. How small a proportion of each year's annual product is or can be added to the capital of the country · not exceeding ten per cent. in a normal year.

Secondly. How rapidly this annual product has been increased in recent years both in quantity and in gross value, accompanied by a wider and cheaper distribution, resulting in a constant advance in the standard of common welfare and of common comfort.

Thirdly. I have given the *data* tending to prove that although the additions to capital or wealth constitute a diminishing share of an increasing product, yet such has been the rapidity in the increase of this gross product as to have brought the accumulated wealth of this country at the present time to an amount greater in proportion to population than it ever was before, small in proportion to the total product as the annual increment of added capital may be.

Fourthly. From these facts I have deduced proofs of the proposition, that as capital becomes more effective it secures to itself either in the form of rent, interest, or profit, a lessening proportion of the increased annual product; or, to put the case in another form, as capital becomes more abundant as well as more effective, it is placed at, or worked in, the service of labor for a lower rate of compensation, or for a diminishing share of the joint product of labor and capital.

Fifthly. As labor becomes more skillful and therefore more effective, and is at the same time more intelligently directed in its application to production, workmen secure to themselves an increasing share of a larger and larger product; or, in other words, workmen attain larger earnings by their ability to make goods or to perform services of any kind at a constantly diminishing cost. This gain in efficiency and therefore in earning power, is



attained by workmen in just proportion to the development of the individual capacity of each man or woman. The condition on which individual capacity leads to personal welfare is, of necessity, that all men and adult women shall retain their personal control over their own time and their own work. If they are restricted in making their personal agreements or bargains either by State laws limiting the freedom of contract or by the by-laws of associations in disposing of their time, or if they are restricted in the personal control of their own methods of work, the earnings of the most skillful may be reduced to the average of the least capable.

It also begins to be apparent that since the wage fund is that part of the annual product, or its value in money, over and above the lessening proportion which may and must be devoted to the remuneration of capital or to taxation, the power of the workman may be said to grow by what it feeds upon. In proportion as the workman raises his standard of comfort and welfare, he develops in the very mental conception of and in the desire for that higher standard, an increasing power to attain it; thus his increasing share of an increasing product becomes the base for the attainment of a yet greater increase.

It has been well said that the true measure of civilization consists not so much in the standard of living which is actually attained by common laborers, as in the standard which is intelligently set up by them as the mark of their attainment. The truer the standard aimed at, the greater will be the power developed to secure it. Our mother earth stands ready to yield an unmeasured abundance of the means for material welfare, and will respond to productive labor in exact proportion to the intelligence with which the work is directed; therefore with the development of the mental as well as the manual or mechanical capacity, higher earnings become the correlative of a reduced cost of production. For instance: there is an almost exact correspondence between the supply of food and the power of doing the work by which the food is supplied. The Western prairies yield more meat and bread than the people of this country can possibly consume. The power of the railways to distribute this food is in excess of the quantity waiting to be distributed. Let



these two forces or instrumentalities of production and distribution be freely developed according to the opportunity, and it will follow of necessity that each person will obtain the largest supply of food at the least cost. But if there should arise a prejudice against the railway managers such as to lead to obstructive interference at the demand of the majority of voters, then it must follow that the cost of distribution will be increased, the stimulus to production will be diminished, and the supply of food will be proportionately cut off until intelligent methods shall take the place of ignorant prejudice.

Again: a large part of the labor of Europe is rightly named "pauper labor." It is underfed; it is ineffectual and costly because it is underfed; the one condition is a complement of the other. Why is it underfed? It is not because there is not land enough in Europe to sustain every inhabitant with a full supply of food. The reason is quite different. The masses of Europe are too ignorant to throw off the burden of dynasties and of standing armies and navies; they permit the supply of food to be obstructed, and also permit so large a part of that which is produced to be devoted to the destructive purposes either of preparation for war or of active war, that what is left will not suffice for either adequate nutrition or for the comfort or the welfare of the workman; neither will it suffice to enable him to do the most effective work; therefore he tends to become a pauper. It is not, however, the purpose of the writer to deal with these broader aspects of this question. It is his present purpose to show that if the lives of either rich or poor in this country are still ignoble, it is not for want of the means for a better life. We shall hear less of classes among men, and we shall not be obliged to sort them into classes, when the true purpose of living is better comprehended than it is now by rich and poor alike.

It is necessary to true welfare that the mental capacity and power of direction of the capitalist or his agent shall be recognized as a prime factor in production, especially by those who attribute abundance to the mere application of mechanical or manual labor to the work. There are admitted evils in the present age of machinery which are brought about by the extreme sub-division of labor, even though these processes are ab-



solutely necessary to the production of that abundance without which the present general standard of living could not be set up even as the mark of future attainment. Yet out of this abundance even the dream of the eight-hour agitator may ultimately become a reality, but this attainment will be near at hand only when the workmen themselves comprehend that leisure is secured through liberty and not by way of restriction. This is only the first century of commerce in any true sense, and the bearing of steam and electricity upon civilization is as yet but dimly apparent; their effect in shortening the necessary hours of work and in alleviating the adverse conditions under which so many common laborers now merely exist, has hardly begun.

It is admitted that, co-incidentally with the great progress from poverty which has been brought about by the very rapid application of invention to production and distribution, the conditions under which the work of the country is carried on have been profoundly changed; there has therefore been at times great difficulty on the part of unskilled laborers in finding steady occupation, while there has also been more or less difficulty in adjusting themselves to new conditions on the part of persons whose occupations, requiring special skill and aptitude, have been done away with wholly or in part by the use of machinery. These difficulties have, however, been exceptional; the general influence of all the changes referred to has been in the direction of lower prices, smaller profits proportionately to each transaction, accompanied by higher wages to those who do the primary work of production and distribution.

As the margin of profit has diminished, a higher order of intelligence, a much closer method of business, and a more strict application of science have been called for in all large undertakings. Therefore, while the earnings of workmen have increased, the earnings of those who have been charged with the direction and application of capital have also increased, possibly even in inverse proportion to the lessening ratio of profit on which the remuneration of capital depends, while mere possession of capital has become less and less remunerative to the owner. Thus the work of the director or administrator of capital, whether its owner or agent, has assumed a position of supreme importance.



It may also be observed, that while great fortunes, even those which have been gained by theft and fraud or by gambling in the stock market with loaded dice and marked cards, have become more conspicuous, they yet bear in the aggregate a lessening proportion to the total savings of the community. It may not be a subject capable of absolute proof, but it may be safely held that the wealth of the country is more widely distributed than ever before. In respect to distribution by fraud and gambling it is also to be remarked, that no one need trust or deal with an outlaw who has corrupted the courts of the country, unless he chooses to do so, and that no lambs will be sheared who do not offer their own fleeces to the wolves.

Again it may be remarked, that as the margin of profit diminishes, the so-called system of co-operation or profit-sharing becomes more impracticable, and also less desirable as a mode of distribution. Co-operative distribution has had some success in Great Britain, where a credit system has long ruled even in the retail traffic of towns and cities, but it has had little success in this country, where the principle of large sales at small profits, for cash or its equivalent, has long been in operation in the great retail shops.

A glance over the figures of production and distribution will perhaps remove doubts as to these propositions, and may help in their comprehension. The great gain and the increase in consumption in recent years, have been chiefly in the consumption of articles which are of common use by the great mass of the people, rather than in luxuries or articles of voluntary use. (Here we set aside for separate treatment the consumption of spirits, wines, and fermented liquors.) It is because so large a part of the industry of this country is applied to the production and distribution of the necessities and comforts of life that they become the subjects of paramount importance in the study of questions that are now at issue; this fact also renders the alleged tendency to luxurious consumption and waste relatively unimportant.

If we take as a starting point the year 1870, when the armies on both sides of the civil conflict had become finally absorbed in the pursuits of peace, when the difficulties of the reconstruction period were mainly ended, and when the revolution not only of



institutions but of ideas in the Southern States was so nearly completed that the whole country, as a unit, had entered upon an era of great material progress, we find that while the population increased from 1870 to 1887 only 55 per cent., the product of hay, which is synonymous with meat and the products of the dairy, increased from 70 to 80 per cent.; the product of grain 85 per cent.; the product of cotton 112 per cent.; the consumption of wool, domestic and foreign, nearly 100 per cent.; the product of pig iron 285 per cent.; the construction of railways 223 per cent.; and so on in varying proportions, all in excess of population, with regard to all the necessities and comforts of life.

If the consumption of liquors be considered separately, the facts show that the consumption of champagne, expensive wine, brandy, and the like, is very small compared to that of beer and whiskey, or the drink of the every-day working people. The most complete and accurate estimate of the consumption of liquors has been made by Mr F. N. Barrett, editor of the "American Grocer," whose conclusion is that, on the average, from 1883 to 1887, the consumption of spirits, beer, and wine, cost the consumers a little less than \$768,000,000 a year. Of this consumption, domestic spirits, domestic beer, and domestic wine amounted to \$734,000,000, leaving only the remainder, \$34,000,000, to cover foreign wines, spirits, and beer; less than five per cent.

It thus appears that the increasing supply and consumption of commodities of domestic and foreign origin have consisted mainly of those articles which enter into general consumption, and which are either the common necessities or the comforts of life; or, if spirits and beer may be called luxuries, the luxuries of the common people.

It follows of necessity that since there has been no accumulation of stock, and since all that has been produced or imported in exchange for the export of domestic products has been consumed, the general consumption of the mass of the people must have been greater, more adequate, and more satisfactory than ever before. Yet in this period from 1865 to the present time, we have had several commercial crises, panics, and periods of alleged depression in trade and industry, recurring oftener than in former times, accompanied by want of employment for a considerable



number of workmen, especially common laborers, who feel the depression first and who are least capable of waiting for work on the proceeds of which they may subsist.

It may also be observed that while the general tendency of prices throughout this period has been downward, there have been sharp and not infrequent upward fluctuations, or, according to the new term, there has been a "boom" in trade and commerce. These new and varying conditions lead once more to the study of prices or to the determination of the very obscure question, What makes the price of goods? They also bring up the question, What is the actual connection between price and money, the latter considered quantitatively and qualitatively? Whether or not these problems will ever be determined in such a scientific way as to make the solution a part of the common knowledge or of the common sense of the community, is a matter that cannot yet be decided. The utmost that can now be done is to treat, perhaps somewhat empirically, some of the forces that affect prices directly or indirectly by their influence upon the exchange of products, on which the salable value depends.

Among the major forces promoting abundance and tending to increase the value of the annual product and thereby of the wage and profit fund, may be named improvements in the methods of banking, the telegraph, the extension of the railway and steamship service, with a reduction in the charge, and the opening of the Suez Canal.

Among the lesser forces which have tended to obstruct the exchange of products and thereby to reduce the general wage and profit fund and to affect prices, the war of tariffs may be named, by which the peaceful benefits of commerce are interrupted. In Europe these barriers of taxation, dividing the several states and nations of the continent, maintain animosities of race, creed, and nationality. The customs revenue, being an indirect form of taxation, is kept up to the deception of the people who are oppressed by it. It is said to be necessary to the support of the several states by which these duties are imposed; in fact, upon the continent a sum exceeding \$350,000,000 a year is collected from customs at these barriers, and a sum exceeding \$500,000,000 a year is annually wasted in the support of standing armies and



navies, which would not be required or tolerated if these barriers were levelled or removed. This evil is very much diminished and is of little effect in this country, except so far as the tariffs of foreign countries obstruct the import of our grain and other articles of food, for the reason that the continental system of absolute free trade throughout our whole country, covering a larger area and benefiting a greater number of people than ever before enjoyed absolute freedom from trade restrictions, has assured our progress in spite of all obstructions to our foreign commerce, which is relatively unimportant.

The main purpose of the present treatise is to consider only one of the forces which have in recent years exerted a great influence upon prices, and through prices upon the rates of wages, to wit, the currency or circulating medium of the country. (I hesitate to use the word "money" in connection with mock or substitute money, *viz.*, the legal-tender notes of the government, which, under a fiction of law, have become *fiat* money, and have been forced into circulation in place of true money, which carries its own value in its own substance.)

The advocates of fiat money, or unlimited paper money, attribute great importance to the volume or quantity of money or instruments of exchange in circulation. On the other hand, prior to the resumption of specie payment, the advocates of the specie standard, whether the single or so-called double standard, considered the quantity of circulating medium a most important factor; they believed that the contraction of the circulating medium or of legal-tender paper money would be required in much greater measure than actually occurred, as a necessary precedent to the resumption of specie payment.

It must be admitted by every one who gives any weight to facts, that the issue of legal-tender notes during the war was accompanied by great depreciation and by much greater advance in prices than in the rates of wages; consequently the great mass of working people suffered great harm, which was in part compensated to them by the excess of demand for their products and services for war purposes. This was proved in the last article.

But who can measure the relative importance of the quantity or volume of the notes issued, as compared to their discredit or



the doubt of their ultimate payment during the dark period of the war; or who can measure the effect on prices of the demand of the war itself upon the labor of the country, either in the military service or in supplying the armies? The actual work of war is and must be done during the war period; payment for such work by way of taxation may be in part deferred until either the bonds due at long date or the demand notes issued under a legal-tender act become payable.

It is somewhat difficult to conceive the measure of the actual work of the war. From April, 1861, to June, 1868, four years of war and a little over three years of reconstruction under military rule. the revenue of the United States was:

From taxation, sales of public lands, and from miscellaneous sources.....	\$2,213,349,486
From loans which were unpaid June 30, 1868..	\$2,485,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$4,698,349,486
The expenditures of seven years of peace at a considerably higher rate than in previous years might have been.....	<hr/>
	\$698,349,486
Leaving the money cost of war to the Nation..	<hr/>
But to this must be added the war expenditure of States, towns, and cities. I am not aware that this has been separately com- piled; it must have been at least.....	<hr/>
	\$4,000,000,000
	<hr/>
Making the cost of war to the Nation as a whole (in money or debt).....	<hr/>
	\$5,000,000,000

But again, to this sum must be added the waste of property, of time, and of what little capital there was in the Southern States, which cannot be estimated at less than three-fifths the expenditure of the North, or \$3,000,000,000. The waste in the South has perhaps been more rapidly made up than the cost to the North, by the abolition of slavery and by the emancipation of whites as well as of blacks from its degrading effects; witness the subsequent enormous growth of all the varied arts and industries in the South, to which liberty has given place and opportunity.

It may be assumed that at a minimum the cost of suppressing the Rebellion, which was promoted by the little oligarchy who made use of the slave power to mislead and deceive the masses



of the people of the South, by making them believe that slavery and State rights were consistent with and were bound up in each other, was \$8,000,000,000. The cost of establishing and maintaining national liberty and State rights in a true sense throughout the land, was therefore \$1,135,000,000 a year for seven years. This price in terms of money represents so much actual work done, mainly by the privates of both armies and by those who supported them.

It has been held that the maximum product of each person occupied for gain in 1880 could not have exceeded \$600 worth. Labor and capital were at least one-third more effective during and since the year 1880 than during the period of war and of reconstruction. If then we value one man's labor from 1861 to 1868 inclusive at \$500 a year, the work of war required the unremitting labor of 2,270,000 men for seven years, either in the two armies or in sustaining them. At \$400 each, an estimate probably nearer to the mark at that time, the measure would be the constant work of 2,837,500 men for seven years. The average population of that period was 35,000,000, of whom not over one in five could be considered an able-bodied man of arms-bearing age.

The cost of liberty therefore consisted in actual arduous work at the risk of life for seven years, of one man of arms-bearing age in every three. More than one-third of the price of this work of war was deferred by borrowing; yet such was the enormous increase in production and the facility for distribution brought about by the unification and completion of the railway system of the North, which took place at about the beginning of the war, and such was the effect of the rapid application of inventions and improvements, especially in agriculture, during this period, that not one single Northern crop diminished, and not one single art or important branch of industry, except cotton spinning, failed to increase. Therefore, as soon as the disbanded armies were absorbed in the pursuits of peace, production went forward with leaps and bounds, while foreign markets took our excess in payment for our foreign loans; our bonds were rapidly returned to us by purchase. In 1876 and 1877 the tide of foreign coin set toward this country, and the resumption of specie payment became possible on the 1st of January, 1879.



In the latter part of this same period the wonderful development in Southern industry also occurred, than which there is no more extraordinary chapter in all economic history. That section of our country, which had been devastated by war, its capital destroyed, its former system of labor completely overturned, its people left to recover without inherited aptitude, mechanical appliances, or any other of the conditions which have been assumed to be necessary for success in diversified industry, is now dotted all over with factories of various kinds, and crossed and re-crossed by a rapidly-extending railway system, while its mines and iron works are threatening those of the older States; yet more important, all the lesser arts of civilized life which go to make towns and cities are springing into existence. All this has been done in spite of the free and urgent competition of the Northern States, with all their capital unimpaired, their inherited aptitude, and their fully-developed mechanical appliances. Thus while the South (which previous to the war had depended mainly upon the North not only for manufactured goods, but for bread and meat, wasting its mis-directed slave labor by its application almost wholly to cotton, rice, and sugar) has now become almost self-sustaining, its crop of cotton has become more and more a money crop, representing its surplus of agriculture or the means for a better subsistence than in the bad old times of the past. The North, thus deprived of a part of the great Southern market which it formerly enjoyed, while its own crops were rapidly increasing in ratio to its population, has found it more and more necessary to open a foreign market for the food which could not be consumed at home and which might have rotted upon the field except it could have been exported.

The reduction in the railway charge, taken by itself, may fully account for the rapid increase in the export of grain, by means of which we more than balanced our import and paid our foreign debt. But there is a yet more subtle element to which attention might well be called. The value of the imports of merchandise over and above our exports, from 1866 to 1875 inclusive, was in round figures \$817,000,000. The value of our exports of merchandise above our imports, from 1876 to 1885 inclusive, consisting wholly of the products of agriculture, was \$1,574,000,000.



On what elements did this depend? The railway charge upon the twenty-six great systems of railway which diverge from Chicago east and west, from 1866 to 1875, was 2.1837 cents per mile; from 1876 to 1885 it was 1.1037; making a saving of 1.08 on the traffic of these specific lines on which 35 to 40 per cent. of the whole railway service of the country was performed; yet this difference in the rate of charge on these specific lines only, from 1876 to 1885 inclusive, came to more than \$1,700,000,000, as compared to the rate charged in the previous ten years. This saving alone more than accounts for the excess of our exports over our imports, which excess enabled us to redeem our bonds or to import the coin necessary for our use.

But the yet more subtle element is this: The self-binder was first successfully attached to the reaper in 1876. From 1867 to 1876 inclusive, our average crop of wheat, varying more with the season than with the planted area, had been 258,000,000 bushels. In 1877, when the self-binder first began to be used, the crop mounted to nearly 364,000,000 bushels. Again in 1878 it mounted up; and from that date to 1887 inclusive, in which period the use of the self-binder had become general, the average crop, varying more with the season than with the planted area, was 440,000,000 bushels. Could the crops of the last ten years have been saved without the self-binder?

When we consider the fact that in the United States the adoption of each harvester did away with the work of seven or eight men, who had previously been required to bind the crop by hand during the short harvest season; when we consider also that the total number of self-binding reapers now made and sold is more than 100,000 a year, requiring over 30,000 tons of twine to bind a single wheat crop, do we not find in the tying of that knot on the self-binding harvester a main factor in the export of grain with the returning import of gold, on which we resumed specie payment? By that single improvement the cost of wheat was reduced not less than six per cent., and in some places ten per cent. We may also find in this little knot one of the most potent factors in the displacement of unskilled labor.

There is an intimate connection between these forces and the currency question. The financial danger of this country came



immediately after the war ended, when the expenditures were at their maximum and the income had not reached its full measure. The greenback craze pervaded the country, and the welfare of the people was held to depend rather upon the quantity than upon the quality of the circulating medium. At that date there had been no record in history of any country which had paid a great war debt, or of any country which, having issued its own notes and having made use of them under a legal-tender act for the purpose of collecting a forced loan, had afterward redeemed or paid them in coin according to promise. Few there were at that time who had firm faith either in the redemption of the notes or in the speedy payment of the debt.

The great war debt incurred and entered upon the books of the nation on the first of August, 1865, amounted to \$2,674,815,856. To this sum the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Hugh McCulloch, in his last report, added for debt due August 1st, 1865, but not audited and entered, the sum of \$322,574,347. The maximum debt of the United States was therefore \$2,997,386,203. It has since been reduced to \$1,100,000,000, or from \$84 to \$18 per capita of the population.

The writer was apparently the first to prove, in an address to the Republican Convention of Massachusetts, September 19th, 1868, that if the per capita taxation of the United States were maintained at the rate then imposed, \$8.60 a year, the whole debt would be paid before January 1st, 1885, as it would have been had not the average rate of taxation per capita been somewhat reduced. Its final payment has been deferred a little longer by a reduction of annual taxation to about \$6.00 per capita, of which nearly \$2.00 is now applied to the payment of the debt. There will probably be no Congress that will dare reduce taxation in sufficient measure to prevent payment of the last dollar of the national debt before the end of the century.

During this period, from 1860 to the present time, the quantity of the circulating medium, consisting of coined money or redeemable bank notes or other substitutes, or of legal-tender notes which under a fiction of law have taken the place of true money, has varied in the following manner:



TABLE SHOWING, FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE POPULATION, TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY, AND THE AVERAGE AMOUNT PER CAPITA YEARLY, FROM 1860 TO 1887 INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Population. (Prof. Elliott's Tables.)	Total amount of money, exclusive of legal-tender, gold and silver certificates.* 1860 to 1872 inc. taken from Fin. Rept. of 1886; 1873 to 1887 inc. taken from Fin. Rept. of 1887.	Average Amount of Money per Capita.
1860	31,443,321	\$ 442,102,477.00	\$14.06030
1861	32,060,000	488,005,767.00	15.22164
1862	32,704,000	532,832,079.00	16.29257
1863	33,365,000	623,100,168.75	18.67526
1864	34,046,000	1,062,840,516.50	31.21778
1865	34,748,000	1,180,197,147.76	33.96446
1866	35,469,000	1,068,065,785.96	30.11266
1867	36,211,000	1,020,927,153.52	28.19384
1868	36,973,000	888,412,602.75	24.02869
1869	37,756,000	873,694,101.61	23.14054
1870	38,558,371	899,875,899.48	23.33802
1871	39,555,000	894,375,751.06	22.61094
1872	40,596,000	900,570,903.52	22.18373
1873	41,677,000	891,211,673.94	21.38378
1874	42,796,000	939,225,887.17	21.94658
1875	43,951,000	914,149,629.69	20.79929
1876	45,137,000	904,849,434.89	20.04673
1877	46,353,000	922,160,168.84	19.89429
1878	47,598,000	989,845,159.27	20.79594
1879	48,886,000	1,056,232,698.11	21.61488
1880	50,155,783	1,207,827,059.70	24.08151
1881	51,495,000	1,371,688,001.65	26.63731
1882	52,802,000	1,431,411,868.10	27.10905
1883	54,165,000	1,494,404,597.14	27.58986
1884	55,556,000	1,503,129,680.64	27.05612
1885	56,975,000	1,553,246,868.21	27.26190
1886	58,420,000	1,577,191,425.52	26.99746
1887	59,893,000	1,649,149,915.37	27.53494

Jos. S. McCoy,  
*Acting Government Actuary.*

July 17, 1888.

Through the courtesy of the Secretary of the Treasury I am permitted to give this table showing the total amount of money or of the instruments of exchange in use as money, consisting of coin,

\* Gold coin, silver coin, and United States notes may be deposited in the Treasury under present laws, and certificates taken out which enter into circulation in place of the coin and notes thus deposited.



legal-tender notes, convertible bank notes, or other instruments of exchange in use at the several dates given, computed per capita in ratio to the population each year. Absolute accuracy is not, as I understand, claimed for this table, but the estimate is as close to the mark as it is in the power of the Treasury Department to compute it.

It will be observed that even if the present tendency of the surplus revenue is to cause all the United States notes to fall into the Treasury without re-issue, and even if it should end in the liquidation by way of taxation of all that part of the circulating medium which now consists of United States legal-tender notes which are not already in the Treasury or covered by coin in the Treasury, and the circulation or volume of what passes for money should be contracted to that extent, there would nevertheless remain in circulation in coin, in gold and silver certificates, or in convertible bank notes, a sum per capita substantially the same as that of the year 1880. It will be remembered that the year 1880 was a year of more than normal prosperity. May it not therefore be inferred that the country is now rich enough and strong enough to pay its demand debt, represented by the legal-tender notes, and to withdraw those notes from circulation without any appreciable effect either upon prices, wages, or credits? If such be the fact, delay in reducing the so-called surplus revenue by reduction of taxation may, so far as its effect upon the circulating medium is concerned, work no injury but rather a benefit.

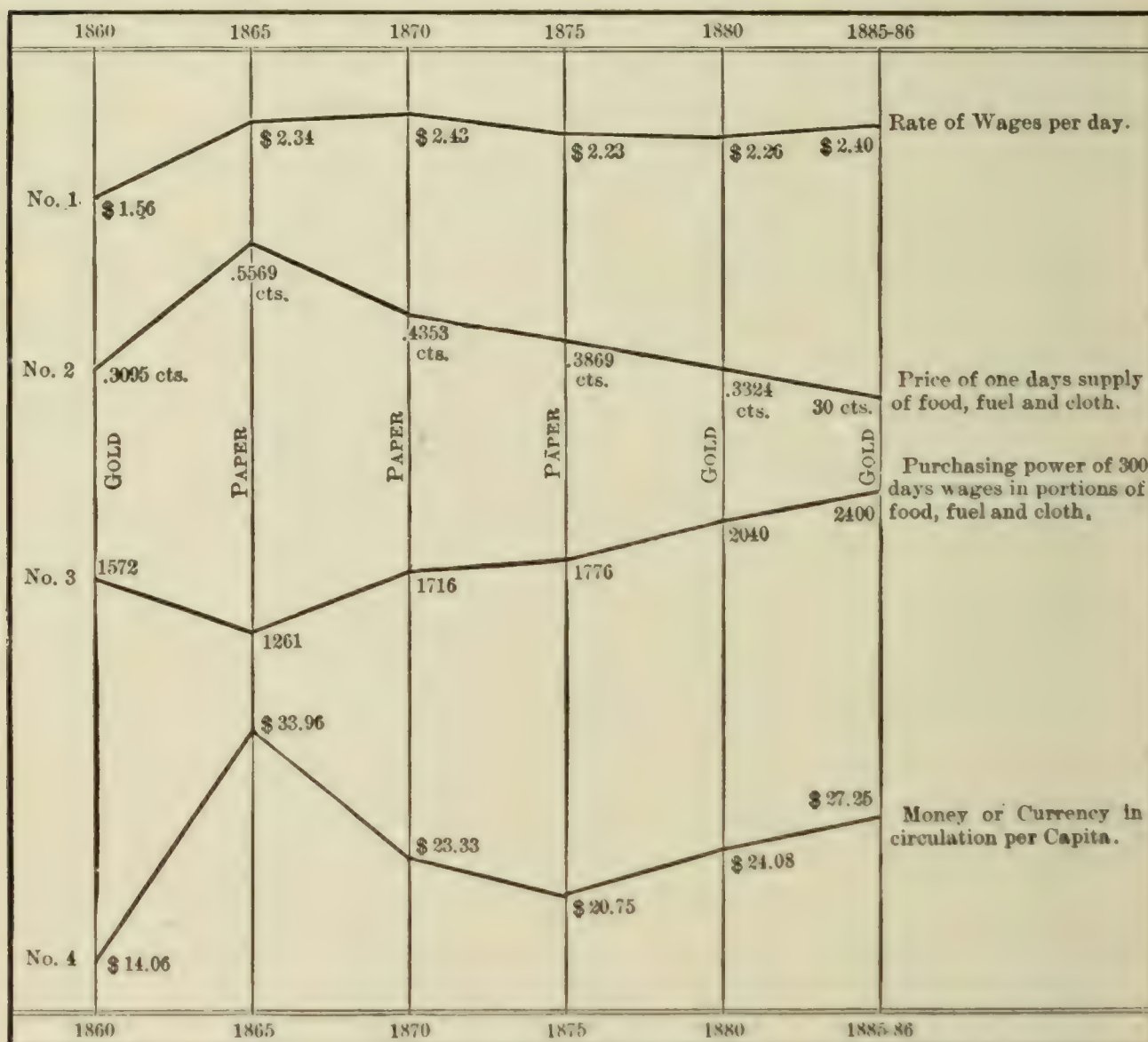
The table on page 140, showing the relation of prices, wages, and purchasing power and quantity of the circulating medium, is given in order to sustain this view. It will be interesting to observe, in the consideration of this table, that the welfare of the workman has wholly depended upon the quality of the money in use, and not upon the quantity, again enforcing the principle that if we keep the quality of our money true the quantity will take care of itself.

In respect to the *data* on which this table has been compiled, I beg to say once more, with regard to the rates of wages, that they have been averaged from a compilation of the figures given in the larger number of establishments treated in Volume XX. of the United States Census, those of which I have had some



knowledge myself as to their having been in continuous operation throughout the period treated, or else such as from the nature of the work must have been fully employed throughout the whole period, being selected for the purpose. The rates

RELATION OF WAGES, PRICES, PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES, AND VOLUME PER CAPITA OF MONEY OR CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION AT THE RESPECTIVE DATES GIVEN.



No. 1.—Average wages of mechanics, engineers, carpenters, machinists, and painters connected with the mills and works treated in Vol. XX., United States Census; establishments in Eastern, Middle, and Western States.

No. 2.—Average cost of one day's supply of food, fuel, and material for clothing customarily used by such mechanics, computed at retail prices in 20 shops; 10 east and 10 west of Buffalo, N. Y.

No. 3.—Purchasing power of 300 days' wages in equal portions of the same kinds of food, fuel, and cloth as above given.

No. 4.—Quantity per capita of coin, convertible bank notes, and legal-tender notes in circulation or in use as money at the respective dates.



are doubtless somewhat lower than would be shown by a compilation of figures given by mechanics themselves, engaged in analogous trades. This would always be the case if the wages of mechanics who are permanently employed in connection with factories were compared with those whose work is transient and not continuous throughout the year, owing to the nature of the occupations, as in the building trades. The rates of wages have also been compared with those computed on special investigations made on my own behalf, from typical establishments in the State of Massachusetts, which I know to be correct.

With respect to prices, I had myself made averages of prices from *data* obtained by myself before Volume XX. of the Census was issued; and by comparing my own *data* with those of the Census, I was able to verify the prices given in that volume for the Eastern States. The number of portions assigned to 300 days' work of course assumes continuous work, like that of the factory, which runs every working day in the year, omitting Sundays and holidays, customarily computed at three hundred days.

The computation of money or currency per capita is as accurate as the official *data* of the Mint and of the Treasury Department will permit. The only issue which can be raised affecting it, is in regard to the quantity or amount of coin in the hands of the people. This subject has been a matter of considerable discussion; suffice it to say that the absolute knowledge of the subject possessed by the Department of the Mint would substantially verify the proportions of currency per capita given in this table, even if the amounts did not absolutely correspond and were somewhat less.

It may, therefore, I think, be safely assumed that the margins for error in these four computations are very small; and if all errors were eliminated, while the figures might be slightly changed, the ratios or proportions would not be varied sufficiently to affect the general conclusion.

In view of these variations in the quantity of money or currency in use at different dates, which bear no steady or uniform proportion either to the volume of trade or to the population of the country, it is apparent that the quantitative theory of the currency cannot be maintained. May it not be held that confidence



and credit have been greater factors in making prices than the quantity of the money or circulating medium of the country, which is made use of directly only in the petty or retail transactions of trade? Is it not the confidence engendered by the way in which we have overcome difficulties and dangers, that keeps our mixed currency at par with gold at the present time and that will enable us to surmount difficulties yet to come? If we keep the quality of our money good we may be sure that the quantity will take care of itself.

The resumption of specie payment took place January 1st, 1879; the fiscal year ends June 30; it is therefore more easy to make compilations from that date by calendar years. From July 1, 1879, to July 1, 1887, the declared value of our net imports of merchandize was \$5,640,261,758. In the same period the declared value of our exports of merchandize was \$6,764,311,704. The true value of exports has doubtless been somewhat greater, as those which go by rail to Canada and to Mexico have not been accurately recorded; the official reports of the Dominion of Canada and of Mexico prove them to be in excess of the value declared in this country.

It will be apparent that such an enormous volume of exports could not have been sold for payment in money only, since the standard of international commerce is coin or bullion. The coin which serves the purpose of international commerce is computed at the gold standard, there being no legal tender in international exchange. Such a demand for gold or gold bullion in sole payment for our exports would have drained every bank in Europe, and we should have no domestic use for such an amount of coin; therefore unless an exchange of domestic for foreign products had been possible the export could not have been made. We could not have paid for our imports in coin only, nor could foreign countries have paid us for our exports in coin only. International trade must of necessity mainly consist in an exchange of goods for goods, the balance only being settled in gold. Had it not been possible to make this exchange, or to export the excess of our corn, wheat, dairy products, cotton, and oil, this excess could not have been consumed at home, as the remainder met the demand of the most abundant and increasing consumption; nor



could many of our domestic industries have continued without the import of crude or partly manufactured materials from abroad.

This mutual dependence or interdependence of nations is too generally admitted to make it worth while to waste time on the theories of a few incapable persons who advocate national isolation, with whom discussion is useless. The benefit of foreign commerce, under certain conditions, is fully admitted by every one. It may be admitted that the duties upon foreign imports give a different direction to domestic industry, but the effect, whether beneficial or otherwise, of our present system of duties, has been, in the opinion of the writer, very greatly exaggerated by the representations of both sides in the discussion of the system. When this becomes a part of the common conviction, the reform of the tariff, admitted by both parties to be necessary, may be entered upon by reasonable men without bitter contention, and with the simple purpose of adjusting the necessary revenue duties so as to give the widest scope to the development of domestic industry, and to interpose the least obstruction to the exchange of product for product, in which our foreign commerce must, in the nature of things, consist.

The point to which I desire to give prominence in this treatise is, that in spite of the depreciation and the fluctuations in the currency, and in spite of the ill-adjusted burden of taxation of all kinds which is now admitted by all parties, whether under a tariff, under the internal revenue system, or under State and municipal assessments, the effect of these minor forces has been but to retard in some measure the great progress of this country. Confidence and credit have been based on the progress which is assured by the application of invention and of science to human welfare; these elements of commerce have far more than counter-balanced the blunders and stupidities of financial legislation, and will ultimately force our fiscal system into harmony with the higher laws of material progress.

If some of the computations presented in this treatise are already familiar to my readers, I can only justify their repetition by having brought them down to a later date.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## RACE ANTAGONISM IN THE SOUTH.

IF amendments to the Constitution of the United States, if partisan federal legislation and political sermons of Republican New England preachers, could solve the Negro question, then this problem ought no longer to be considered insoluble. On the other hand, if these attempted remedies have proved to be unavailing specifics, and this Negro problem still exists in its original relations, to vex society and to disturb our political equilibrium, then its solution, if there be any, must be discovered beyond the edicts of federal power and beyond the misleading sympathies of Northern philanthropists.

This Negro question is still a running sore in our body politic. The lapse of time, the sacrifices made by the white race to ameliorate the condition of the Negro and to elevate him to a higher plane of responsibility and civilization, the extraordinary efforts made by the federal government to encourage and befriend him, have not as yet succeeded in placing the Negro in a self-reliant or satisfactory position. His craving for federal tutorship is still unsatisfied. The white man's patience is to-day taxed as ever by the unending complaints of the Negro and his friends. His grievances must continue to engage the anxious thought of the statesmen of this country, and his anomalous misfortunes must continue to appeal to what he considers the inexhaustible sympathies of the white race. He still yearns for this fruitless agitation touching his rights and his *status*, indifferent to the fact that no race has had such adventitious advantages to aid it to carve out its destiny and to achieve relative success. What more can be done or ought to be done to carry on this unsuccessful experiment of balancing or equalizing the condition of the white and Negro races in this country? If previous attempts founded on a false estimate of the moral attributes or mental capacity of the Negro have been attended with consequences so disappointing to both races, will a persistence in the



same efforts and a vain indulgence in the same expectations guarantee that the Negro will take one step onward in the direction of his future social or political advancement? If not, there must be some ineradicable cause that arrests and impedes his progress, armed as he is with political power, and surrounded as he is by the stimulating forces that produce the wonderful social developments of this age.

If the Negro race, having had equal advantages with the white race, has remained stationary, inert, dependent, and unprogressive in the stirring competition which impels the human race to-day to such wonderful achievements, then there must be some fundamental law more potent than municipal legislation and more absolute than moral precepts, that inexorably governs the relations of the Negro to white society and to government.

The Gulf Stream, that river in the ocean with its own current and higher temperature, is no more distinctly separated from the ocean than is the Negro race from the human family, although a branch of it. This separation, this total want of possible assimilation, this social estrangement, produces a feeling of antipathy or *quasi* hostility between the two races, North as well as South, the only difference being that in the latter section, because the Negroes are more numerous, the manifestations of this suppressed antagonism are unavoidably more frequent, and are characterized by more intensity and more serious results, because both races, whatever be the provocation, regard them as the incidents of a struggle for supremacy and domination.

This is necessarily the unfortunate condition of a country inhabited by two such distinct and antagonistic races. They may enjoy long periods of calm and peace, but some sudden unforeseen incident, political, religious, educational, social, or what not, may at any moment arouse the passions of race hatred, and convulse society by the outbreak of race conflicts. For New England preachers, sentimental writers, or Republican politicians to express horror and surprise at these occurrences, is only a profane protest on their part against the logical results of the work of God, and an insolent demand for a revision of the laws of nature. The real cause for amazement is, considering the aggravating conditions surrounding Southern society, and the inflammable



material upon which its superstructure now rests, that these conflicts have not been more frequent and more bloody.

President Lincoln, conscious of the gravity of this Negro question, could well be appalled at the possible consequences of the perilous situation to be created by his emancipation proclamation. He directed a military officer of high rank to prepare for him a report upon his contemplated scheme of a forced exodus of the Negro population from this country; the number of ships required, the time necessary, and the cost of this emigration; and expressed great regret when informed that the scheme was impracticable and impossible of execution. Lincoln understood this Negro question. He had had occasion to study it during his great debate with Douglas. Even after he proclaimed the freedom of the Negroes, he only cautiously ventured to suggest to Governor Hahn of Louisiana that the right to vote might be conferred on those who had volunteered to fight for the Union. This would have confined the suffrage to a very insignificant number. As regards emancipation, he for a long time resisted the pressure of Massachusetts fanatics. That State, having no longer any slaves, of course took the lead in emancipating the slaves belonging to other people. Governor Andrew sent word to Lincoln that if he would sign the proclamation of emancipation, the highways and by-ways of Massachusetts would swarm with volunteers. This appears ludicrous in the light of subsequent history, but it gave to that State the prominence to which she aspired on this Negro question.

Jefferson, foreseeing the impending crisis, and heartily sympathizing with his unfortunate fellow countrymen who were soon to confront this terrible visitation, pitied the generation that would be doomed to grapple in our country with this monster problem of race antagonism and race conflicts. Until we are able to determine the true cause of the peculiar and anomalous antipathy existing between these two races, which is unprecedented in the history of the human family as regards its social symptoms, and which in certain portions of the North is masked by an offensive hypocrisy, it is idle to speculate about remedies. If we should discover that it springs from natural causes, then we must admit that legislative declarations, even in the form of



constitutional amendments, or benevolence, even when preached from New England pulpits, can have but little power against it.

The Southern white people have suffered great injustice by reason of the superficial and partisan discussion of this question. For many years these race conflicts were used as an argument to discredit the loyalty of the Southern people to the federal government. Political preachers reveled in the theory that they were the result of the surviving hatred of former slave-owners against their liberated slaves. Senator Chandler, in an article in the *FORUM*, attributes every race conflict in the South to Democratic deviltry and a political determination on the part of the ex-confederates to govern the nation. Mr. Cable pleads for the Negro against the oppression of the Southern white race, treating the question, as so many others have fallaciously treated it, as one of mere prejudice against color and caste. The cause of this race antagonism which produces race conflicts does not in our judgment originate in any of these theories. Its source is proximately connected with considerations of far deeper significance, and is traceable to influences far more ineffaceable and to sentiments far more firmly rooted. If this were not the case, the Negro would have the right to appeal to the enlightened judgment and to the sense of justice of the American people, to protect him against the unfeeling arrogance and relentless proscription which he has so long endured as the result of the white man's intolerance.

Our belief is that this condition of inequality between the Negro and the white race, which has always existed and will always exist in this country, springs from a consciousness of superiority in the white man, and from a consciousness of inferiority in the Negro, enabling the former to claim and enforce superior rights and privileges, and compelling the latter to recognize and acquiesce in the superiority of the white race. The resulting social exclusion with its attendant disabilities, which would degrade and destroy the self-respect of any other race, the Negro accepts as the natural outcome of the unequal relations between the two races, fixed and regulated by some law the philosophy of which is unknown to him, but whose operation he seems clearly to understand.

Even if we could admit, without doing violence to every tra-



dition of the Negro race, that the Negro is morally and mentally equipped to stand side by side with the white man, and battle with equal courage and equal pride for the cause of social development and civilization; that he is sufficiently equipped to share with the white man the political responsibility of governing, and that he should not be required to explain why it is that, with the same physical advantages possessed by other races, he has preferred to envelop himself, from time immemorial, in dense darkness and revolting barbarism; even if we were to accept as correct the theory so often promulgated, that the difference between the white man and the Negro is merely a difference in the color of the skin; yet, so long as the Negro is a socially proscribed race, his position must remain unchanged. Social ostracism, as regards a race, means social degradation; this is particularly the case at the North. At the South the Negro is accorded many privileges in the family circle unknown at the North. The relations of master and servant, of black nurses and white children, have created a *camaraderie* between the two races which extends even beyond the domestic circle, and brings them in closer sympathy. The white man at the South does not feel that he is derogating from his self-respect or personal dignity because he makes this concession to the colored man. At the North the relations between the whites and the blacks represent a cold, stern, forbidding estrangement. The Negro seems to be painfully reminded of his inferiority. Brought in daily contact with an unsympathetic white race at the North, he seems to have discarded his proverbial hilarity, and presents the ludicrous spectacle of a melancholy negro. Why should he not feel like an unwelcome stranger, when he is surrounded by a barrier that constantly reminds him of his social degradation and commands him to stand on the outside of the white man's circle? Can a race be happy or progressive under such conditions, living in an atmosphere where the doctrines of equality, fraternity, and universal brotherhood are so ostentatiously preached, and yet where ostracism and proscription in their most offensive forms are so inexorably practiced against him by virtue of the unwritten social edicts of the white race? When the terrible curse of eternal separation was uttered against the unfortunate leper, his social isolation was not more



absolute or degrading than is the Negro's to-day at the North. He is not allowed, like the people of other races, to rest his claims to social recognition upon his individual merits. He may be as well educated, as polished, as well bred, as refined (and we have known such) as the Irishman, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Jew, the East Indian, the Portuguese, the American, or any other person of any other race or nationality, yet he alone, because of his race, is subjected to the disability and insult of social exclusion. The absurd argument of the right of a man to admit whom he pleases into his parlor, does not touch the question. We are discussing the question of the social treatment of one race by another race, of the treatment of the Negro race by the white race.

Take the case of the Negro in Massachusetts. We select that State for the sake of illustration, because the history of the Negro race in Massachusetts presents some striking points of contradiction. Massachusetts has always been the hot-bed of agitation on this Negro question. At the very time that the Puritan Boston ship-owners were admonishing their ship-captains not to fail to invoke daily the blessings of God upon the prosperity and success of their Negro-stealing and Negro-trading ventures, and when slavery existed in its worst form—for according to Dr. Belknap, an early writer in Massachusetts, "Negro children were considered an incumbrance in a family, and when weaned were given away like puppies"—at the very time when slavery in Massachusetts furnished such an inexhaustible text, writers and preachers in that State did not hesitate to lecture the people of Virginia upon the sinfulness of slavery.

So to-day the Puritan preachers of Massachusetts, constituting themselves the special champions of the cause of the Negro at the South, overlook the wrong and injustice that the Negro race suffers at the North, and bestow all their sympathy on the Negro at the South, who does not need it. The Negro at the South, having been educated to rest content with his allotted rank, has no aspirations to attain equality with the white race. The latter has never preached to him the doctrine that the only difference between him and the white man is in the color of his skin. What cruel mockery, what shameless hypocrisy, what a satire upon human justice to tell the Negro in Massachusetts that all the ave-



nues to wealth, professional distinction, and political fame are open to him; that in the sight of God he is the equal of the white man; and at the same time to brand indelibly upon his forehead the stigma of his social proscription and social degradation. Is it surprising that, although equal before the law, he is in Massachusetts what he was fifty years ago, the waiter, the bootblack, the barber, the porter, and nothing more, because the irresistible force of social exclusion condemns him to confine his efforts, his genius, and his ambition to these humble avocations?

We must remember that the Puritan fathers in Massachusetts justified their right to sell Indians, Negroes, and Quaker children upon some theory. The Greek frankly defended slavery upon the ground of intellectual superiority of certain races. The Romans, always ready to stimulate military pride and reward military prowess, based it upon a supposed agreement between the victor and vanquished, the implied stipulation being that the life of the conquered was spared on the condition that his perpetual services should belong to his victorious foe. The Puritan, always prone to give a religious sanction and a pious gloss to his mercenary misdeeds, reconciled slavery to his conscience by inventing the theory that he was the favorite of Providence, and that God clearly intended that the heathen should be the inheritance of the Puritan saint. The Negroes to-day in Massachusetts are no longer Canaanites or Amalekites; they are our brothers. We are members of the same family, created by the same God, having equal claims to human charity and human justice. Will the Puritan now discover some religious theory to justify his denial to the Negro of those rights so essential to his happiness and necessary to his advancement? This social proscription of the Negro in Massachusetts, in the face of the gushing sentimentality professed for him, is worse than civil death. It is a perpetual torture to him. What consolation can he find in the fact that he can become a minister of the Gospel, if no white congregation will give him a call, and if no white preacher would dare to affront his congregation by exchanging pulpits with him, however eloquent a divine he might be? What encouragement is it to him to be told that he can become a doctor, when he knows that he could not get beyond the kitchen in a gentleman's house, however emi-



nent his professional attainments? That he can become a lawyer, when the highest distinction would not entitle him to the slightest social recognition? That he can become a statesman, when no public service, however valuable to his country, would open a single door to him? From the pulpit to the skating rink, this social ostracism pursues him with a relentless rigor, and drives him like a hunted beast into the lowest depths of social degradation, to lead an almost purely animal life, without hope of any ameliorating change, and with every noble aspiration for social usefulness, social enjoyment, and social dignity rudely suppressed by the contemptuous arrogance of those who preach the doctrine of equality.

One who had only superficially studied the agitation of the Negro question in Massachusetts, might be led to believe that there was no prejudice against him in that State. He might expect to find that the Negro is there treated like any other member of society; free to indulge in social intercourse; free to intermarry, and free to associate in private and in public with the white people. If there is equality between the two races, these suggestions should not shock society in Massachusetts. The people of France have never offensively advertised their sympathy with the Negro, and have never lectured other nations about their unfair and unjust treatment of him. Yet even on the question of intermarriage, white society there has never discriminated against the Negro. If he be a gentleman, the Negro from the French islands of the West Indies has always been received in the fashionable *salons* of the Faubourg St. Germain in Paris, where dwell the descendants of the ancient noblesse of France, a circle certainly as exclusive and as aristocratic as any society in Boston. This Negro from the French West Indies, thus socially entertained, is the same kind of Negro that we have in this country, for they were both piously transported by Boston ship-owners from the same country in Africa.

We have said enough to justify the claim on the part of the Southern people for some consideration, some charity, some indulgence from the political and clerical negrophilists of Massachusetts. They have a wide field for reform at home. When they shall have set the example of practicing the justice and



Christian brotherhood which they preach, then we may consent to listen to their denunciations of those who refuse to imitate their superior virtues.

It seems to be intended by Providence that every nation must deal with some great problem whose solution strains the bonds of society and taxes the wisest statesmanship of its government. But we may take the whole field of political, religious, social, and economic agitation, and it may safely be asserted that for the scope of its evil influences and results upon society and government, and its perplexing difficulties, the race problem in this country promises to be the most serious of all. Forced upon the Southern people against their protest, it has been aggravated by partisan legislation to such an extent that many despair of its possible solution. It is easy for people at the North, who are living in peace and luxury, removed from the vexations and perils of race conflicts, to pass a hasty judgment upon those whose misfortune it is to confront their dire consequences. Governor Eyre of Jamaica was made a victim of popular clamor by the sentimentalists of England, who were safe from any danger, because he suppressed with vigor a Negro insurrection headed by George William Gordon, who was executed. Every one who has ever seen an excited mob of Negroes, lashed into frenzy and savage fury against the white race, ought to know that by his prompt action he saved from massacre the fifteen thousand white inhabitants of that island. That there has been less violence and less bloodshed at the South is due to the fact that, at the onset of any trouble, the white people have been prompt and determined to teach the Negro that wanton desolation and destruction of property, and the wholesale murder of women and children by an infuriated and savage mob, will not be tolerated by the white people of this country. As a result of this stern policy, peace and quiet have reigned for years at the South, and both races are living on friendly and satisfactory terms.

The Negroes had once an opportunity to solve this race question. In 1791 the French National Convention passed the memorable decree giving to the free people of color in Hayti the unlimited enjoyment of all the rights possessed by the French citizens. Immediately there was an insurrection of the slaves.



The French government, seeing what a mess they had made of this race question, repealed the decree, and thereupon the Negroes in Hayti determined to solve what was to them a white problem, in contrast to what is to us a Negro problem. They massacred every man, woman, and child on the island who did not succeed in taking refuge on the ships then in the harbor. They established their own government, and to-day according to the law of the black republic not a white man can hold an office or own a foot of land. This solution does not commend itself for its humanity, but it shows that the Negroes firmly believed in the doctrine that in case of conflict one of the two races must absolutely dominate.

. Unfortunately for the two races, the reconstruction policy sowed seeds of race discord and race animosity which have borne their legitimate fruit. That foul bird of prey, the carpet-bagger, for the purpose of robbing the Southern people of the remnant of property left to them by the most desolating war known in history, encouraged the deluded Negro to believe that the federal government intended that he should govern the white race in the South. The result was that Negro governments which would have been a disgrace to a third-rate mud village on the banks of the Nile, were established by political frauds and military force. The Southern white people determined that the torches of Caucasian civilization should not be extinguished. They overthrew these scandalous governments in the interest of both races, for they represented nothing but political depravity, personal turpitude, and public immorality. It was an arduous and a brave contest, in which the Southern people exhibited civic virtues that eclipsed their military prowess during the war. The Negro to-day has every reason to know that under no circumstances will the white people submit to his government and his domination. The Negro can live, can prosper, and can be happy under a white man's government, but a white man can never and will never do either under a Negro government.

This problem is still far from being solved. Our plain duty should be not to make its solution more difficult. We insist that it is time for the Northern people to acknowledge that, inasmuch as this race question directly affects the interests, the civilization,



and the destiny of the Southern people, to them alone should be confided the task and the responsibility of solving it. To them it is a domestic and a home-rule question surpassing in its importance and gravity every national question. The Southern people never concern themselves about matters which are of purely municipal cognizance in the North. Their political education has taught them to respect the proprieties of State comity. The rules of international etiquette which forbid one nation to intermeddle with the local and domestic affairs of another should be applied to the relations of the people of the different States, particularly upon this race question, which presents so many points of irritation, and so much cause for resentment on the part of a sensitive community.

It would be useless to prophesy as to the future of the Negro in this country. In the South to-day he is happy, contented, and satisfied. The reason is that there is always a demand for his labor, and that his wants, cares, anxieties, and aspirations are very limited. In these respects the Negroes have every advantage over every other laboring class in the world. In the South his wood, his water, his wages, his rations, his cabin, and his garden spot are always at his command. Comparatively speaking, he is a stranger to the terrible distresses of poverty, and scarcely knows what it is to think of the morrow with its attendant disappointments and responsibilities, as regards supporting, educating, and elevating the family.

If his lot is to continue to be one of inferiority, rather than appeal to the political favoritism of the federal government, or to the partisan sympathies of Northern philanthropists, as he has done in the past, he should rely implicitly upon the magnanimity of his white fellow-citizens of the South, to treat him with the justice and generosity due to his unfortunate condition.

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## THE GREAT RAILWAY DEBT.

"INSOLVENCY in the case of railway companies," said a writer in the London "Quarterly Review" in 1867, "is a new feature in the commercial world, and it has taken everybody by surprise." Certainly, so far as railways in the United States are concerned, events have since happened of a nature calculated to dull the edge of this observer's amazement. *Data* are not accessible prior to 1876, but since then over 400 American companies, operating more than 35,000 miles of railroad, have been insolvent, and the relations of two billions of capital stock and indebtedness have been readjusted under foreclosures. Railroads have been built with the avowed object, not of furnishing transportation facilities, but of raising money by mortgage to put in the pockets of projectors, who abandoned them to insolvency after enriching themselves with the proceeds of loans negotiated from a credulous public. But one serious attempt, the Pacific Railways Sinking Fund Act, has been made by any American government to compel provision for payment of railway indebtedness. That attempt met with bitter resistance from the companies interested, which declared all such legislation to be violative of the fundamental principles governing the relations of railway companies and their creditors. "A railroad company," said one United States Senator, "is not incorporated for the purpose of paying its debts. That is not one of the objects of its creation." It is not many years since a body of representative business men declared a bankrupt railway to their city essential to secure to the people rates reasonably low and free from unjust discrimination. Out of nearly 3,000 railway companies (1,400 extinct and 1,600 alive), only about fifty appear to have attempted to establish sinking funds for the ultimate payment of their funded indebtedness. The annual increment of these funds does not exceed \$10,000,000—not enough to liquidate the debt in three centuries. All these sinking funds, save perhaps half



a dozen placed in the hands of trustees, are subject to impairment by the companies, which "borrow" from them on any and every occasion of financial need. Out of 237 representative railway stocks, 164 are below par. Of these, only eighteen are worth 80 per cent. and upward, while forty-nine range in value from 50 per cent. to 80 per cent., and ninety-seven are below 50 per cent., some running down to 1 or 2 per cent. of their nominal worth. Indeed, so far from railway insolvency being matter of surprise, it does not, in view of our railway history, seem inaccurate to say, that the dominant American railway policy is to cumulate indebtedness to the uttermost limit, without setting bounds to borrowing, without providing means of payment, and with the most complaisant view of insolvency as affording opportunities to "wipe out" unsecured debts, to "scale down" stock and bond values, and to reorganize with an enlargement of capital stock and a further expansion of credit.

Yet there are sound reasons for surprise, especially among foreign observers, at railway insolvency. In the German Empire railway incomes steadily exceed railway expenditures from 4 to 7 per cent. No such thing as railway insolvency there exists. The same is true of Australia, notwithstanding the fact that there railway development has not got beyond a constructive stage incident to a new country, marked by light traffic and heavy expenses. Even in England, where railways are burdened with the waste, extravagance, and rapacity characteristic of private managements, the element of worthlessness enters into railway securities to no such degree as in the United States. An investor familiar with the best foreign railway values must therefore look upon American railway failures as novelties. He cannot but wonder still more at their number and magnitude, when he reflects that American railway companies possess, in the right to charge fares and freights, a power of taxing the largest traffic in the world, and that the just, reasonable exercise of this power has never been questioned by the people, their complaints being only of extortion and unjust discrimination.

Added cause for wonderment is the indifferent condition of the public mind in reference to railway indebtedness. On December 31, 1886, the debt amounted to 4,377 millions of dol-



lars, a sum much greater than the largest national debt we ever owed. Per capita it is over sixty-seven dollars; indeed the Pacific Railways commissioners place the debt per capita at seventy-seven dollars. The interest charge upon it was, during 1886, \$187,000,000, or about \$2.90 per capita per annum. Every cent of the interest and of the principal, if the principal be ever paid, must come from the pockets of the people, whose contributions in the shape of freights and fares furnish the revenues, not alone for payment of railway debts and interest, but for payment of the expenses of maintenance and operation. The debt is, in this aspect, a national burden, demanding the earnest attention of the people and the sincerest consideration of the wisest statesmen, lest it become a burden too great to be borne by the public, and our system of railways become swamped in the mire of bankruptcy and repudiation. Yet grave and serious as are the problems connected with it, the attention of neither voter, legislator, nor railway manager has been turned to them. This may be due to the fact that railway bonds are by many considered to represent investments rather than loans; but even in this light railway indebtedness presents questions of great gravity. Should it be allowed to stand as an investment drawing heavy interest charges from the people? What is its present *status*? How is it created, and how, if at all, should its creation be restrained or limited? When and in what sums is it due? Shall it continue to be a large number of small funds, or should it be consolidated into a few large loans easily, cheaply, and safely manageable? What should be the relations to it of our various governments? These are some of the questions that come to mind in reference to it, and while this is not the place for definite, complete answers to them, it is possible briefly to survey the field covered by them, to point out with some distinctness the dangers hidden within it, and to hint possible solutions of the problems presented. To do this with impartiality and fairness, as well to railway proprietors as to the public, is the purpose of this essay.

The current and floating indebtedness of railways is but a trifle in amount compared with the vast funded debt. It is however a loophole for bankruptcy to creep through which is practically unguarded by the state, not one of whose railway com-



missions requires any special report of railway current and floating accounts in order to protect this vulnerable point in the economy of the companies.

The funded debt presents a problem simpler in some respects than that presented by railway stock capitalization. It is secured, the rate of interest is fixed, and discounts have been fewer and smaller in negotiating it than in the sale of stocks. The element of "water" or fictitious value is not likely seriously to complicate the readjustment of railway funded debts. Moreover, the bonds, much more than railway stocks, have been subjects of foreign investments. Whatever doubts exist as to the rights of domestic speculators who hold securities depreciated by their own manipulations, none exist as to the rights of foreign bondholders. They have invested their means in good faith in bonds of enterprises exhibiting charters and rights of way granted by the States; and the States, by granting such privileges, have given a *quasi* guaranty of the solidity and respectability of the companies asking financial aid and presenting State charters as credentials entitling them to consideration.

Free from complications as are, in the foregoing respects, the problems connected with railway indebtedness, the whole financial policy of our governments, State and national, and of the railway companies, merits many criticisms and is susceptible of great improvements. Unnecessary railway companies, authorized to increase the railway debt by new issues of bonds, should not be, but are constantly, created. Granting that the nation's need of transportation facilities ought to be amply supplied, an unnecessary railway is a public evil. It withdraws capital from commercial or manufacturing channels wherein it might be employed more usefully and profitably. It causes ruinous wars of rates, in which transportation services are done without adequate compensation, accompanied by unjust discriminations and commercial disturbance. \* By making older railway investments in the territory unproductive of expenses and interest charges, it results in defaults, foreclosures, and reorganizations that add to the public burdens in every instance. Ultimately combinations result which advance rates to points where incomes may be earned to pay expenses and the increased charges of the enlarged capital of



the new and old companies in the field. Some early charters contained restrictions upon the right of the legislature to charter new companies within the territory served by the old. While the wisdom of such restrictions may be doubted, and while, in their absence, the legal right of the State to create new competitive railway corporations may be conceded, morally such grants may amount to a clear breach of faith toward honest investors in the territory wherein a new company comes to depreciate the value of their investments, and to reduce their earning capacity. An inquiry at least should be made by the State into the need of each new railway enterprise, before granting a charter which events may show to be improvident and injurious.

Express consent both of the State and of shareholders should be, but is not, essential to authorize directors to issue bonds. Theoretically, the State does give such consent when it grants a charter; so also do shareholders when they elect directors and confide to them authority to act on their behalf, even to the extent of borrowing money for their company. But such implied consent to loans given by the State and by shareholders is too remote from the act assented to, to work an effective restraint upon directoral conduct. In fact, vast properties are bonded and important liens are given without even the knowledge of either State officers or shareholders. The State is clearly an interested party, since its people must ultimately pay both the principal and the interest of every railway debt created. Stockholders are interested, lest the earnings of their railway be diverted from dividend-paying to satisfy the claims of creditors, and lest prior liens be placed upon the properties represented by their shares, which, becoming too burdensome to be borne, necessitate defaults, foreclosures, and sales that sweep away the corporate assets and destroy the value of the stock.

The amount of bonds issuable should be, but is not, absolutely limited. Besides the strong reasons constraining the public and the shareholders of a railway to keep the amount of its bonds down to the lowest practicable point, an especial reason arises out of the relations of bondholders and shareholders to the control of railway properties. The law which gives the stockholders control over a corporation is designed to place its affairs in



charge of those having the greater financial stake in it. This results in fact where the amount of bonds is less than the total amount of stock, and the stock has been fully paid for in money or money's worth. But where the stock has been almost given away, as by sales at heavy discounts, the interests of bondholders may largely exceed those of such stockholders, whose retention of corporate control places the property in charge of a mere minority in interest, bondholders being excluded from management. Practically, this abrogates the law confiding the control of the company to those having the greater interest in it, and places it in the hands of an oftentimes irresponsible faction of projectors. No such subversion of legal principles and equitable relations should be possible, and would not be if issues of bonds were limited to reasonable proportions of fully paid capital stock.

The denominations and the distribution of railway bonds deserve criticism. Ordinarily, the denominations are \$500 and \$1,000, but \$10,000 bonds are not uncommon, and some are issued for \$100,000. These denominations hinder the wide distribution of the securities among the people, because they are too large to secure purchasers among persons of moderate means. Only the rich can afford \$500 or \$1,000 investments; many people of less means would gladly invest in safe railway securities of \$50 or \$100 denominations. Where the total investment may not exceed \$500, small bonds admit of its division among several companies, thus enhancing security. To reduce the denominations of railway bonds would enlarge materially the home market for them. It would give the railways a larger constituency of interested investors in the territories they serve, a constituency competent to restrain in a marked degree the excesses of ill-considered hostile railway legislation, and to contribute in many ways to railway stability and prosperity. Concerning the disposition to market railway securities abroad and in the East, and generally among large investors, to the exclusion of small purchasers and of the West, it is pertinent to inquire who is likely to be able most intelligently and effectively to participate in adjusting fairly the frequently strained relations of railways and the public, the Dutch bondholder in Amsterdam, or the American farmer on the Western prairies, who has invested a few hundreds in securi-



ties of the roads which carry his grain to market. Certainly the latter; and no sounder railway policy can be devised than one which will interest the largest number of the American people in their railway system. The people served by a railroad should own it. Every effort should therefore be made to render railway investments secure and reasonably profitable, and to place them among all classes of our own people. Money is power, and a wide distribution of railway securities is consonant with the true republican idea of the disintegration and distribution of power. Such a course will make railway properties safe investments, and by securing the payment to our own citizens of large sums of interest and dividends now sent abroad, will prevent their diversion from home industries to channels of foreign commerce. It will abolish also a form of "absenteeism" in the ownership of railways which results from large foreign investments in them, and as a consequence of which interests clash and rights are disregarded. Railway managers, where the public served by a road lives in one territory, the stockholders in another, and the bondholders in a third, work for three masters. The public and the bondholders have no share in selecting the managers, and neither stockholders nor bondholders are effectively represented in the legislatures that regulate the rates of the roads. Hence ensues a clashing of interests in which neither party's rights are fully regarded. Injustice is often done, and perhaps cannot be wholly avoided. But it can certainly be lessened by making the people to whom the roads afford transportation facilities the owners of their stocks and bonds, and to the extent of such ownership the rightful masters of their managers.

Interest rates upon American railway bonds are excessively high. German, Australian, and other foreign railways are, and for many years have been, built with loans obtained at  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , 4, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest. The average rate of interest upon all sorts of loans in the United States in 1886 was 4.75 per cent. The large traffic and, under proper management, the certain and liberal revenues of American railways should have enabled them to borrow at less than the average rate. In fact, however, the average rate of interest upon American railway loans is considerably higher, being above 6 per cent.; the



rates most commonly stipulated are 6 and 7 per cent., while 8, 9, and 10 per cent. rates are not uncommon. Coupled with high rates of interest have been heavy discounts in the sale of bonds, 10, 20, 30, and even 50 per cent. of their face value being thrown off. Such sacrifices have often been compelled by depreciation of properties and reduction of revenues due to unrestrained, ruinous competition. But they are needless, and can be avoided if the people can but be made to know that competition may be carried to points beyond which it does not result in unmixed blessings. Railroad commissioners, at least, should by this time be educated to the point of perceiving in competition a two-edged sword which can hurt as well as help the people. Sanguine as it may seem, it is safe to say that, if reasonable restraints can be put upon competition, American railway loans may be floated at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 per cent. Such a result is worth striving for. A two per cent. reduction in the rate of interest on the railway debt in the United States would amount to nearly eighty millions per annum, a vast sum which, if saved to the people, could be employed by them in compensating labor, and developing their lands, mines, and manufactures. Is it not fair to ask railway legislators and commissioners whether it is not as wise to save the people's money by so regulating railways as to reduce their interest charges, as it is to save it by cutting down rates and promoting competitive strife at the cost of high interest charges, large discounts, and expensive foreclosures and reorganizations.

Railway refunding commissions are too high. While a large amount of the national debt was refunded at a cost for commissions of  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the commissions paid for refunding railway loans are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and upward. A saving of 2 per cent. commissions in refunding the 1621 issues of railway bonds of which the writer has records, would at a rough estimate amount to \$80,000,000, a sum multiplied many times by adding to it possible savings through avoiding the costly discounts common in railway refunding plans. An example is furnished by the new Reading loan. \$26,000,000 of its bonds was sold to a syndicate at 90, less  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for commissions. The bonds were to be offered to the public at 92, a 2 per cent. advance, making the bankers' commissions and profits  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the par



value of the bonds, or about \$1,170,000. The entire discount from the face of the bonds was  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or \$3,250,000. If the entire railway debt of the United States companies shall be refunded at a similar discount, such refunding will add fully \$500,000,000 to the total amount of the debt on which the people must pay interest. No graver question confronts the citizen, the legislator, or the railway manager than how to manage the vast, chaotic, unwieldy railway bonded investment so as to avoid, or at least to reduce, the tremendous losses whose existence and possibility are here pointed out.

When does the railway bonded debt mature? Accessible *data* do not make it possible accurately to answer this inquiry. Generally the bonds run from ten to fifty years from date of issue. A few do not mature until 1990 or 1995. Some old bonds of the West Shore were to run 475 years, but they have been retired and new, shorter ones substituted. There is an issue of \$100,000 of bonds not due until 2866, and some "perpetual debentures" exist. But by far the greater amount matures in from twenty to thirty-five years, as will be seen from the following table. It is to be regretted that a complete schedule of the amounts maturing in each year cannot be presented. But completeness was impossible, since some of the companies do not make full returns as to their bonded indebtedness. The table is, however, based upon an examination of the reports of over 1600 companies, and is fairly indicative of the maturity of the entire railway debt. Further returns will enlarge the amounts stated, but it is not believed that they would change materially the proportions of indebtedness maturing in each year.

TABLE SHOWING MATURITY OF RAILWAY INDEBTEDNESS.

Year.	$\frac{1}{4}$ inch = 10 millions.	Amount Due.
1889	—	\$20,000,000
1890	—————	70,000,000
1891	—————	40,000,000
1892	—————	30,000,000
1893	—————	50,000,000
1894	—————	50,000,000
1895	—————	40,000,000
1896	—————	50,000,000
1897	—————	40,000,000
1898	—————	60,000,000



THE GREAT RAILWAY DEBT.

Year.	$\frac{1}{8}$ inch = 10 millions.	Amount Due.
1899	<div></div>	80,000,000
1900	<div></div>	110,000,000
1901	<div></div>	40,000,000
1902	<div></div>	70,000,000
1903	<div></div>	120,000,000
1904	<div></div>	30,000,000
1905	<div></div>	160,000,000
1906	<div></div>	80,000,000
1907	<div></div>	50,000,000
1908	<div></div>	70,000,000
1909	<div></div>	80,000,000
1910	<div></div>	180,000,000
1911	<div></div>	90,000,000
1912	<div></div>	40,000,000
1913	<div></div>	70,000,000
1914	<div></div>	40,000,000
1915	<div></div>	100,000,000
1916	<div></div>	40,000,000
1917	<div></div>	10,000,000
1918	<div></div>	30,000,000
1919	<div></div>	70,000,000
1920	<div></div>	160,000,000
1921	<div></div>	210,000,000
1922	<div></div>	80,000,000
1923	<div></div>	90,000,000
1924	<div></div>	30,000,000
1925	<div></div>	30,000,000
1926	<div></div>	50,000,000
1927	<div></div>	30,000,000
1928	<div></div>	10,000,000
1929	<div></div>	10,000,000
1930	<div></div>	40,000,000
1931	<div></div>	70,000,000
1932	<div></div>	20,000,000
1933	<div></div>	60,000,000
1934	<div></div>	60,000,000
1935	<div></div>	10,000,000
1936	<div></div>	70,000,000
1937	<div></div>	30,000,000
1950	<div></div>	10,000,000
1951	<div></div>	20,000,000
1980	<div></div>	10,000,000
1991	<div></div>	20,000,000
1994	<div></div>	10,000,000

Total, . . . . . \$3,140,000,000



The planless irregularity of maturity and the magnitude of the amounts due each year, are very noticeable in the foregoing table. The aggregate sum maturing in the first quarter of the next century is more than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  billions, falling due in sums of from 10 to 210 millions per annum. To these must be added large sums not included in the table, and other large amounts that will be added by new loans negotiated in the near future. Are not the funding operations necessary to provide for the maturity of these obligations likely severely to strain the resources of the companies, of the banks that will be asked to assist them, and indeed of the nation? Will not the demand for such extraordinary sums divert money from other channels of commerce to the disturbance of trade and financial equilibrium? If the debts are paid off when due, will not the loosening of so much capital from railway investment result in unwholesome speculation? When the railways ask renewals of their loans, will not the maturing of such large sums at one time make it possible for combinations of financiers so to control the supply of money as either to get control of the roads by enforced defaults and foreclosures, or to compel refunding upon their own terms? Premature and possibly unjustified as these questions may be, they serve at least to emphasize the need of a comprehensive, far-sighted central administration of railway finances sufficiently strong to guard against errors that may imperil the existence of some of the best of the American transportation systems. Government supervision of railway finances would be largely free from the prime objection to government absorption of transportation business, *viz.*, the creation of a large body of inefficient, corrupt government servants, since, unlike government assumption of operative control of railways, government management of railway finances would involve a comparatively small addition to the official force. Free from this objection as it is, there seem to be very good reasons for desiring government supervision of the finances of railways at the earliest practicable moment.

In order that the people may be relieved of interest charges, which in a score of years equal the principal of the debt, that principal should be paid off. It should not stand as an investment forever, burdening the people and draining their resources. Ag-



gregating now over four billions of dollars and steadily growing, prompt measures are necessary to control its increase and to compel its payment. Sinking funds should be established. These should be placed in trust of the government, so that they will be removed from the danger of depletion by embarrassed companies desirous of "borrowing" from them. When due, the bonds should be paid and retired.

Summarized, the results of this inquiry into the *status* of railway indebtedness are these: In order to keep down such indebtedness to reasonable proportions, to reduce the rates of interest it bears, and to provide for its inexpensive refunding and ultimate payment, strong checks should be placed upon the creation of unnecessary, useless railway companies authorized to borrow money; the amount of indebtedness which may be incurred by existing companies and such as may be created should be limited, and even within the limits established, bonded indebtedness should not be incurred except by express consent of the State and of shareholders, given only after an investigation as to the necessity of the proposed loan. So far as practicable, railway bonds should be marketed within the territory of the railway issuing them, or within the United States. They should be of small denominations and listed at internal as well as foreign financial centers. Provision needs to be made for the consolidation of the various issues of railway bonds, and for their maturity at times and in amounts so regular as not to cause disturbance of financial or commercial equilibrium. Interest charges should be reduced, and a multiplicity of refunding operations attended with extravagant commissions, bonuses, and discounts should be avoided. Sinking funds should be created and placed in charge of the government, sufficient in amount to provide for the payment in proper time of at least such portions of the debt as the people deem it proper and feel able to extinguish.

Such are the purposes which should dominate the financial management of the American railway system; purposes which if accomplished will enhance American railway credit, do justice to creditors, and promote harmony in the relations of the railway companies and the people.

ADELBERT HAMILTON.



## HOW THE TARIFF AFFECTS WAGES.

THE form in which the argument that the tariff raises wages is almost always presented, is that of a simple comparison of money wages in the United States and in foreign countries. To most people this is a plain and convincing way of putting it. If A pays only fifty cents a day to his workmen, and B pays a dollar a day, it seems clear that A can undersell B, and that B cannot compete with A unless he reduces his wages to A's rates. The application of this reasoning to our protective duties is familiar enough: if duties are lowered, the American employer must either pay lower wages or abandon the field.

But the question at once occurs, Why is not this reasoning of universal application? Money wages in all occupations are higher in the United States than in Europe; why are not the employers in all occupations undersold by their foreign competitors? We know that all employers are not so undersold; for we export a great many articles, while many more which are not exported are yet as cheap here as in countries where wages are lower. Wages in agriculture are much higher with us than in England. An English farm laborer gets from ten to fifteen shillings a week, without board or lodging, or somewhere between twelve and fifteen dollars a month. In the United States a farm hand gets fifteen, eighteen, twenty dollars a month, and in Western States even more, over and above his board and lodging. Yet the American farmer, while paying much higher wages, sends wheat and almost all agricultural products to England, and undersells the English farmer. Again, wages in the cotton manufacture are higher here than in England; yet millions of dollars' worth is annually sent to China and other countries, and is there disposed of side by side with English cottons, whose makers have paid lower wages. Axes are exported in large quantities from the United States, in successful competition with axes made in Europe, although the men who are engaged in

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making them get much higher wages than the men who make axes in Europe. The explanation of these cases is of course very simple. The workman is paid more, but he also produces more. The labor is more efficient, and the employer can therefore afford to pay more for it. Sometimes, as in the case of wheat, the same exertion produces a greater quantity of identically the same article; sometimes it produces a greater quantity, and also a better quality, as with cottons; sometimes, as is probably the case with our axes, the greater efficiency consists in producing an article which is better made and better adapted to its purposes. In all such cases the product sells for more than the product of the same labor elsewhere, and the employer is able to pay higher money wages. Not only is he able to do so, but he must; for thousands of employers desire to engage in business, and compete with each other for laborers; and the result must be that wages will be high in some proportion to the productiveness of the laborers. Beyond doubt this is the fundamental explanation of the differences that prevail in the various parts of the world in the money wages of laborers as well as in the commodities which they buy with the money, and which are their real wages. The great reason why wages are very small in India and China, higher but still slim in a country like Germany, comparatively high in England, and highest of all in the United States, is to be found in the varying productiveness of labor in these countries. This simple sort of treatment of course does not exhaust the subject of wages. There still remains the much more difficult question, how large a part of the total product, be that great or small, goes to the laborer, and how large a part goes to the employer, to the capitalist, and to the land-owner. But this problem, much the most interesting and perhaps the most difficult in the range of economics, is even less affected by tariff legislation than is the general range of productiveness and of return to labor. So much of the truth seems to have been instinctively recognized. In the popular discussions of the tariff the social questions are not usually touched, and we need not here concern ourselves with them. It suffices for the present purpose to get a broad explanation of the differences in wages in different countries, such as we find in the varying productiveness of labor. This explanation is so simple, and the notion that a high tariff

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causes general high wages is so preposterous, that the discussion would need an apology were not the tariff-and-wages argument so prominent as it happens now to be.

In truth, few intelligent and unbiased persons would seriously argue that protective duties are the chief cause of high wages in the United States. But many would doubtless say that the duties keep up the wages in certain industries, and therefore at least help to maintain them all around. On the other hand, the opponents of protective duties generally argue that duties keep wages high in no industry whatever, and that, when they affect wages at all, they always tend to lower them. An examination of these conflicting views will enable us better to understand what, if any, is the real connection. We will begin with the second line of argument, that high wages are never the result of duties, but always of greater efficiency of labor.

To this it must be answered that high wages, in the United States at present, are not in all cases the result of greater productiveness, but are sometimes, in a certain sense, the result of protective duties. Many workmen—not so many as is often supposed, but still a good many—could not be paid in their present occupations the wages they now earn if it were not for the tariff. It does not follow that, if duties were removed, they could not get as high or higher wages in some other occupation; but, where they are, their present wages could not be paid but for the duties. When a system of protection has been established, it is not true, as we are often told by writers opposed to protection, that high wages are an invariable sign of productiveness and of great efficiency of labor. That proposition, which Cairnes first brought out prominently in his “*Leading Principles of Political Economy*,” holds good only in a state of free exchange. In the United States we have a great range of industries in which labor is efficient, cost is low, commodities are produced with less exertion than in other countries, and in which, therefore, wages are high. Chief among these industries of course is agriculture; but the same general conditions obtain in many manufacturing industries. Side by side with these there are industries in which labor is no more productive than in other countries. Perhaps earthenware (except the cheaper grades) is as good an example as could be



found. If there were no duty on earthenware of the finer kinds, it would not be made in the United States; the employer who should try to make it could not afford the high wages for which the standard is set by other occupations in which labor is comparatively more efficient. Such an article would be imported, and would be paid for by the exportation of commodities for which our conditions are more favorable. But, so far as the individual employer and workman are concerned, duties on imports serve to offset the unfavorable conditions. They enable earthenware to sell for more here than it will bring abroad; it can sell in this country for the foreign price *plus* the duty. The employer is put in the same position as if he hired more efficient labor. The duties enable him to get more money for his earthenware than the foreign maker gets for the product of the same labor abroad; therefore he can pay, and in the long run must pay, like the farmer and axe-manufacturer, higher wages than are paid abroad. The difference is that the farmer and axe-maker sell their product for more than their foreign competitors, and can pay higher wages, because their workmen produce either more articles or better articles; the earthenware maker can do so, although his workmen produce no more, because the duties enable him to sell the same product for a higher price. In the long run, the operation is of no benefit either to the capitalists and employers or to the workmen. The manufacturers do not make exceptional profits, for, though they get higher prices than the foreign manufacturers, they must pay higher wages and they get no more efficient labor. The zeal of some free-traders carries them too far when they say that the normal effect of a protective duty is to give the protected capitalist unusual profits. Barring conditions of monopoly, and looking at the result in the long run, this is not the case. Nor would the capital have failed, if there had been no duty on earthenware, to find investment elsewhere on equally good terms; it would have turned to the more favorably situated industries, and, if the duty were removed, in the long run would turn to them again. As for the workmen, they also could have earned in these industries at least the same wages, and could earn them again. It is only while they stick to earthenware that their wages are kept up by the tariff.



The net result is that some of the labor and capital of the country is turned from more productive channels to less productive. This, and this only, is the usual and normal effect of a protective duty. The labor and capital produce less than they would yield if turned to raising wheat or making axes, and sending the wheat and axes abroad to be exchanged for crockery. As consumers of protected articles, the members of the community are worse off. Their industry produces less, and they have less material commodities; and, to the extent that product is less, wages also are less. The real effect of protective duties on general wages is to lower them by making the return to labor smaller; and this lowering of wages takes the concrete shape of higher prices of the protected commodities.

All this is but a re-statement and illustration of familiar economic principles, and especially of the fundamental proposition that international trade depends on the comparative productiveness of labor. The material prosperity of the United States is increased by confining their labor and capital to the commodities in which they have an advantage, and in which, therefore, the employer can afford to pay high wages. Importation in exchange for the export of such articles is the easiest means of obtaining those commodities for which the country has not a greater productiveness than foreign countries, and in which, without duties, the employer cannot afford to pay high wages. The situation is exactly parallel to that of a lawyer who is able to do clerk-work quite as well as his clerk, but who nevertheless finds it to his profit to hire the clerk and to confine himself to the more difficult legal work in which he excels.

What now are the industries in which the United States have an economic advantage, and in which greater productiveness of industry enables and causes higher wages to be paid? We are often told that the agricultural industries alone are in this situation, and that a removal of protective duties would result in the entire disappearance of manufactures. But this is far from being the case. Greater productiveness is due sometimes to physical causes, as sometimes to moral and intellectual causes. The American farmer raises more wheat than his European competitor, and can afford to pay higher wages, in part because he has abundance of rich



and virgin soil, but also in good part because he works more intelligently, uses more and better machinery, and gets his wheat carried to market more cheaply. The American cotton manufacturer gets more cotton cloth for the same expenditure of money, partly because his raw cotton costs him less, partly because his machinery is a little better and is run a little more effectively, and partly because his employees are more active and more intelligent. The makers of American axes, watches, boots and shoes, plows, and a host of other articles, produce more with the same labor and capital because they use more machinery and more ingenious machinery, because their administration is better, and because their workmen are steadier, more intelligent, better trained, and better directed. Where we have to do, not with the physical causes of a comparative advantage, but with causes like higher intelligence, greater ingenuity in inventing and working machinery, and steadier and more strenuous exertion, the matter may elude analysis. The character and genius of a people, marked as they are and distinct as may be their effects, are often most difficult to account for. But certain it is that our national genius gives us a comparative advantage in a vast number of manufacturing and mechanical industries. By far the largest part of what are classed as manufacturing industries would continue to exist and to pay high wages even if duties were abolished; while any reduction of duties such as is proposed for the visible future would affect only an insignificant part of the whole.\*

But there are undoubtedly some industries, a small proportion of the whole, yet employing thousands of workmen and millions of capital, which would be seriously affected by a great reduction of duties. In these we have no advantages; they would not exist but for high duties; and current wages in them could not be paid if duties on their products were abolished. It is true that in such a case the workmen and most of the capital could

\* It is perhaps unnecessary to point out to those who are accustomed to reasoning on these subjects that greater activity and ingenuity may tell more in some occupations than in others, and so may bring about a comparative advantage. Our industrial history makes it clear that many manufactures are not dependent on high protective duties. The reader who wishes to learn more of the history and position of our manufacturing industries is referred to my "Tariff History of the United States."



find, in course of time, equally good employment elsewhere. But a sudden transition must be painful and wasteful. So much of the capital as is permanent plant, not capable of use for other purposes, would be entirely lost. To a workman a change of occupation always means discomfort, generally temporary privation, often misery. Any reductions of duty, therefore, must be made carefully and with great consideration for the vested interests of capital, and with equally great regard to the lack of mobility in labor; and to this extent there is a degree of validity in the argument that the tariff keeps up wages. Reasons of this kind, however, are not generally permitted to stand in the way of a change which is shown to be advantageous to the community at large. Railroads were not prohibited because the inn-keepers and post-boys suffered, nor were the New England farmers protected by duties when the railroads enabled the Western farmers, with their more fertile land, to undersell them. Material progress is got only by a constant shifting and rearrangement of industry, and is bought at a constant expense of discomfort or suffering to those who must shift.

A word may now be said as to that more sober way of putting the wages argument to which reference was made a few moments ago; namely, that duties serve at least to keep wages up, because, if they were removed, and the labor and capital in the protected industries were to turn to other occupations, there would be excessive production in these latter. If, for instance, they were to turn to agriculture, we are told that more wheat and corn would be raised, the markets would be flooded, prices would fall, and wages with them. This sort of reasoning, as has already been hinted, involves a fundamental misconception of the nature of international trade. The market for the additional wheat and corn would exist abroad. For, if we produced less earthenware, more of it would be imported, and more would be made in foreign countries, where a shifting of labor and capital would take place the reverse of what had occurred here. Industry in foreign countries would leave agriculture and turn to making earthenware, and increased imports of wheat and corn from us would take place, corresponding to our own increased imports of earthenware. The international division of labor, already so considerable



in spite of tariffs, would be somewhat extended, and the world's industry as a whole would be on a more productive basis. This is the truth about the home-market argument, and is again but a re-statement of familiar economic principles, such as are laid down in every respectable text-book. It may be added that, as a matter of fact, the shifting which would follow a reduction of our present duties, while it would be in part to agriculture, would probably be in the main a change from one kind of manufacture to another. The extent to which there would be any change at all is much exaggerated; and in any case there is no foundation for the notion that without our high protective duties agriculture would be the sole industry of the United States. A very great reduction would hardly bring a perceptible change in the diversity of our industries.

I have tried to show that protective duties, so far as they affect general wages at all, tend to lower them by lessening the productiveness of industry, and that the workmen in the protected industries themselves are not helped in the long run. But there is a possible exception to this, in cases where groups of workmen possess a monopoly. The same exception is possible to the general rule, which was laid down in a previous passage, as to capitalists. While capitalists do not, as a rule, get permanent large profits from a duty on the articles they make, they yet may get unusual profits if they have a monopoly. A few years ago, before the discovery of large copper deposits in the Territories, copper was practically monopolized in the United States, and the duty on it undoubtedly helped the copper producers (though it was not the sole cause) in reaping very high profits. If a duty is imposed on an article which certain workmen alone can make, either because they have a monopoly of skill, or because they have a rigorous trade union, it may serve to give those workmen higher wages than they could otherwise get. It looks as if something of this kind had happened in some branches of the glass and iron trades, where unions have been very strong. Obviously the capitalists in the one case, and the workmen in the other, levy tribute on the rest of the community. They get high returns, not because they produce much, but because they have a monopoly, and can compel other people to pay the utmost they are



willing to give rather than go without the articles. The tariff simply serves to prevent the monopoly from being broken by competition from abroad. But such cases are not common; they are rarer as regards workmen than as regards capitalists; and they do not introduce important exceptions to our general conclusions.

Finally, a word may be said about an argument with which the free-traders sometimes meet the reasoning of their opponents. The wages paid in protected and in non-protected industries are compared; wages are found to be lower in the protected industries; and it is inferred that protection cannot raise them. But facts of this sort do not warrant the inference. In any country, whether the range of general wages be high or low, and whether the tariff be liberal or restrictive, some workmen will earn more and some will earn less than the average. Differences in skill, intelligence, activity, in rarity of special qualities, in more or less effective combination, account for such divergences from the general scale. If the laborers in our protected industries earn less than their fellows in non-protected industries, it is doubtless because they are not called on for so high a degree of skill and intelligence. It is not unlikely that the facts are as the free-traders state them. The mechanical industries in which the national character or genius gives us an advantage, and on which duties have no effect, are generally those in which a good degree of individual intelligence and capacity are called for, and in which wages would tend in any event to be high. If this be the case, and if the workmen in the protected industries are generally of a lower grade, it might be a difficult matter to transfer them to other occupations in case of a change in tariff. To work out the results of such differences even in theory would carry us too far; we are confronted here with the knotty problems, as difficult as any with which the economist has to deal, arising from the lack of free competition between laborers. But we may be sure that differences in the wages of different classes of laborers, as a rule, have nothing to do with the tariff, and prove nothing for one side or the other in the controversy about protection.

F. W. TAUSSIG.



## HAS AMERICA PRODUCED A POET ?

FOR the audacious query which stands at the head of this article, it is not I, but the editor of the *FORUM*, who must bear the blame, if blame there be. It would never have occurred to me to tie such a firebrand to the tail of any of my little foxes. He gave it to me, just as Mr. Pepys gave "Gaze not on Swans" to ingenious Mr. Birkenshaw, to make the best I could of a bad argument. On the face of it the question is absurd. There lies on my table a manual of American poetry by Mr. Stedman, in which the meed of immortality is awarded to about one hundred of Columbia's sons and daughters. No one who has a right to express an opinion is likely to deny that the learning, fidelity, and catholic taste which are displayed in this book are probably at this time of day shared, in the same degree, with its author, by no other living Anglo-Saxon writer. Why, then, should not Mr. Stedman's admirable volume be taken as a complete and satisfactory answer to our editor's query ? Simply because everything is relative, and because it may be amusing to apply to the subject of Mr. Stedman's criticisms a standard more cosmopolitan and much less indulgent than his. Mr. Stedman has mapped out the heavens with a telescope; what can an observer detect with the naked eye ?

There is an obvious, and yet a very stringent, sense in which no good critic could for a moment question that America has produced poets. A poet is a maker, a man or woman who expresses some mood of vital passion in a new manner and with adequate art. Turning to the accepted ranks of English literature, Tickell is a poet on the score of his one great elegy on Addison, and Wolfe, a century later, by his "Burial of Sir John Moore." Those poems were wholly new and impassioned, and time has no effect upon the fame of their writers. So long as English poetry continues to be studied a little closely, Tickell and Wolfe will be visible as diminutive fixed stars in our poetical



firmament. But in a rapid and superficial glance, Wolfe and Tickell disappear. Let the glance be more and more rapid, and only a few planets of the first magnitude are seen. In the age before Elizabeth, Chaucer alone remains; of the Elizabethan galaxy, so glittering and rich, we see at length only Spenser and Shakespeare; then come successive splendors of Milton, Dryden, Pope, Gray, Burns; then a cluster again of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats. Last of all, too low on the horizon still to be definitely measured, Tennyson and Browning. Fourteen names in all, a sum which might be reduced to ten, perhaps, but never to less than ten, nor expanded, on the same scale, beyond sixteen or eighteen at the outside. These fourteen are the great English poets, the selected glory and pride of five centuries, the consummation of the noblest dynasty of verse which the world has ever seen. What I take the editor of the *FORUM* to ask is, Has America hitherto produced a poet equal to the least of these, raised as high above any possible vacillation of the tide of fashion? What an invidious question!

In the first place I will have nothing to do with the living. They do not enter into our discussion. There was never a time, in my opinion, when America possessed among her citizens so various and so accomplished singers, gifted in so many provinces of song, as at the present moment. But the time has not arrived, and long may it delay, when we shall be called upon to discuss the ultimate *status* of the now living poets of America. From the most aged of them we have not yet, we hope, received "sad autumn's last chrysanthemum." Those who have departed will alone be glanced at in these few words. Death is the great solution of critical continuity, and the bard whom we knew so well, and who died last night, is nearer already to Chaucer than to us. I shall endeavor to state quite candidly what my own poor opinion is with regard to the claim of any dead American to be classed with those twelve or fourteen English inheritors of unassailed renown. If we take away our living Tennyson and Browning, there are just twelve left. What dead American is worthy to join the twelve, and make an Anglo-Saxon baker's dozen?

One more word in starting. If we admit into our criticism any patriotic or political prejudice, we may as well cease to



wrangle on the threshold of our discussion. I cannot think that American current criticism is quite free from this taint of prejudice. In this, if I am right, Americans sin no more nor less than the rest of us, English and French; but in America, I confess, the error seems to me to be occasionally more serious than in Europe. In England we are not guiltless of permitting the most puerile disputes to embitter our literary arena, and because a certain historian is a home-ruler or a certain novelist a Tory, each is anathema to the literary tribunal on the other side. Such judgments are as pitiable as they are ludicrous; but when I have watched a polite American smile to encounter such vagaries of taste in our clubs or drawing-rooms, I have sometimes wondered how the error which prefers the non-political books of a Gladstonian to those of a Unionist, on political grounds alone, differs from that which thinks an American writer must have the advantage, or some advantage, over an English writer. Each prejudice is natural and amiable; but neither the one nor the other is exempt from the charge of puerility. Patriotism is a meaningless term in literary criticism. To prefer what has been written in our own city, or state, or country, for that reason alone, is simply to drop the balance and to relinquish all claims to form a judgment. The true and reasonable lover of literature refuses to be constrained by any meaner or homelier bond than that of good writing. His brain and his taste persist in being independent of his heart, like those of the German soldier who fought through the campaign before Paris, and who was shot at last with an Alfred De Musset, thumbed and scored, in his pocket.

One instance of the patriotic fallacy has so often annoyed me that I will take this opportunity of denouncing it. A commonplace of American criticism is to compare Keats with a certain Joseph Rodman Drake. They both died at twenty-five and they both wrote verse. The parallel ends there. Keats was one of the great writers of the world. Drake was a gentle imitative bard of the fourth or fifth order, whose gifts culminated in a piece of pretty fancy called "The Culprit Fay." Every principle of proportion is outraged in a conjunction of the names of Drake and Keats. To compare them is like comparing a graceful



shrub in your garden with the tallest pine that fronts the tempest on the forehead of Rhodopé.

When the element of prejudice is entirely withdrawn, we have next to bear in mind the fluctuations of taste in respect to popular favorites, and the uncertainty that what has pleased us may ever contrive to please the world again. I have been reminded of the insecurity of contemporary judgments, and of the process of natural selection which goes on imperceptibly in criticism, by referring to a compendium of literature published thirty years ago, and remarkable in its own time for knowledge, acumen, and candor. In these volumes the late Robert Carruthers, an excellent scholar in his day and generation, gives a certain space to the department of American poetry. It is amusing to think how differently a man of Carruthers's stamp would cover the same ground to-day. He gives great prominence to Halleck and Bryant, he treats Longfellow and Poe not inadequately, he spares brief commendation to Willis and Holmes, and a bare mention to Dana and Emerson (as a poet). He alludes to no one else; and apart from his omissions, which are significant enough, nothing can be more curious than his giving equal *status* respectively to Halleck and Bryant, to Willis and Holmes, to Dana and Emerson. Thirty years have passed, and each of these pairs contains one who has been taken and one who has been left. Bryant, Holmes, and Emerson exist, and were never more prominent than to-day; but where are Halleck, Willis, and Dana? Under the microscope of Mr. Stedman, these latter three together occupy but half of one page out of four hundred, nor is there the slightest chance that these writers will ever recover the prominence which they held, and seemed to hold so securely, little more than a generation ago. The moral is too obvious to need appending to this suggestive little story.

It is not in America only that a figure which is not really a great one gets accidentally raised on a pedestal from which it presently has to be ignominiously withdrawn. But in America, where the interest in intellectual problems is so keen, and where the dull wholesome bondage of tradition is unknown, these sudden exaltations are particularly frequent. When I was in Baltimore (and I have no happier memories of travel than my



recollections of Baltimore) the only crumple in my rose-leaf was the difficulty of preserving a correct attitude toward the local deity. When you enter the gates of Johns Hopkins, the question that is asked is, "What think you of Lanier?" The writer of "The Marshes of Glynn" had passed away before I visited Baltimore, but I heard so much about him that I feel as though I had seen him. The delicately moulded ivory features, the profuse and silken beard, the wonderful eyes waxing and waning during the feverish action of lecturing, surely I have witnessed the fascination which these exercised? Baltimore would not have been Baltimore, would have been untrue to its graceful, generous, and hospitable instincts, if it had not welcomed with enthusiasm this beautiful, pathetic Southern stranger. But I am amazed to find that this pardonable idolatry is still on the increase, although I think it must surely have found its climax in a little book which my friend, President Gilman, has been kind enough to send me this year. In this volume I read that Shelley and Keats, "before disconsolate," now possess a mate; that "God's touch set the starry splendor of genius upon Lanier's soul"; and that all sorts of persons, in all sorts of language, exalt him as one of the greatest poets that ever lived. I notice, however, with a certain sly pleasure, that on the occasion of this burst of Lanierolatry a letter was received from Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "of too private a character to read." No wonder, for Dr. Holmes is the dupe of no local enthusiasm, and very well indeed distinguishes between good verse and bad.

From Baltimore drunk with loyalty and pity I appeal to Baltimore sober. What are really the characteristics of this amazing and unparalleled poetry of Lanier? Reading it again, and with every possible inclination to be pleased, I find a painful effort, a strain and rage, the most prominent qualities in everything he wrote. Never simple, never easy, never in one single lyric natural and spontaneous for more than one stanza, always forcing the note, always concealing his barrenness and tameness by grotesque violence of image and preposterous storm of sound, Lanier appears to me to be as conclusively not a poet of genius as any ambitious man who ever lived, labored, and failed. I will judge him by nothing less than those poems which his warmest



admirers point to as his masterpieces; I take "Corn," "Sunrise," and "The Marshes of Glynn." I persist in thinking that these are elaborate and learned experiments by an exceedingly clever man, and one who had read so much and felt so much that he could simulate poetical expression with extraordinary skill. But of the real thing, of the genuine traditional article, not a trace.

"I hear faint bridal-sighs of brown and green  
Dying to silent hints of kisses keen  
As far lights fringe into a pleasant sheen."

This is the sort of English, the sort of imagination, the sort of style which is to make Keats and Shelley—who have found Bryant and Landor, Rossetti and Emerson, unworthy of their company—comfortable with a mate at last. If these vapid and eccentric lines were exceptional, if they were even supported by a minority of sane and original verse, if Lanier were ever simple or genuine, I would seize on those exceptions and gladly forget the rest; but I find him on all occasions substituting vague, cloudy rhetoric for passion and tortured fancy for imagination, always striving, against the grain, to say something prophetic and unparalleled, always grinding away with infinite labor and the sweat of his brow to get that expressed which a real poet murmurs, almost unconsciously, between a sigh and a whisper.

"Wheresoe'er I turn my view,  
All is strange, yet nothing new;  
Endless labor all along,  
Endless labor to be wrong."

Lanier must have been a charming man, and one who exercised a great fascination over those who knew him. But no reasonable critic can turn from what has been written about Lanier to what Lanier actually wrote, and still contend that he was the Great American Poet.

It is not likely to be seriously contended that there are more than four of the deceased poets of America who need to have their claims discussed in connection with the highest honors in the art. These are Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, Poe. There is one other name which, it may seem to some of my readers, ought to be added to this list. But originality was so entirely lacking in the composition of that versatile and mellifluous talent



to which I allude, that I will not even mention here this fifth name. I ask permission rapidly to inquire whether Longfellow, Bryant, Emerson, and Poe are worthy of a rank beside the greatest English twelve. In the first place, what are we to say of Longfellow? I am very far from being one of those who reject the accomplished and delicate work of this highly-trained artist. If I may say so, no chapter of Mr. Stedman's book seems to me to surpass in skill that in which he deals with the works of Longfellow, and steers with infinite tact through the difficulties of the subject. In the face of those impatient youngsters who dare to speak of Longfellow and of Tupper in a breath, I assert that the former was, within his limitations, as true a poet as ever breathed. His skill in narrative was second only to that of Prior and of Lafontaine. His sonnets, the best of them, are among the most pleasing objective sonnets in the language. Although his early, and comparatively poor, work was exaggeratedly praised, his head was not turned, but, like a conscientious artist, he rose to better and better things, even at the risk of sacrificing his popularity. It is a pleasure to say this at the present day, when Longfellow's fame has unduly declined; but it is needless, of course, to dwell on the reverse of the medal, and disprove what nobody now advances, that he was a great or original poet. Originality and greatness were just the qualities he lacked. I have pointed out elsewhere that Longfellow was singularly under Swedish influences, and that his real place is in Swedish literature, chronologically between Tegnér and Runeberg. Doubtless he seemed at first to his own people more original than he was, through his habit of reproducing an exotic tone very exactly.

Bryant appears to me to be a poet of a less attractive but somewhat higher class than Longfellow. His versification is mannered, and his expressions are directly formed on European models, but his sense of style was so consistent that his careful work came to be recognizable. His poetry is a hybrid of two English stocks, closely related; he belongs partly to the Wordsworth of "Tintern Abbey," partly to the Coleridge of "Mont Blanc." The imaginative formula is Wordsworth's, the verse is the verse of Coleridge, and having in very early youth produced



this dignified and novel flower, Bryant did not try to blossom into anything different, but went on cultivating the Coleridge-Wordsworth hybrid down to the days of Rossetti and of villanelles. But Wordsworth and Coleridge had not stayed at the "Mont Blanc" and "Tintern Abbey" point. They went on advancing, developing, altering, and declining to the end of their days. The consequence is that the specimens of the Bryant variety do not strike us as remarkably like the general work of Wordsworth or of Coleridge. As I have said, although borrowed definitely and almost boldly, in the first instance, the very persistence of Bryant's style, the fact that he was influenced once by a very exquisite and noble kind of poetry, and then never any more, through a long life, by any other verse, combined with his splendid command of those restricted harmonies the secret of which he had conquered, made Bryant a very interesting and valuable poet. But in discussing his comparative position, it appears to me to be impossible to avoid seeing that his want of positive novelty—the derived character of his sentiment, his verse, and his description—is absolutely fatal to his claim to a place in the foremost rank. He is exquisitely polished, full of noble suavity and music, but his irreparable fault is to be secondary, to remind us always of his masters first, and only on reflection of himself. In this he contrasts to a disadvantage with one who is somewhat akin to him in temperament, Walter Savage Landor. We may admit that Bryant is more refined, more uniformly exquisite than Landor, but the latter has a flavor of his own, something quite original and Landorian, which makes him continue to live, while Bryant's reputation slowly fades away, like the stately crystal gables of an iceberg in summer. The "Water Fowl" pursues its steady flight through the anthologies, but Bryant is not with the great masters of poetry.

We ascend, I think, into a sphere where neither Bryant nor Longfellow, with all their art, have power to wing their way, when we read such verses as

" Musketaquit, a goblin strong,  
Of shard and flint makes jewels gay;  
They lose their grief who hear his song,  
And where he winds is the day of day.



“ So forth and brighter fares my stream ;  
Who drinks it shall not thirst again ;  
No darkness stains its equal gleam,  
And ages drop in it like rain.”

If Emerson had been frequently sustained at the heights he was capable of reaching, he would unquestionably have been one of the sovereign poets of the world. At its very best his phrase is so new and so magical, includes in its easy felicity such a wealth of fresh suggestion and flashes with such a multitude of side lights, that we cannot suppose that it will ever be superseded or will lose its charm. He seems to me like a very daring but purblind diver, who flings himself headlong into the ocean, and comes up bearing, as a rule, nothing but sand and common shells, yet who every now and then rises grasping some wonderful and unique treasure. In his prose, of course, Emerson was far more a master of the medium than in poetry. He never became an easy versifier; there seems to have been always a difficulty to him, although an irresistible attraction, in the conduct of a piece of work confined within rhyme and rhythm. He starts with a burst of inspiration; the wind drops and his sails flap the mast before he is out of port; a fresh puff of breeze carries him round the corner; for another page, the lyrical *afflatus* wholly gone, he labors with the oar of logic; when suddenly the wind springs up again, and he dances into a harbor. We are so pleased to find the voyage successfully accomplished that we do not trouble to inquire whether or no this particular port was the goal he had before him at starting. I think there is hardly one of Emerson's octosyllabic poems of which this will not be found to be more or less an accurate allegorical description. This is not quite the manner of Milton or Shelley, although it may possess its incidental advantages.

It cannot be in candor denied that we obtain a very strange impression by turning from what has been written about Emerson to his own poetry. All his biographers and critics unite, and it is very sagacious of them to do so, in giving us little anthologies of his best lines and stanzas, just as writers on “Hudibras” extract miscellanies of the fragmentary wit of Butler. Judged by a chain of these selected jewels, Emerson



gives us the impression of high imagination and great poetical splendor. But the volume of his verse, left to produce its own effect, does not fail to weaken this effect. I have before me at this moment his first collected "Poems," published, as he said, at "the solstice of the stars of his intellectual firmament." It holds the brilliant fragments that we know so well, but it holds them as a mass of dull quartz may sparkle with gold dust. It has odes about Contocook and Agischook and the Over-God, long nebulous addresses to no one knows whom, about no one knows what; for pages upon pages it wanders away into mere cacophonous eccentricity. It is Emerson's misfortune as a poet that his technical shortcomings are forever being more severely reproved by his own taste and censorship than we should dare to reprove them. To the author of "The World-Soul," in shocking verses, we silently commend his own *dictum*, in exquisite prose, that "Poetry requires that splendor of expression which carries with it the proof of great thoughts." Emerson, as a verse-writer, is so fragmentary and uncertain that we cannot place him among the great poets; and yet his best lines and stanzas seem as good as theirs. Perhaps we ought to consider him, in relation to Wordsworth and Shelley, as an asteroid among the planets.

It is understood that Edgar Allen Poe is still unforgiven in New England. "Those singularly valueless verses of Poe," was the now celebrated *dictum* of a Boston prophet. It is true that, if "that most beguiling of all little divinities, Miss Walters of the 'Transcript,'" is to be implicitly believed, Edgar Poe was very rude and naughty at the Boston Lyceum in the spring of 1845. But surely by-gones should be by-gones, and Massachusetts might now pardon the "Al Aaraaf" incident. It is not difficult to understand that there were many sides on which Poe was likely to be long distasteful to Boston, Cambridge, and Concord. The intellectual weight of the man, though unduly minimized in New England, was inconsiderable by the side of that of Emerson. But in poetry, as one has to be always insisting, the battle is not to the strong; and apart from all faults, weaknesses, and shortcomings of Poe, we feel more and more clearly, or we ought to feel, the perennial charm of his verses. The posy of his still fresh and fragrant poems is larger than that



of any other deceased American writer, although Emerson may have one or two single blossoms to show which are more brilliant than any of his. If the range of the Baltimore poet had been wider, if Poe had not harped so persistently on his one theme of remorseful passion for the irrecoverable dead, if he had employed his extraordinary, his unparalleled gifts of melodious invention, with equal skill, in illustrating a variety of human themes, he must have been with the greatest poets. For in Poe, in pieces like "The Haunted Palace," "The Conqueror Worm," "The City in the Sea," and "For Annie," we find two qualities which are as rare as they are invaluable, a new and haunting music, which constrains the hearer to follow and imitate, and a command of evolution in lyrical work so absolute that the poet is able to do what hardly any other lyrist has dared to attempt, namely, as in "To One in Paradise," to take a normal stanzaic form, and play with it as a great pianist plays with an air. So far as the first of these attributes is concerned, Poe has proved himself to be the Piper of Hamelin to all later English poets. From Tennyson to Austin Dobson there is hardly one whose verse-music does not show traces of Poe's influence. To impress the stamp of one's personality on a succeeding generation of artists, to be an almost (although not wholly) flawless technical artist one's self, to charm within a narrow circle to a degree that shows no sign, after forty years, of lessening, is this to prove a claim to rank with the Great Poets? No, perhaps not quite; but at all events it is surely to have deserved great honor from the country of one's birthright.

EDMUND GOSSE.



## THE BORDER LAND OF MORALS.

As there were in our Civil War States that knew not which side they were on; as there are geographical territories undivided or of survey incomplete, and even a "no man's land" on the map; so vital points of behavior waver and are unfixed. The first point I note as unsettled is whether it be ever right to take one's own life, and what conduct of a person is to be construed into such a deed. In a former article in the FORUM, by the present writer, Eleazar, whose tale is in the second book of Maccabees, was named on the suicide list because he went "of his own accord" to the torment of death, which he could have shunned by keeping in his mouth a bit of swine's flesh. Garrison, a French author and the ablest modern writer on self-murder, puts him on the list, but an American critic wrote to me his dissent from such a judgment. Certainly Eleazar belongs to the glorious company of martyrs too. Jesus declares that no man took his life, but that he was commissioned to lay it down of himself. No objection exists on the part of religionists to the last performance of Judas with the rope. Nor will suicide become more common, but will rather be restricted by our substituting for horror or censure a fair consideration of the case. If the act have from us only blame, and no sympathy, the *felo de se* will be ready and ingenious to justify himself, as did blind Samson pulling down the temple-walls on his head, and Saul plunging on the sword which his armor-bearer held. In our own time a man with an incurable and tormenting cancer on his arm found life so unbearable that, with his physician's consent, he sought in gentle fashion the last relief; and one of the noblest men of my acquaintance humorously affirms that he wants a guillotine in his house for his own use. While condemning suicide as against personal propriety and social welfare, I am more clear to reject than to reprobate this hypothetical view. Certainly I cannot adopt the usual theological view, either that suicide is a violation of the command, "Thou



shalt not kill," or that it is flinging our life in the face of our Maker, when it is often rather only laying down what seems a no longer tolerable burden, or is the felt inability of the sufferer to get over a hard place in the road. Furthermore, I find no advantage in the customary attempt of surviving friends to conceal or falsify the nature of the act, or in the veil thrown over it by the minister at the funeral. Let us bring for it no cloak but the large mantle of charity, and invoke not indignation but compassion.

"The corse they follow did with desperate hand  
Fordo its own life."

So says Hamlet of Ophelia.

We wake in the morning to find reason on her throne and the hand-grasp of will on all our motions and affections; do we reflect what a wondrous mercy this mental balance is? Do we place it to our own credit, to the account of inheritance from our ancestry, or to the great providence that has kept us so smoothly in the trade-wind of ease and prosperity, while others have encountered gale and storm, and, like vessels meeting the cyclone and water-spout on their way, have had no choice but to founder and go down? Pity for such as sink is due from all who sail safely on; and there is in the pity this principle, that, with differing circumstances in human deportment, the act is never the same. The soldier's destroying of life in battle is not assassination. A criminal's ending his career in his cell in preference to the scaffold, as one of the Chicago bomb-throwers did, is not like the disappointed and heart-broken lover's crazy bias, as he sees no exit from trouble but, as if in blazing letters writ in the gallery of his brain, the way out of life. Nor is the sorrow always mean which is thus fled from if not escaped, as Hamlet feared it might not be. In all literature pathos reaches no higher pitch of the sublime than in Goethe's Otilie, by voluntary starvation defending herself against love, which seems sometimes overcharged, not as an appetite but as a sentiment in the human breast. In the neighborhood where I write was an instance of a man who, deserted by a maiden, refused food till he pined away and died, so that the situation conceived by Goethe is not fictitious but proved natural.

But, with whatever allowances or differences or exceptions in



his class, let the ordinary contemplator of suicide consider that his life is no more his own to end than it was at first to begin. If he doubt of a God as the donor, yet a gift of and debt to society it surely is, to be preserved so long as he can frame a thought or move a finger to help his kind. If he be an hireling, as Job bitterly says, let him serve out his time and "as an hireling accomplish his day," and not be a deserter from the army of humanity, but do his part in the work or the fight.

The border line has never been satisfactorily traced between lawful and illicit weapons of war; and it may be questioned whether the odium attaching to this business of mutual slaughter, when not a necessity, has not been injuriously abated by the notion of regular and regulated warfare, in which the propriety of particular death-dealing instruments is so positively in our code of military ethics affirmed. What is war itself but suicide among nations on a great scale, only that these mighty combatants do not, like private duellists, meet to decide on the arms to be used, or to compare pistols and take the measure of swords? Every soldier, not a mercenary, gives, as much as if he sought any different and secret way to end it, his life. If he be a conscript, he puts himself by compulsion in the bullet's path; if a volunteer, he offers himself as a victim on the altar of his country or in the cause of freedom, honor, or right. But with what tools or utensils, if such word fit the dreadful attempt at mutual annihilation, shall we proceed? Will General Moltke, the great advocate of battle as a civilizing agency, inform us which of them on moral grounds may be justly employed? Not for his or any such decision does the warlike and warring nation wait, but hails with joy every invention of chassepot, needle-gun, minie ball, rifled cannon, monitor, or torpedo by which the destruction of the foe may be made more utter and swift. Indeed, it is thought that when science has done its best in this manner the contending parties will both be hurled into nonentity, as by express trains of ruin, so fast that war itself will commit suicide and give up the ghost. If such diagnosis be correct, "it is a consummation devoutly to be wished," and the discoverers of dynamite, nitroglycerine, and giant powder deserve to have a Godspeed.

But meantime we crave of the experts in fight to justify the



distinction which makes some lethal implements legitimate and brands others with immorality and shame. I remember well a conversation with Charles Sumner and Francis Wayland, almost half a century ago, in which any such discrimination was by both of them, the aspiring statesman and the moral philosopher, disallowed as having no ground. Sumner flouted the phrase "*jura belli*," rights of war, as absurd. Wayland replied in accord that when people had fallen out, as in the contention related by the Roman poet, no matter what sticks or stones to make war with they might pick up, anything that came to hand would do, the more effectual to kill the better. *Furor ministrat arma*: rage supplies the weapons. *Inter arma silent leges*: there is no law for the tussle of a fight. Can there in it be a foul blow under the belt? Are the rules in this game founded in conscience and nature, or are they purely conventional and possibly unsound? If our American rebels really designed to poison wells and to spread infected rags through Northern cities, on what principle is our censure of them to be maintained? Virgil, in the "*Æneid*," declares javelins and rocks, arrows and fire, to be lawful and laudable means of harm to enemies; and he celebrates the man and race by which deadly venom had been applied to purposes of battle. "*Calamos armare veneno*," to arm reeds with poison, was in the poet's judgment a feather in their cap. The great, afterward Senator, Sumner, and the Baptist leader, Wayland, despite their confident opinions before the outbreak of our civil strife, might have had their moral senses staggered by a foresight of some of the methods, as the starving in Libby prison, the death-line paced by Southern sentinels, and the acts of retaliation in either section, all designed to abolish that obstacle to success which consists in human life, and which Napoleon in the French republic and revolution and Grant in the Wilderness were obliged to reckon simply as so much ammunition in the field. When nations are at war there is somewhere a line between what is manly and what is beastly and base. But the French expression, *ruse de guerre*, would show that deceit is reputable in a conflict. War is a sort of wholesale human suicide, a self-disembowelling of mankind, like the Japanese so-called happy despatch. As it is the duty of society to prevent suicide by enlarging and enlightening the mind beyond the



delusive and fatal one idea that a man's welfare depends on a particular point of pecuniary fortune or social success, so, when the people grow more wise, they will not let king or Congress handle them as pawns on the bloody chessboard, and standing armies will disappear.

The upright course to detect crime has not yet been thoroughly marked out. We are in doubt whether to employ craft against the crafty, which is diamond cut diamond, the diamond being of the black sort. Shall the policeman watch for and "shadow" his guilty prey in citizen's dress? Shall he drink at the bar, and be a boon companion in the saloon, in order to ferret drinkers and dealers out? "Pinkerton's men" are said to become members in regular standing, close communicants in labor unions, in order to spot conspirators. Is such circumvention creditable to the government force? Mr. Anthony Comstock, upon being charged with a lie of action in sending a decoy letter to the issuers of obscene publications, avows that it is not deceit he uses, but a test. Is not deceit the handle of his bowie-knife and test the blade? The old Bible declares that God will be "froward with the froward," and in general meet transgressors on their own terms; and in almost every French novel falsehood passes for a suitable weapon in the social struggle for life. He that pens this paper presumes not with dogmatic precision to give an answer to these queries in every or any case, but he would fain emphasize the importance of honest and not superficial discussion, and of more righteous and exact conclusions than any accepted creed can afford.

It is a moot point at the tribunal of reason how far literature shall be a representation of life. Is there not, as Thomas Carlyle remarks in his essay on Diderot, a "sacredness of secrets known to all," and a sanctity which is at risk in putting them upon any printed page? The French Emile Zola and the American Walt Whitman, against the opinion of our decent and decorous Emerson, hold and practice the theory that everything done must pass and be allowed to come forth in word. But probably all would admit that the line must be drawn somewhere, and if so, where? Some scriptural authors, as well as Goethe and Shakespeare, if there be any such definite border, approach it danger-



ously near. But, cries the broad man of letters, shall we not tell the truth? We answer with Pilate's question, "What is truth?" Truth coincides not with, but is only the tangent of, fact. We are not true to subjects or to persons by telling all about them. Was Judas true to his Master or to himself when he led the capturing band into the garden? Shem and Japheth, walking backward with a garment to hide their drunken father Noah's nakedness, were truer to him than they would have been to gaze upon his pitiable state, or than the recorder would have been to describe it in detail. Until we resume the pristine innocency of Adam and Eve, let us beware of assuming, even in literary imagery, their slight costume. A well-woven robe indeed is our own flesh and blood. But conditions of heat and cold in climate, as well as of modesty, require additional garments. Through the live inner vest, however pierced and torn, the wearer cannot be reached. By removal of clothing, or by disclosure of what anatomists must analyze and dissect, no mystery of ethical value is revealed. Enough that when the muscles are to respond to the call of action, all that is superfluous be laid aside from the well-girt form. The accomplishment of the athlete in the gymnasium, of the runner in a race, of the oarsman bending over the row-locks, the sailor at the main-sheet, the mower in the meadow, or the quarry-man in the mine, hallows and uplifts every member whose exposure his office requires, as fine art does the limbs of the marble goddess or god. But personal protrusion for its own sake, or of any sort, with ostentatious gesture, or with paper and ink, is to be avoided and abhorred.

The border land of politics is in dispute as respects the distribution of official patronage. Civil-service reform is blocked, not only by the practice but by the unblushing theory of ejecting opponents as rascals and appointing partisans. "To the victors belong the spoils." "The government is in the hands of its friends." On such propositions, or their speculative equivalents, the successful nominee is expected by his triumphant electors to proceed. But if he cloak his evictions and installations with loud and verbose pretensions of impartiality, the damage is but greater to the cause he is supposably retained to defend. He is the son in the parable who said, "I go, sir, and went not."



Though hypocrisy be the homage vice pays to virtue, it does not help but hinders every virtuous aim; and the imminency of the peril lies in the difficulty of drawing the line betwixt the favor that is reasonable and that which is unjust. A president of the United States could not prudently make up his cabinet from the men adverse to his political views, any more than a coachman could safely drive an ill-matched pair or a balky team. Just where then does the chief magistrate's privilege to boost and bolster his own advocates stop? If he turn out good and put in bad men, then so far we have a traitor in our commander-in-chief. If the peculiar qualification fixed for office be unscrupulous fidelity to the current administration, then the republic ceases, and we have a party tyranny at the country's cost. A section thus rules and the nation loses its head. We are lorded over with a sort of nobility in which no nobleness can be found. A portion assumes to be the whole which is greater than any part. Our older politicians will remember the lofty and virile eloquence with which, in 1832, Daniel Webster on the floor of the Senate resisted the nomination as Minister to Great Britain of Mr. Van Buren, because, in 1829, Van Buren had advised Mr. McLane, then our Minister to England, to represent to that foreign power the goodwill in a certain exigency of the Democracy holding for the time the reins. It were a curious repetition of history, should the republican suspicion prove true that something similar has occurred with the recent fishery treaty, in the diplomatic correspondence and the terms arranged. Bringing righteousness to the line and judgment to the plummet, every officer from the highest to the lowest and least should stand, act, and speak not for his nominators but as a delegate for the land.

The relation and intercourse of the sexes presents a field wide as the world, of immense interest and not yet thoroughly surveyed, although upon the division made and bound-stones set up hangs the fate of humanity in all its generations to come. It is part of the anarchism of our day not only to throw bombs among the custodians of peace and order, but to deny any mutual belonging of husband and wife or final obligation of the matrimonial vow, and to affirm that one's property in his or her own person can never to another person be quite given up. To de-



fine the sense in which this social theorem is true or false is the problem for a wit sharpened on the moral sentiment, which is the only authority questioners of conventional decisions will admit. A noted propagator of the doctrine of free love, in a preface to a new edition of Goethe's "Elective Affinities," claims his great name in support of that doctrine. But, in that very book, in the character of Mittler, we have the strongest statement ever made on the other side. "Whoever strikes at marriage has to settle with me, and, if I cannot become his master, I take care to settle myself out of his way." Mittler declares that marriage is "the foundation of all moral society, the beginning and end of all culture." Through a long passage in a similar strain Goethe, through his mouth-piece, agrees with the Master of Christians, and disagrees with the commentator on his story to whom I have referred. The chemical analogy with which he commences is refuted by the conduct of the woman, on whom Goethe pours out all the resources of his genius in the progress and conclusion of the tale. That human creatures are more than acid and alkali, or than any elements inevitably dissevered or rushing furiously together, there exist glorious proofs in the behavior of thousands of the sons and daughters of God and man, whose love for each other naught can equal but the even reciprocity of their honor and respect. Were their deportment a theme for biography or autobiography, as it is known to the angels above, it would form the grandest and most affecting chapter in the annals of the world.

Of that ethical differentiation which is the meaning of heaven and hell, no further illustrations need I add. The prophet Isaiah thunders a woe upon those "who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter;" and Robert Browning, the bard of our present worship, scores with his keenest sarcasm such as refine away the differences of human demeanor into one undistinguished shape and color of thinking and doing as we please. The pessimism of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, or the misanthropy of Shakespeare's Apemantus, by dint of a certain tonic in it, is more wholesome than the optimism which would obliterate distinctions, level elevations, and sink the mountains of heroism into a swamp of good-natured indulgence for acts and emotions of whatsoever unsorted kind or inordinate degree. Wherever the bor-



der land is in doubt as to direction of trend or height let us bring our spiritual theodolite and ethical chain. If we do not discriminate, it is not worth our while to live. There is no God that made us, or for us to go to, unless he be the Moral Supreme, and the human race might as well make way with itself first as last, if it heed or follow no standard. To have somewhat holy to adore while we live, concerns us more than to live forever. Divinity first, immortality next! We exist for each other. The man who swam off from the wreck leaving his wife behind to perish in the waves he so bravely buffeted for dear love of his own precious life, did not deserve his second mate or his first. He was not great enough to be a suicide, but he was base enough to be a murderer in that case. The border land of morals cannot be surveyed and mapped according to any written deeds or by any material instruments, but only by an inward law, like the peace of God, deeper than our understanding and resolving itself into a feeling in our bosom, as what is called the higher law always does and must. The design of this paper is purely practical. It would lift some slide in the dark lantern of speculation, which is commonly carried to suggest a possibility of light in obscure regions where we do not so much walk as grope and stumble. I do not covet and would not provoke any controversy in metaphysics. That all is for the best, and that this is the best possible world, I devoutly believe. That the Master Worker must answer for his work, how can we doubt? That he pronounced it good in the book of Genesis, we read. But it was contemplatively that he thus said. In the sphere of action comes the serpent and eating of forbidden fruit. Such is the record a little further on. That we are or may be taught and trained by error and sin, like Moses and David and Peter and Paul, should be an article of faith, added to any other five or thirty-nine. But how much better educated by goodness and truth, we ought to know.

C. A. BARTOL.



## WHY THE CHINESE MUST BE EXCLUDED.

No fair and impartial consideration of the Chinese question can be had that does not frankly admit all just claims made on behalf of the Mongolian race for benefits conferred by their presence among us. And if it cannot be shown that there is a sufficient preponderance of evils that grow out of Chinese immigration to outweigh all such benefits, then any further effort to keep them out ought to cease. For this is the vital issue. These people do or they do not stand on an equal footing with other races that immigrate into the United States. They are or they are not, by reason of some race proclivity or distinction, to be considered separate and apart from other nationalities which make up our foreign population. The negative of the first and the affirmative of the last of these propositions must be clearly shown before the true importance of the subject can be fairly brought home to the minds of the American people.

As the first settlement of Chinese on American soil was made in California,\* the history of the race there, during its forty years of contact with American civilization, ought, if fairly written, to be the best criterion by which to judge its fitness to become an element of our population.

During the early years of the presence of Chinese in San Francisco, they were regarded not only with favor, but almost with admiration. On all occasions of public festivity the Chinese were present by special invitation. Public speakers dwelt upon the importance of the meeting of the two races upon these shores, and wondrous results were expected to flow from this immediate contact of Christianity with Idolatry. In short, the Chinese element was regarded favorably by all classes of people in California until some years of direct social contact converted them almost unanimously to a different way of thinking. Surely there

\* The Chinese were in San Francisco in 1848.



were serious underlying causes for this widespread change of public sentiment. And surely these causes were not born of prejudice, for, as has been already said, public prejudice was for years strongly in favor of the Chinese, and nothing but the experience of prolonged social contact with them ever set the current of public sentiment in the contrary direction. Let us admit fully and freely all the benefits that have resulted from Chinese immigration into California before noting and pointing out the public evils that their presence has inflicted.

First, then, the railroad development of the Pacific coast has, so far, in the main been accomplished by the employment of Chinese labor. The great fruit and vineyard industries are also in the main carried on by Chinese laborers. In nearly all branches of manufacture Chinese labor forms the most prominent and profitable factor, while as domestic servants and as laundrymen these people outnumber all other classes. Popular or unpopular, liked or disliked, Chinese labor is in constant demand in California, and all over the Pacific coast, in fact. And the demand is clearly growing, else there would not be such a continual influx of surreptitiously imported new-comers. The law forbids the entry of Chinese, but still they come. It may occur to the reader to ask why they should be excluded, being an industrious population and a blessing to the Pacific coast. A proper study of this question can be made only by investigating the practical results that have been brought about through the colonization of this people on our shores, at the point where they have longest been settled, and where they are found in largest numbers. Clearly this point is San Francisco.

Before entering upon an investigation of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, there are some general propositions bearing upon this subject that should be first stated. It has been admitted that most of the industrial interests of California have been, and are still being, developed with the aid of Chinese labor. It does not follow that this development would not have been just as far advanced if no Chinaman had ever set foot upon the soil of California. Surely the progress that has been made in the country at large east of the Pacific States has been accomplished without the aid of Chinese or any other servile labor. To maintain that



similar results would not have been achieved in California had the Chinese never found a lodgment there, is to assert that the people who settled in and founded that State are of a different stock from their countrymen in general. The development that has taken place in California through the aid of cheap Chinese labor, has simply tended to the enrichment of the capitalists who have been able to exploit this class of labor, and to that of the Chinaman himself who has thus found employment, accumulated and hoarded his earnings, and returned home, to make room for another of his own race. Had the Chinaman never migrated to California, American energy and industry would still have achieved an equal advancement there, with this difference, that there would have been fewer very rich men and more moderately rich men, while the earnings of labor that have disappeared from the State forever would have remained there to better the condition of the American wage-earner, and so to advance the welfare of all. But the condition of the laboring classes can never be bettered, but must continually be made worse, so long as the Chinaman is their competitor. The demand for cheap servile labor grows, as it did in the days of American slavery, out of the greed and selfishness of mankind. So long as Chinese labor can be had and be profitably employed, so long men will be found to employ it, for "there is money in it" to them, even though it portends misery to the American seekers for bread who are always around them.

Again, land in California is held, as a rule, in great blocks. Great tracts of the finest agricultural lands are in the hands of individuals, and are held at prices which practically bar out the class of population which the State stands most in need of, namely, small farmers. Blessed with more natural advantages than any other section of our common country, offering to industrious men of family greater inducements, so far as quantity and quality of products are concerned, than can be found elsewhere, California has no really cheap lands except those outside of her fertile valleys and rolling tracts, nearly all of which latter belong to the great land-owners and are held at enormously high prices. Surely there is a cause for this, and we do not have to seek far to find it.

Go where you will, among the vineyards, the fruit orchards, the small fruit gardens, or the fields, and you will find an indus-



trious army of Chinese performing the labor necessary to the profitable prosecution of the work. And as, through this cheap labor, the owner of the soil realizes every year a profit per acre running sometimes into hundreds of dollars, why should he sell lands that bring him such a revenue, except at prices commensurate with their present returns? If but part of his broad acres is cultivated, why should he sell the uncultivated except at prices sufficiently high to reward him for the disadvantage which he incurs in widening the field of production around him, and so lessening the value of his own yearly products?

Is it not true, then, that wherever Chinese labor competes with white labor the rich become richer and the poor poorer? Would not these large tracts of land in California have been in the market long ago, and sold in small holdings to the small farmer, had not their value been thus enhanced by the presence of Chinese cheap labor? Would not prosperity have been more general and wealth more widely distributed? Moreover, what is to be the outcome a few decades hence if Chinese immigration continues?

Yet such is the relation of the Chinese to the prosecution of agricultural and manufacturing industries in California to-day, that were they to be removed from the State at once the result would be widespread disaster. For in the first place there is not in the State white labor enough to meet even a fraction of the demand which would be made upon it on the sudden removal of the Chinese; and, secondly, it has become, by very contact with the Chinese, largely of a character unfitted to meet the requirement that would be made upon it under such conditions. To illustrate this, take the case of the great lumbering district of Humboldt County. From this section the Chinese a few years ago were driven, through a popular uprising of the citizens, *vi et armis*. A movement has now begun among the largest manufacturers there looking to the importation of Japanese labor to take the place of the Chinese who have been thus driven out. And this movement has been brought about by the inability to procure white laborers who can and will be steady and reliable workers and who will fairly earn the wages which they demand. The inference is, that what is universally known and recognized as a good, reliable, white laboring class, has, to a very large extent, refrained



from seeking residence and employment in California, being unwilling to compete with the Chinese.

The instance of Humboldt County thus cited is by no means a solitary one. In the business of cigar-making and in various other lines of manufacture in San Francisco, earnest efforts have been made to substitute white for Chinese labor, and in every instance unsuccessfully; the employer has been time and again obliged to go back to the Mongolian or go to the wall. The reason is plain. Two establishments manufacturing the same line of goods in the same place, for the same market, one employing cheap Chinese labor, the other fairly paid white labor, cannot exist. The latter must put itself on an equality with the former or its doors must be closed. Human nature must change radically before men will cease to avail themselves of such advantages if they are placed within their reach.

We come now to the consideration of the effect upon our social economy when Chinese colonization takes place among us. If the Chinese came hither as other classes of immigrants do, to live as other classes of immigrants do, to enter into our social and political life as other immigrants do, they would stand on a platform of common equality with all others, would carry on the struggle for existence as all others do, and would be entitled to a fair opportunity to seek their fortune here. But the case is very different. The Chinese race never will commingle, never will assimilate with other races, either in contact with other races on their own shores or when colonized abroad. The line of race demarkation is as distinctly drawn in English Hong Kong, in the Australian Colonies, in every part of the Philippine Colonies where they have planted themselves, and in California, as it is in Peking, and as it will be in New York, however extensive may be the foothold which they eventually obtain there. In San Francisco the color line along the outer border of Chinatown is as sharply and as clearly defined to-day as it was thirty years ago; while, search as you will for a blending of races and a mixture of Mongolian and Caucasian blood among the three hundred and odd thousand inhabitants of that city, you will hardly find a living example of such mixture.

An official report upon the Chinese quarter of San Francisco,



made about two years ago by a committee of the Board of Supervisors, after several months of careful survey and investigation, presented probably in a clearer light than ever before the true phases of Chinese colonial life, and a true picture of Chinese communal morals and customs. The salient features of the report were these. It was shown that "Chinatown" in San Francisco contained about 30,000 Chinese inhabitants. That of these inhabitants, all living within a space comprised by eight blocks, there were

57 women	}	Living as families.
59 children		
761 women	}	Herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations, and no family classification so far as could be ascertained.
576 children		
576 prostitutes	}	Professional prostitutes and children living together.
87 children		

There were one hundred and three houses of prostitution; one hundred and fifty iron-clad, barred, and barricaded gambling dens; twenty-six "opium joints," all existing in open and in successful defiance of the municipal laws and of the police authorities. The so-called "Cubic Air Law," passed by the legislature of California for the protection of the public health, and which applies to all races alike, was openly and defiantly violated. In habitations which according to the law might suffice for a maximum of 250 persons, the committee found 823 actual sleeping occupants. Vice and filth everywhere prevailed.

This investigation proved that the Chinese are a sensual race, caring more for the gratification of the animal passions than for the establishment of domestic relations and home life. It proved that whereas other immigrants bring with them at least the civilizing influences of wife and children, it was not so with the Chinese. With these the dominant aim is to make money and then hasten back to their own country. Nor did the investigation develop anything more satisfactory as to the religious belief and practices of this people. Thirteen Joss houses were found; Christian churches were turned into Chinese lodging houses and brothels. Missionary work, in nearly forty years of effort and labor, had not brought a dozen converts into the fold who could



be properly vouched for as such. In the contest between idolatry and Christianity the former was in full and undisputed possession of the field.

This investigation and report opened up also a question of truly vital importance. What is to be done in the matter of the education of the Chinese children born upon our soil? Entitled to the benefit of the common-school system, shall they share it with white children? Will fathers and mothers permit their children to occupy the same benches with Chinese children growing up in such surroundings as have been shown? Shall the children of the Chinese be left in ignorance, and no effort be made to acquaint them with the American system of government, laws, and habits? These are questions that must not go unanswered, especially by the political or religious sentimentalist who preaches the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," and who maintains that this country shall be the asylum for all people alike, and that the rights of citizenship shall be open to all.

Again, this report clearly showed that "opium dens" in Chinatown were not only numerous and largely patronised, but that opium smoking was carried on everywhere. This vice is spreading steadily among our own people, and will some day become a public evil of far greater magnitude than dram drinking, and will require some more radical treatment than "prohibition" even to stamp it out. It never will be stamped out if the Chinese influx is to continue.

This investigation of Chinatown in San Francisco further developed the fact that there were secret tribunals which punished crimes committed by Chinamen against Chinamen, and shielded crime perpetrated by Chinese against people of other races; that the municipal and State laws were openly and successfully violated; that kidnapping of women for purposes of prostitution was a common practice; that cruelties toward the old and infirm were common; that vice was everywhere, in every form, and that the whole quarter reeked with filth and was odorous with every species of abomination; that white labor could never successfully compete with Chinese labor until white men and women could live as these people live—could, in cost of living as well as habits



of life, come down to their level, and so sink pride, manhood, domestic happiness, and morality in the foul gulf of Chinese degradation.

If such is the outcome of Chinese immigration, why should it longer be tolerated? That such is the fact, such the true picture of its effects in California, cannot be successfully disputed. The wild ravings from the Sand Lot have done much to befog and prejudice the question, by seeking to arouse the passions of men against the Chinese rather than by appealing to the reason of the American public to study the question, to examine the situation critically, and to learn from such investigation what a mighty danger continued immigration of the Chinese portends. It is a subject too momentous in itself to be treated passionately or to be considered with prejudice. We are confronting a problem more portentous than ever was the problem of Negro slavery.

Shutting our gates against this tide of servile labor means the elevation of the laboring classes who are with us and of us. Opening them for their continued coming means the final degradation of the white laboring classes to the Chinese level. It means the wide-spread dissemination of the opium habit and kindred vices. It means a rich aristocracy existing on a substratum of human degradation worse than pauperdom. It means the erection of a permanent barrier against the advancement and spread of Christianity; for the hope and belief of conversion of the Mongolian to the Christian faith, by missionary work here or elsewhere, is as idle a fallacy as was ever fostered in the human brain.

WILLARD B. FARWELL.



## WHAT SHALL THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TEACH?

PRESENT discussion as to the reform of existing methods of public school instruction and the revision of the curriculum, is not to be regarded as indicative of the system's absolute failure as it is. It serves to illustrate, rather, the depth of interest in an essentially American institution, and the resolve to develop it to the highest possible point of perfection. The criticism, on the whole, has been kindly administered; its character has been largely constructive. No alarm need be felt that the common schools are in danger, and that the education of millions of young Americans is imperilled.

In fact, the determination that our common schools shall teach according to the best and ripest experience of our time, and not in the traditional ruts of past decades, is a cheering and healthy sign. The age is an age of transition in every department; changes are constant and inevitable; progress is more than a catch-word, it is a recognized truism. And no sphere has felt so mightily the thrill of the new life, and none contributed so grandly to accomplished results, as education. The new age has developed the new education; the new education has produced the new age. Their action is reciprocal.

The subject of what our public schools shall teach was one of comparative ease to discuss years ago, when the population of America was smaller and more homogeneous and a certain restfulness pervaded the air. There was then less drive and push, less inordinate haste to get rich; speculation had not become the average American's dominant idea. There was more pause in the life and occupation. The school reflected the general atmosphere; training was slower and more sedate; the subjects of instruction were limited; the text-books restricted to a favorite few. Naturally more or less conflicting elements were always to be met in American life; the American of five decades ago was far from being angelic; but there was no approach to the vast upheaval



that has accompanied the foreign landslide to our shores, still continuing. A new America has been the result, and it is no wonder that many old-time American institutions are being severely put to the test. The strain in some cases is intense, but we have confidence in American buoyancy to cope with new conditions in every sphere. The pious and faithful New England settlers, who, with Bible and pick-axe, laid the basis of American civilization, need have no fear in their last resting-place that the land they wrested from barbarism will become a savage wilderness once more, knowing neither meetings for worship nor schoolhouse for the young.

The American common school has developed with the growth of the nation. It is no longer local, provincial, sectarian, associated with a certain form of loving although rigorous piety. It has become national—the nursery of American youth, not the foreign offshoot with its atmosphere of English Puritanism. It is not Christian or Jewish or Agnostic; it is not Irish or German or Russian; but it is American, and must be maintained as American. Whatever tends to produce the perfect American citizen, helpful, sound, sober, honest, earnest, patriotic, intelligent, must find place in its curriculum. That is the aim forever to be held in view. That is the grand essential, which must not be exchanged for glittering accidentals.

The platform is ideal; but surely ideals are needed to-day when the attainment of wealth at any sacrifice is the purpose that animates most of us. There is a suggestive rabbinical saying: "The world is sustained by the breath of school children." Our American world, too, is to be sustained by the children in the schools. If we wish breadth, symmetry, rectitude in the future American citizen, let the child to-day be taught that ideal. Our schools are for that purpose. They must do more than graduate "smart" scholars; they must give an education that is broad and generous and symmetrical, in whose instilling teacher and pupil alike shall feel a lively enthusiasm.

In an effective system of education the teacher is of first importance; the text-book is secondary. The teacher is the living, speaking, personal element in instruction. He makes or mars. He is the object of respect or reverence. He must be more than a



salaried official; he must love his profession as the noblest and the most sacred. No ministry approaches that of education; no temple the schoolhouse. The old-time rabbinical fancy of God being a teacher and instructing his children in the Law, has meaning in its quaint Oriental hyperbole. And as the teacher's function is so important, he or she must undertake the work as a holy calling, and not only as a means of livelihood. Against the army of teachers as they are I would not utter a word of insinuation. Yet more than one public-school teacher has expressed to me his or her regret that more teachers were not actuated by higher ideals than simply to teach a few years until something better should turn up. Of such stuff cattle-drivers, not teachers, should be made. How to promote more love for teaching as a profession, is one of the problems of education. If our schools are to be under the shadow of politics, we cannot expect to welcome ideal teachers. The art of teaching, too, is an essential which should receive more patient inquiry. The how is more important than the what.

I have been induced to refer to the teacher, rather than the text-book, by a passage or two in Superintendent Draper's recent admirable report. He states that "more than ninety per cent. of all the children who ever come into the public schools never get beyond the study of the elementary branches, and there is a widespread feeling that the schools do not accomplish the results for this great mass of pupils which they ought to produce." This is an indictment of painful significance. Mr. Draper does not attempt to explain it. May not the cause be traced to the poor equipment of teachers for elementary work? Every thoughtful citizen must agree with the State Superintendent's opinion: "The people are not generally unwilling that the state should foster and support advanced education, but they will insist that it shall not be done at the expense of elementary work, well knowing that it is of far greater importance that the masses be thoroughly grounded in fundamentals, than that the few shall be elaborately topped out and polished off." And then Mr. Draper adds this significant sentence: "If school work is not well commenced, it never will be well finished." Exactly so, and unless your primary teacher is well grounded in the art of teaching, and has love and reverence for the profession, he or she will never become



a teacher of the higher branches. The secret of the state's failure to educate in the higher branches ninety per cent. of school children, by Mr. Draper's own admission, is not very remote. Our Compulsory Education Law, which does not compel, may be at fault. The poverty of parents is doubtless one cause. But above and beyond everything else, we believe that the incapable teacher is to blame. If children are interested, they will attend. Given the primary teachers who can interest, and we are confident that a larger proportion of children will pass into the higher departments. The success of the kindergarten is to be traced not so much to the atmosphere of song and drill and games, as to the personality of the teacher, whom the children learn to love. And especially the primary teacher in the common schools must be chosen on the same principle. In that grade the teacher must be well equipped. Its work is more vital than that in any other department. Whether the child shall advance into the higher grades or not, depends largely on the impression received in the primary. Hence the need of more attention to modern scientific pedagogics in our normal schools and colleges.

It is fortunate that our boards of education, on the whole, are alive to the modern needs of our common schools, and ever ready to introduce reform, although at a moderate pace. The rapid changes of the past few years are very commendable; the kindergarten, the sewing and industrial classes, technical training for boys, are steps in the proper direction. Given the right man as head of the system, a man of symmetrical culture and trained mind, and a satisfactory progress can be depended on, as is proved by the schools of many of our leading cities. The danger lies in massing too many studies; it is the quality of instruction that educates, not its quantity. Eye and brain, heart and hand, alike must share in the process. As the public school has become the type of the American school, the studies must have in view the American character, the American ideal—facts, not fossils.

I have been general in suggestions as to what the schools should teach, leaving to specialists a more detailed answer. Upon one subject, however, a more precise reply is necessary. What is the relation of the schools to religion? Shall they teach religion in any form?



The answer was very simple decades ago, when the population was smaller and more homogeneous. But to-day, with diverse religious and non-religious elements on every side, there can be but one answer: the state has nothing to do with religion, its schools are not to instill religious teachings. Such work is for the churches and the synagogues. A godless school is not necessarily an ungodly school; the omission of the name of the Deity from the book of Esther did not interfere with its place in the canon. If your school develops character, intelligence, modesty, strength, helpfulness in the pupil, it can safely leave the distinctly religious element to other teachers and influences. The absence of any positive religious teachings, however, should not be made a pretext for the inculcation of positive irreligious teachings and the deification of the sneer. But the entire subject should be omitted from the programme. It is none of the school's business, as long as the state has no established church.

The evils in the present method are many. It is true, the law is opposed to sectarian teaching in the schools, yet it favors the reading of the Bible. Usually hymns are added of a sectarian character, suitable for a Protestant Sunday school, and admirable in their way, but in this connection out of place. Then the Lord's Prayer is repeated; on the lovely and sublime character of which I make no criticism, for I recognize its rabbinical spirit in every line. But it has become a distinctly Christian prayer, and is usually followed by Christian allusions, which are excellent in the Sunday school, but not in the public school, which is supported by hosts of tax-payers who are non-Christians. In most cases, the selections from the Bible are made without tact and contain doctrinal references. Under such circumstances, the only remedy is to withdraw religion entirely from the schools. The treatment which the Bible receives, the monotonous and perfunctory reading of disconnected chapters, is enough to make it, like Milton's "Paradise Lost," with its parsing reminiscences, a closed book to the scholars for all time.

Now I have every reason to favor the Bible in public schools, for I heard it read under the most favorable conditions in my school-days. It was a private institute which I attended, whose principal was an Episcopalian of recognized zeal. Daily Bible readings



were a feature of the exercises; but so admirably were they arranged that no Jewish boy felt vexed at the sentiments heard. The New Testament was never read, and the passages from the Old were culled from the Psalms or Proverbs or historical books, and were absolutely devoid of doctrinal significance. The prayer that followed was short, serene, and winning, also free from doctrinal allusions and phrases. If all principals possessed this Episcopalian's tact and humanity—he was a distinguished educationist, and died a few years ago—I should have less objection to formal religious exercises in the schools. But they cannot be trusted, nor can their visitors be trusted, who too often, when they make a casual address, imagine they are preaching at a Sunday-school picnic, and show an inexcusable want of tact and consideration. Justice and manliness require our Protestant friends to be more thoughtful. The public-school population is no longer so largely evangelical; the rights of others must not be encroached upon. The Hebrew is not inclined to make public his complaint; he is a firm believer in the schools; his children do not stand lowest on the records. But he views with much alarm the spread of sectarianism in the schoolhouse. Our agnostic citizens, too, have rights that must be respected. And as to our Catholic friends, they have doubtless a just grievance if the public school is made a miniature prayer-meeting of another sect. Various plans have been elaborated to solve the Bible question in the schools. A number of ministers of different denominations, including the Jewish but excluding the Catholic, came to some agreement as to a form of religious manual to be employed, embracing readings that embodied the central truths in all religions—the existence of God, the future life, the immortality of the soul. We do not know whether the Catholic clergy were finally induced to participate. But certainly the body of agnostic citizens would feel aggrieved by the use of any such religious manual. The concurrence of different clergymen of various denominations, however, was a pleasing sign of the times; for it indicated their willingness to make mutual concessions and unite on the ever-widening border-land of the creeds. So much at least was gained, if nothing else came of the project.

But a valid objection could be raised even to such readings.



They are distinctly religious, and the state cannot sanction religious teachings in its schools any more than in its governmental offices. Such action is entirely beyond its province. Church and state must be forever separate. If the churches cannot teach religion in one entire day in every week and at other convenient times, the few minutes of religion daily in the schools will not be very efficacious.

The state is concerned in this: that its citizens be moral men, whether they are religious in the formal church sense or not. An un-moral man is necessarily immoral; but an un-religious man, in that formal sense, is not irreligious. Hence the state must teach morality to the army of the young—the morality that lies at the basis of the citizen's duty in every sphere; the spirit of humanity, of duty, of honesty, of patriotism, of courtesy, of forbearance, and of self-control; the sentiments that refine and elevate character and ennoble and dignify one's influence.

It is to the teacher that we are to look for the inculcation of such uncanonized religion. It is the teacher who is mightiest to instill it. We dare make no mistakes in the character of the men and women who are to fashion the growing millions of American youth. Theirs is the privilege and theirs the responsibility. They must be the power before the throne, a phalanx of incorruptible workers for the betterment of the nation. They should form as holy a caste as the priesthood; for they keep trimmed the American altar's perpetual light—knowledge, virtue, freedom.

If any manual be required to serve as daily readings in the schools, it is possible to make an anthology without any doctrinal taint. We would restrict it entirely to American authors in prose and verse, so that the book might be a kind of treasury of high and noble thoughts. Each selection should embody some characteristic American trait or duty, or illustrate some American ideal and aspiration. Of course, tact and taste would be demanded in framing such a manual. But the suggestion is thoroughly practicable; and I am confident that the work would exhale unconsciously a sweeter and more helpful religious spirit than the reading of disconnected chapters from the Bible. It would develop more sympathy among the young, more generous fellowship, a chastened intelligence, and a far-reaching spiritu-



ality, to give moral stamina to the rising generation, and preserve for all time the American idea.

What a litany would such a work present! Bryant, with his breezy stanzas or verse of more profound contemplation; Longfellow, the gentle poet who never strikes a harsh chord; Holmes, with quaint common sense and pathos; Lowell, satirist and philosopher, who has thrust aside his mask for the sage's cloak; Irving, with his appeal to civic patriotism and his wealth of fancy; Curtis, with his practical sagacity and Addisonian grace of diction; Whittier, whose poems stir one like the Psalms; Webster, with his impetuosity, and Lincoln, with his prophetic calm; Grant and Garfield, Sumner and Clay, Jefferson and Washington: what material is here at hand for a school manual, containing the ripe wisdom of North, East, West, and South, all periods in our history, but bearing upon one point, the moral education of the youth of America.

And thus our common schools, beyond training the eye, the hand, and the brain, would do their share toward inspiring and educating the young heart of the nation around its national center, the school. Surely the sense of American patriotism and of American practicality can thus be developed side by side. It is possible that ecclesiasticism may suffer in consequence, but religion will flourish only the more. Old World enmities and prejudices, so foreign and un-American, must fade away; let New World friendships and aspirations take blessed and enduring root. The growing sentiment of American nationalism, sacred now after war and struggle, which is permeating all classes and creeds, demands that our schools be made the guardians of American ideals, to give them that strength and sanctity which the nation requires.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.



## THE DREAD OF DEATH.

DEATH is still hailed King of Terrors, and his presence and court are yet ghastly enough; but in these days of reason and science he is in constant danger of dethronement, if indeed he is not already dethroned. Many persons, they who claim to be most enlightened, think him a usurper, without royal blood, nowise entitled to the crown he has worn for unknown ages. Civilization, somewhat incongruously, has increased rather than diminished his power. Many wild tribes, notably our own aboriginals, have, to drop metaphor, very little, if any, fear of death. They are taught to despise it, and when the need comes, are faithful to their teachings. Many a savage might, in his disregard of danger and death, put to shame men of the present era, proud of their understanding and their culture. While many of the shadows have been dispelled by research and actual knowledge, many remain to haunt the mind and distort the future. Individuals and classes have overcome fear of death; but it continues to hold the multitude more or less in thrall. Whatever is mysterious is apt to be alarming; mystery is the father, if ignorance is the mother, of superstition. Death is the mystery of mysteries, and the alarm it excites is naturally accompanied with exaggeration, which marks everything relating to it. Physical dissolution was long regarded as intensely painful, and by-gone literature is full of such phrases as "the last struggle" and "the final agony," which are entirely without significance. The act of dying, it is now ascertained, is absolutely free from suffering; is really unconscious; insensibility always preceding it. Any anguish that may attend mortal illness ceases before the close, as thousands who have recovered, after hope had been surrendered, have borne witness. Sudden and violent death, shocking to the senses, may not be, probably is not, painful to the victim. Drowning, hanging, freezing, shooting, falling from a height, poisoning of many kinds, beget stupor or numbness of the nerves,



which is incompatible with sensation. Persons who have met with such accidents, and survived them, testify to this. Records to this effect are numberless. Death from fire dismays us; we can scarcely conceive aught more distressing. In all likelihood, however, it appears far worse than it is. Fire probably causes suffocation from smoke, or insensibility from inhaling flame, so that the agony we imagine is not felt. They who have been near their end have experienced more pain on returning, so to speak, from their grave, than if they had gone to it. They have endured all the pangs, corporeal and mental, of death, without actually dying. It is an error, therefore, to suppose that men may not have tasted the bitterness of death, and yet be alive and in good health. Every community contains persons who have made as intimate acquaintance with dissolution as they ever can make. He whose mind has fully accepted death has virtually died; no new calamity can fertilize his experience in that particular. All that can be learned from nature he may learn here; what is beyond, if anything, is unconditionally occult. Where knowledge ends, speculation may advance and hope and faith build as they may.

I have seen a great deal of death, and I feel as if I had died repeatedly myself. From ten to fifteen, I had, like most healthy boys, countless narrow escapes, when I ought, by all material laws, to have been killed again and again, and should have been but for the froward destiny which guards the rising generation. I fell from trees, roofs, swings, balconies; I was blown up with powder and fireworks; I was thrown from horses and carriages; I was nearly drowned. But my neck would not break; the breath, forced out of my lungs, would come back; swoons and unconsciousness would not last. Years later, during the Civil War, I learned, I think, what it is to be shot. The wound was very slight, resulting from splinters caused by a cannon ball passing through the wooden bulwarks of a ram on the Mississippi, which we were absurdly pretending, with some worthless old rifles, to defend from the enemy concealed behind the levee. The splinters cut my face and nearly put out my eyes, blinding me for the moment and giving me a nervous shock, and I believed that I was mortally hurt. I imagine that I must then have had the surprised look I have often observed in soldiers struck



in a vital part. In a few seconds I perceived that the ball had missed my head, and literally cut in two a poor fellow near my side, just in the rear. He uttered not a sound; he had not suffered, I am sure, any more than myself. The mode of his death was horrible to think of; to him it had been instantaneous extinction. Death is not to the dying what it seems to the living; it is terrible only to witnesses.

A common notion formed by those who theorize on the subject is that men, when they come to die, undergo some great change; that they alter their opinions, are inspired with new hopes and new beliefs, regard the past with regret, and express contrition. "You think so now," is often said to us; "you will think differently when you know that you have but a few hours to live." This may be true of some persons, especially of the weak and unstable, of those more remarkable for emotions than convictions. But it is not generally true. The majority of men in this age die as they have lived. If they have been selfish, unjust, sensual, vicious, they pass away in selfishness, injustice, sensuality, viciousness. Even should they promise amendment in serious illness, they would not, if they should be cured, keep their promises. Promises under such circumstances, are almost invariably broken when the circumstances have been removed. Established disposition and constitutional bias may vary with strong provocation, but they steadily assert themselves in the main. The pious man, who has adopted a creed, follows his religious observances in a dangerous illness, and believes that his soul will enjoy a blissful immortality. The infidel, in like condition, though he regulates his worldly affairs, concerns himself not about the future, caring little and doubting much whether there be any. He is no more likely then and there, the orthodox view to the contrary notwithstanding, to recant, than the Christian is to proclaim himself suddenly an atheist. What we believe in perfect health, we are apt to believe in the face of death, except that perfect health is the better test of our belief.

The manner of our life, often distinct from our faith, may have far less influence than is popularly thought on our closing days. Sinners may go out in peace and saints in terror. The Marshal de Richelieu was one of the most notorious profligates



of his time; he cultivated every elegant vice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; he was a paragon of unscrupulousness and debauchery. But good fortune ever attended him, and at ninety-two he terminated his disreputable existence as terminates a day in blooming Spring. William Cowper, contemplative poet, purest, kindest, gentlest of men, who never wronged a human creature, spent sixty-eight years without hope and died in despair.

One potent reason why, apart from instinct, we are repelled by the thought of death, is that we are totally unwonted to it. Possibly we have died many times, but we have no memory or consciousness thereof. So far as we can determine, we die but once, and what we do but once appears naturally important and solemn. If we could believe that death might visit us repeatedly, it would lose most, perhaps all, of its terror. We might not mind it much more than we mind sleep, which it so closely resembles. Sleep is temporary death, and is well-nigh as unintelligible; but the fact that we give a third of our life to it divests it of awe. The familiar is never sacred. Still, if on lying down for the night we begin to think that probably in half an hour we shall part with our identity; that our present consciousness will be obliterated; that our mind, or soul, or self, or ego, or whatever we choose to call it, may defy time and space, may perform the impossible, may speak with the dead, may reconcile the incompatible, may work miracles, we shall be apt to be deeply impressed with the mystery. An overwhelming sense of it may keep us awake; we may startle ourselves with futile speculation, as we are prone to do on the subject of death. But the regular repetition of sleep debars reverence for it, and we accept it as a matter of course, though we do not understand it because confident of its periodic return.

I wonder why it is that sleep is regarded so differently from death. Every one admits that sleep, sound, dreamless, continuous sleep, is delicious, one of the rarest luxuries possible, the restorer of peace, the soother of care, the balm of grief. It comes after the labors, anxieties, and troubles of the day, bringing rest and oblivion, as death comes after the labors, anxieties, and troubles of life. If death bring rest and oblivion—it can hardly



bring anything worse—how few, comparatively, judging from their assertions, would be content! They say that they shrink from annihilation, while they hunger for sleep, the same thing in limited form. Does not expressed repugnance to annihilation spring from combining it with consciousness, as if one should say, “How uncomfortable it must be to feel that one is really annihilated.” And yet many a weary, aching spirit has lain down at last, happy in the thought of entering into eternal sleep. Do not some of us so tire of life, as we find it here, that we do not care for its continuation in another world?

Fear of death is often confounded with desire to live, two radically diverse feelings. “I do not want to die” has a very different meaning from “I dread to die.” Attachment to life while one is in health, useful, having objects to attain, with influence and friends, is natural and in consonance with law. But is not attachment to life for life’s sake only, when old age has come, and vigor and helpfulness have gone, and our future is behind us, unnatural, the result of false teaching or a gloomy temperament? Such attachment denotes dread of death, since life at that period can scarcely retain any of its old charm or compensation. Dying, while we have reasons and inducements to remain in the world and work to perform, is not likely to be cheerful or to be thought desirable. Under ordinary conditions it is sad, extremely sad, and cannot be otherwise. But it is as natural as life, more natural, indeed; to employ an unphilosophic phrase, it is easier to conceive of something ending than of nothing beginning, of discontinuance than of origination. There must be some serious defect in the organization or environment of the man who, while still in possession of his strength and faculties, is anxious to die. It is proof positive of morbidness, produced inwardly or outwardly, though not of derangement. A man may be indifferent to death (to true philosophers life and death should, as respects themselves, be equipollent), albeit prone to life from external causes. So long as we are healthful, and Fortune has not declared against us, we should be willing and glad to stay in the world, even if it fail of enticement. And it must be conceded that the great majority of mankind overrate rather than underrate the value of life.



The dread of death is far worse than death itself. In fact, all dangers and calamities diminish as we approach them. Death in particular frightens the imagination, and the further it seems removed the greater is the fright. Monkish legends and sacerdotal tales seem largely answerable for the popular conception of death, which widely diverges from the truth. Death would appear to be like a great bully, who fills the air with reports of his terrors, but who, when fairly encountered, drops his swagger and avows himself not so formidable after all. Met with calmness and courage, his assumptions dwindle and his shadow lessens. He is discovered to be a bugbear; he is clothed in artificial horrors. Many a man, borne down with the thought of death when at a distance, has not been scared on his near approach. Once to gaze in his face is to be relieved ever after of his unsubstantial terrors.

More than half the fear inspired by death is ascribable to its somber trappings and accompaniments. Everything is done to make it doleful; ingenuity is strained to lacerate the feelings of those bereaved. We remember the dead with affection and gratitude, mayhap with cheerfulness; the ceremonies that follow death are hideous to recall, and cannot be forgotten. Every bright image of the loved that rises in our minds is darkened and driven away by recollection of dismal rites and hollow pageantry. If Nature could so order that, with the parting breath, the poor body should exhale, leaving no vestige behind, death would be shorn, to the living, of much of its anguish and abhorrence, and to them alone is it horrible. Not the act of dying, always quiet and swift, but the garniture, parade, and sequel of death are painful and shocking.

It is singular how small is the proportion of persons who have witnessed the closing scene of the human tragedy. Even physicians do not see their patients expire so frequently as would be thought. But what they see is sufficient to strip death of its consternation. Their presence at the unmasking of the fancied monster prepares them for the inevitable. When their time comes, they go at least resigned through the silent portal. They are no braver than others, but they have learned not to be scared at specters. Very few men, in truth, are afraid to die when the



point comes. They do not, as may be supposed, relish it; and they are anxious, as a rule, to live, so long as their chances are good and they do not suffer. When suffering grows acute, their desire dwarfs (few of us but prefer death to pain), and when they lose hope they yield themselves without a murmur.

I have seen, I repeat, an extraordinary number of persons die, and my observation and experience contradict the current theories and opinions on the subject. At first I was surprised at the evidence of my own senses; afterward I was convinced that they revealed the actual truth. I remember, though but a small boy at the time, the first man who passed away before my eyes. He was patient, tranquil, philosophic, while conscious of his doom. I had expected him to be terrified, to perish in agony, and the circumstance made an indelible impression on my budding mind.

I have seen the last moments of delicate, highly nervous women, who would shriek at the sight of a spider, and who could not bear the mention of death. Any one who had known them would have thought that their closing scenes must have been distressing. They longed to live in the beginning; but, as they ebbed away and were conscious of the fact, peace and renunciation came to them. No hero of a hundred fights could have borne lingering illness and its end more serenely. Women, weak and timid as they seem, and horrified as they often are at the grim monarch, while remote, are calm and intrepid when he stands at their side. As he advances to seize them, they do not blanch or sigh or complain. I have wondered how persons who had appeared to be afraid of everything would meet their fate, and yet they have met it with equal mind and becoming fortitude.

It has been my fortune to be intimately acquainted with persons whose horror of death, while in health, was stupendous and overwhelming; who could not conceive, they said, of any circumstances in which they could voluntarily relinquish life. If they should be very old, deaf, dumb, blind, crippled, in constant pain, wretchedly poor, without friends, still, they maintained, they would recoil from the thought of sinking into the grave. Their apprehension seemed to be a fixed form of frenzy, altogether unintelligible to a sound, normal mind. Some years later, several of those persons were seized with mortal illness, and when



made aware of it, they showed little trepidation, and soon glided into that submissive, composed state which so generally marks the last hours of human existence.

In my youth I had an intimate friend of my own age, between whom and myself there was great sympathy on most subjects. We were in the sentimentally-cynical period that not infrequently belongs to callow years. We theorized much and long on life, poetry, love, beauty, courage, fate, immortality, and kindred themes. He could not comprehend why any man should fear to die, and asserted that the world, to one who knew it, was so full of disappointment, bitterness, and trouble that to quit it should be a relief. He was true, tender, upright, generous, but a confirmed idealist, and consequently impractical. His discontent increased; he fed on imaginary woes; he was always trying to solve problems that were insoluble. One morning I received a letter from him, an affectionate farewell, announcing that he had determined to destroy himself, and that, when I should get the communication, he would be no more. I was amazed and shocked, of course. I said nothing to any one, but went immediately to his room, expecting there to find his corpse; but the room was vacant. On the table was a diary, intended for me, of his last hours, as he had thought. He had taken poison, and had had a curiosity to see how his mind would be affected as the end approached. He was calm and cheerful; he enjoyed the consciousness of slipping steadily away; he carefully chronicled his every feeling. But the poison failed; instead of killing him it affected his brain, and he wandered off into the night, not recovering his scattered senses for many hours. I searched for him, and finally discovered him, still somewhat dazed. I remonstrated with him for his rash attempt on his life, and used all my influence to prevent its repetition, saying, "There is no need of haste; if we will wait a while death will come to us." To this he assented, and abandoned, he said, his idea of anticipating Nature. Some months after he went to another part of the country. We corresponded, and one day, without any premonition or apparent reason, I read in the newspapers that he had shot himself. No explanation was ever given. The burden of being had, unquestionably, proved too heavy for one of his delicate structure, and he had thrown it off.



He was in no sense insane. Doubtless many persons commit suicide from conviction of the uselessness of living. The frequency of the act demonstrates that dread of death is by no means general. The diary of my friend denotes with what indifference death may be esteemed.

During the war I naturally saw a great many deaths by violence and disease, those in the hospital, as usual, far exceeding those in the field. I was the military correspondent of the New York "Tribune," and early in the Spring of 1863 was captured, while running the batteries of Vicksburg, our expedition having been completely destroyed. I passed nearly two years in various prisons, eleven months of which were spent at Salisbury, N. C. In the Autumn of 1864, some ten thousand Union soldiers, mostly enlisted men, were sent there from Belle Isle, Danville, Columbia, Charleston, and other Southern prisons. The Confederacy was very closely pressed; was so near the last ditch that it had neither time nor means to provide for such a multitude in that place. The poor fellows, without shelter, without clothing, without sufficient food, perished as in a pestilence; toward the close at the rate of four hundred a week. Having some acquaintance with medicine, I was appointed by the authorities an assistant surgeon. I daily went my gloomy rounds, but could do little else than try to comfort, with sympathetic words, the sinking braves. The sights were deeply distressing; but they furnished copious evidence of the fact, for such it surely seems to be, that, whatever our dread of death under ordinary conditions, we become resigned to it as it draws near.

The soldiers represented the average intelligence and education of the North, being mainly from the agricultural regions and small towns. I cannot recall a single instance of a man who was troubled with doubt or alarm. Many wanted to know if they could get well, and almost invariably said, "I am not afraid to die." They were not concerned about the future, but about the past and present, leaving messages and mementos for the near and dear, and passing away gently and in peace. Thus wide and varied observation justifies me in the opinion that though Death may seem to be our mortal foe, he is, perhaps, our dearest friend.

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.



# The Forum.

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## IS THE POWER OF ENGLAND DECLINING?

GREAT and powerful states, riding high on the tide of prosperity, share the fate of the humbler individual who, having through his exertions successfully reached the top of the ladder, stands head and shoulders above his fellow men. Admired and courted at first, they soon become objects of envy, and under its sinister influence, prone as it is to feed on dismal thoughts, people quite naturally take to predicting every imaginable evil to the colossus they recently admired, and to forecasting the process of its inevitable dissolution. England, which from its modest position in the northwest of Europe has risen to be the greatest world-empire ever known; whose possessions, spanning the entire globe, exceed in population and extent of territory the sum of the empires of Alexander the Great, of Rome, and of the Khalifate, at the height of their grandeur—England, too, must fain accept these offices of love from her enviers, and patiently submit to their gloomy prophecies concerning her future. Nor is it now for the first time that somber prognostications of this kind are indulged in with regard to Great Britain, for as soon as the clouds of smoke hanging over the battlefield of Waterloo had cleared away, and the Corsican vulture had been securely chained to his lonely rock in the Atlantic, similar voices were heard in Europe, and Cassandras sprang up like mushrooms. People were dazed



by the bright effulgence of the British star, and continental professors, politicians, and publicists vied with each other to establish a parallel between the impending fate of England and the misfortunes that had befallen the merchant states of the past. They especially delighted in resuscitating the old parallel of Carthage and Rome; Venice, Genoa, Amalfi, Portugal, and Holland seemed to them too petty and insignificant for purposes of comparison. The part of Rome was assigned to more than one of the continental states, but in spite of all this, greatly to the discomfiture of the prophets, "perfidious and greedy Albion" not only did not meet with a conqueror, but, dating from that very period, attained the fullness of its power; and instead of entering upon the expected career of decline, gathered in some directions additional strength and went through a process of extraordinary aggrandizement.

Need we wonder if at this day, after the lapse of over seventy years, the old spectacle is renewed, and that, undaunted by the miserable failure of former professional philosophers, writers come again to the fore ready to execute all manner of variations upon the favorite theme of the decline and approaching downfall of Great Britain. In the opinion of these stormy petrels of political literature, there never was a more opportune occasion for descanting upon this subject, since England has now reached the acme of her political greatness, and as she is neither able nor willing to go forward, she must necessarily enter upon her downward career. Many of them again think the discussion of this question to be particularly appropriate at a time when Englishmen themselves are constantly speaking and writing about the decay of their national greatness and power. They ask whether, in the face of the uneasy feeling prevailing in England, any doubts can be yet entertained as to the existence of an unsound condition or of an ominous state of things in that country. There is a ready answer to this question, fully disposing of it, namely, that England has ever been the country of literary eccentricities, that the English press, more than any other, is notable for its craving for sensations, and that the so-called patriotic lucubrations of the pessimists are invariably outweighed by optimistic views of an equally patriotic character. If Mr. Meredith Townsend and Mr.



Wilfrid Blount picture everything in the blackest of black colors, and take great pains to demonstrate with mathematical exactness the unavoidable loss of India, we find on the other hand Mr. Walter Besant and Professor Seeley employing their brightest colors in painting the brilliant future and permanence of the gigantic empire of to-day. The gloomy elegies of the national Cassandras are therefore by no means entitled to the consideration they receive at the hands of foreigners. In order to form an adequate judgment of the political position of England, one must certainly have a thorough knowledge of England and the English, but he need not necessarily be an Englishman, for just as the most eminent physician will leave the diagnosis and treatment of his disease to another, in the same way a foreigner alone is able to command the objectivity and impartiality indispensable for a proper elucidation of a political question like the one propounded at the head of this paper.

This is the main reason that induced me to enter into the discussion of this question, and to venture, after mature reflection, upon making the following remarks on the subject. In the first place, as regards states resting upon a broad national basis, the eternal law of nature concerning the rise and decline of everything earthly cannot be applied to-day as unerringly and absolutely as may have been done in the past, because now-a-days million-headed public opinion co-operates with the government of the ruler in the rise and maintenance of the state edifice, and because the national qualities of a people which have once been at work as active forces cannot all of a sudden die out and disappear. In the second place, it must not be overlooked that although Great Britain may have reached the summit of her political greatness, she has not yet by any means established a firm foothold upon it. The structure has been reared on a solid foundation, adequate to the circumstances, but it is not yet finished. The roof is still wanting, the scaffoldings have not been removed; and it may be well assumed that the often-tried Anglo-Saxon tenacity of purpose is not likely to relax and to fail them just on the eve of the completion of the work. But granted that the parallel of Jacob's ladder is firmly established in modern political matters, and that England has definitely attained



the pinnacle of her political greatness, may we not, in the face of these gloomy predictions, ask the questions, Which are in point of fact the symptoms of her retrograde movement, which the signs of her approaching downfall; and is it absolutely hopeless to stir up John Bull, now exposed to the danger of stagnation, and to spur him on to the resumption of his former activity?

Now I think that the majority of political thinkers entertain erroneous views concerning these questions, in not taking into account the changed state of things, and in demanding of modern Great Britain to pursue the same policy which more than a century ago was dictated to the United Kingdom by the imperial interests and the European political configurations of that time. At that period the distinction between colonial and other possessions was not drawn so sharply, and it was thought proper to stand up for imperial sovereignty in any part of the globe where the British flag was hoisted, with the same measure of money and lives as if any part of Yorkshire or Wales were concerned. To-day matters have essentially changed in this respect. Every rational Englishman knows that the colonies chiefly affect the interests of the English people, or more properly speaking of the Anglo-Saxon race, the common property of which, in a broader sense, they are, while the British possessions, as single—often very precious—jewels of the crown of Great Britain, concern first of all and principally the British government. Colonies may be lost to the English government, but never to the Anglo-Saxon race, which, numbering at this day over a hundred millions, is the virtual ruler of one fourth of the entire globe and owns nearly one-third of the entire wealth of the world. This accounts for the divergency of opinions entertained in our days by the several political fractions of Great Britain concerning the value and usefulness of distant possessions, and hence arises also that certainly culpable indifference displayed by the English people in their treatment of Asiatic and African questions of the day. Now as long as the notions of colony and home possession were not strictly defined in England, it was a matter of some difficulty for her to abstain from making her weight felt in the politics of the continent, which is, so to say, the focus of contentions for political power outside of Europe. Thus, for instance, was the



government on the Thames compelled to play the German principalities as its trump cards either against each other or several of them against a third power, and the thirty-six German rulers continued to fight the battles of Great Britain, until the latter, taught by events, arrived at the conclusion that the laurels gathered on European soil were not calculated either to draw the colonies nearer to the mother country, or to add to its influence and power in its far-off possessions. The last illusions of English politicians vanished with the united action against Russia during the Crimean war. At this day it is quite clear that while England, if need be, may guard and protect her interests in hither Asia by means of an alliance with Austria-Hungary and Turkey, European engagements in any other direction would be useless and unprofitable to her, and she can well afford to submit with a placid mind to the reproach that England has ceased to take part as a great power in the European concert. No sign of Great Britain's decline is discoverable in this renunciation; and since modern England's chief concern on European soil consists in the defense of her Asiatic interests, a proper policy pursued with greater consistency and energy in Asia itself would certainly prove far more useful to her than all the alliances or treaties concluded with the great powers of Europe.

Unfortunately for England, she has done neither one thing nor the other. For the last thirty years she has sadly neglected her interests not only in Europe but in Asia, and in a word has pursued a line of action which may be construed by her enemies and enviers into lack of courage and helplessness, which is deeply regretted by her friends, and over which England will greatly grieve in the future. We are confronted with the undeniable fact that the basis of England's position as a great power is to be sought to-day, if not exclusively yet principally, in Asia, and that on the broad continent, extending from the Bosphorus to Corea, and from the Oxus to Cape Comorin, it is the Indian Empire which in reality constitutes the Achilles' heel of the British world-empire. England's position as a political power centers therefore in Asia and more particularly in India, and the moment her standard is lowered there, it will drag down in its fall her political power in the whole of Asia, and her



position as a great power in Europe and the rest of the world will be exposed to irretrievable ruin. This causal connection has been frequently disputed, and is to this day obstinately denied by a certain political school in England but in vain, for the aims and purposes of another European colossus in Asia, England's most formidable rival, Russia, furnish the best proof of the high importance of political power and influence in Asia, politically, financially, and economically. Just as Russia's authority and influence in Europe increase in proportion as she consolidates her rule over the barbarous and semi-barbarous populations of Asia, and augments in the Orient the means to be used in the Occident, in the same way, but reversely, England will forfeit her position as a great power in Europe, and be degraded to a second or third-rate power, in case she is robbed of her prestige in Turkey, Persia, and China, and feels her foothold slipping from under her in India. A person, therefore, who wishes to speak of England's political decline, must in the first place adduce proofs to show that the English in Asia, especially in India, have already entered upon the slippery road of decay ; that the power and strength which enabled a small band of courageous, bold, and persevering men to found a gigantic empire are really declining or are altogether gone ; and finally that Great Britain's rule of nearly a century over broad and chequered Hindustan has produced such a state of things and such symptoms as render the continuance of British supremacy either superfluous or impossible.

I think a serious and unprejudiced person, who knows Asia and is disposed to judge of things objectively, will find it as yet a matter of some difficulty to produce proofs to that effect. I willingly admit that the political tendency of England has, within the last three decades, in several points of the old world, changed its direction in a way little calculated to increase and enlarge her influence and power. I even go further, and concede the opinion of those to be well founded who assert that the old policy of England, once boldly and grandly conceived and energetically put into action, has shown of late unmistakable signs of timorousness, narrow-mindedness, and weakness. But I consider this retrogression, regrettable as it is, to be only temporary—a momen-



tary relaxation following unusual exertion; perhaps also too heedless an approach to the verge of destruction; but by no means the exhaustion preceding inevitable debility, as the foes and detractors of Great Britain, with whom the wish is father to the thought, would fain persuade themselves. No. The sun, overcast with adverse clouds, may be temporarily robbed of its splendor, but it cannot go down all of a sudden and become totally obscured. A rapid glance at some details may, perhaps, convince the reader of the justness of my opinion.

If we start with Turkey, we cannot help being impressed with the fact that in that country England frequently indulged in a policy of extremes, continually passing from hot love to ice-cold indifference. The naval engagement off Navarino and the battles fought in the Crimea, the ships in the Sea of Marmora laden with Indian soldiers and the demonstration of the fleet before Dulcigno, are unfortunately so many sad illustrations of a policy consistent only in its changeableness. True, in many cases this changeableness and fickleness sprang from the impure source of domestic party interests, but members of parliament and so-called patriots ought to have had judgment enough to see that mere talk in the palace of Westminster is insufficient to convert minds in the East, or to render more secure the basis of England's position as a power. While thirty years ago the name of England had become a household word in the whole of Turkey, so that even to the most fanatic Mussulman the *Inghiliz* appeared only as half a Kafir (infidel), and as belonging to a people that had always been as much the friend and protector of the world of Islam as Russia in her actions had steadily shown herself to be its antagonist and destroyer; the same name of *Inghiliz* has now but a doubtful ring, and it is only in virtue of the strictly conservative tendency of the Orientals that its rehabilitation is still possible. Disposed to forget past wrongs, the Turk still fondly recalls the English comradeship in arms near the Alma and at Inkermann, and but a small talisman is needed to restore the old charm of Anglo-Turkish friendship; for where a grim and deadly foe habitually spreads terror and dismay, the hand of friendship, even though reservedly proffered from a distance, is always gladly welcomed. Matters are in the same position with regard



to Persia. Ever since handsome Shirley won the favor of Abbas the Great, to this day, Persia has always shown marks of special preference for Great Britain, but the feeling has not been reciprocated. The wooer from the North, with rough and unpolished manners, took quite a different course. He took the Iranian belle by storm; and now when the whole of northern Persia is exposed to the imminent danger of a Russian occupation, when the shadow of the Muscovite giant, extending over Azerbaijan, Khamsah, and Khorassan, reaches far into the land, and foreign commerce is almost exclusively in the hands of Russia, it will be rather difficult for England to retrieve her past mistakes and to regain her lost opportunities. Here as well as in Turkey, in Arabia as well as in central Asia, England's policy was badly damaged by dilatoriness and misconception of her real interests; for, admitting that the friendly relations with Turkey, Persia, and the Islamitic world in general, cannot be turned into absolute bulwarks of India, no one, on the other hand, will contend that the dimming of her prestige at one point of the Asiatic world does not at the same time diminish her power and authority at other points. The glamour of victory surrounding Russian arms in central Asia, as well as the consistent and resolute attitude of the Czar toward the Kirghiz, the Usbegs, the Turkomans, and the Afghans, have thrown Great Britain's prestige into the shade throughout the whole length and breadth of the Oriental world. No wonder therefore if people are of the opinion that the British power in India is threatened, and if professional augurs of ill already proclaim the beginning of the end.

I intentionally use the expression "professional augurs of ill," for although optimistic England has honored me with the title of "Prince of Alarmists," I am far from sharing the views of those who imagine that India is already irretrievably lost to England. The object I have aimed at in leaders, in essays, and in books, during a literary activity of twenty-five years, was solely and only to draw the attention of the English public to the impending dangers, and here, as in my latest works, I only mean to emphasize the existence and increase of the danger. But I would at the same time add, for the benefit of the bilious enviers of England, that their malevolent triumph is rather premature. Considering the



circumstance that the loss of India may be brought about through foreign or domestic enemy, or through the union of both, the position of Russia at the gates of Herat and her secret machination with the populations of Afghanistan cannot by any means be regarded with indifference. Russia has certainly drawn nearer the Indian frontier with a giant's stride, but England too, with a giant's stride, has advanced to meet her in a northerly direction; for by incorporating Beloochistan, and extending the India railway to the vicinity of Kandahar, she has brought the outworks of the defense of India into proper harmony with the object to be defended, and has cut off her antagonist from direct communication with possible malcontents and domestic enemies. And supposing Russia to be already on the point of opening the great campaign, by leading her armies from the interior of her empire across the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and over the new railway, to the South, does any one perchance imagine that this march would be really executed as easily and smoothly, *à la* Timur, as General Skobelev once, in his usual grandiloquent way, said it might be? Well, what is flippantly said cannot be so easily done. Russia, in appearance possessed of irresistible power, in reality is demoralized in her innermost being, her vitals cankered in every fibre of her political and social structure by corruption, theft, and fraud. Fully appreciating the strange and unforeseen antics of the God of War, I think it rather hazardous to glorify the advantages of one army over the other before any hostile engagement is yet in sight. England, it is true, has in India an army of only 180,000 men at her command, of whom but one third are Europeans; but the collision of the two powers is yet a question of the future, a future which she can and must make use of to the fullest extent if she does not wish to be overreached and tripped by her rival. Should England fail to be stirred into the display of the requisite energy, and should the parliament refuse to see that large ends demand large means, then indeed there will be danger in delay, and the world will be justified in speaking of the downfall of Great Britain; but not sooner.

With respect to internal peace, or the relation between the governing and the governed classes, views have obtained currency which but partially agree with the real state of things, and



are therefore apt to make the future appear much darker than it actually is. The rule of a handful of Europeans over 250 millions of Asiatics is certainly a wonderful phenomenon, yet the moral superiority we here encounter has sprung from conditions the efficacy of which may be impaired and disturbed by acts of external and internal violence, but which an as yet incalculably long period of time alone can remove or altogether destroy. No doubt the present rule of the British in India is founded first and foremost upon religious and race hatred; upon dissensions fanatically kept alive, which to-day as in past times continue to divide the country and to break up its populations into fractions arrayed against each other in deadly hostility. But there are many who believe that the liberal system of education and generous diffusion of enlightenment inaugurated and sedulously kept up by the Anglo-Indian government by means of four universities, of numerous colleges, and of elementary schools counted by the thousands, will put an end to this state of things and create in the end a united Indian nation capable of resistance. Such a thing may possibly happen in the very far-off future, but despite the patriotic declamations of Benghali *babus*, there is not at present the slightest indication of a tendency of this kind. The various elements composing the populations of Hindustan are content to keep things as they are, anxiously holding fast to the leading-strings of British education. The memory of the Asiatic tyranny and anarchy of the dreadful past, and a glance at the condition of things prevailing in the countries of the semi-independent native princes—ameliorated as it has been in many ways by British influence—only tend to make the people satisfied with their present lot. Not only the Russians but many another European nation might well envy the Hindoos for the manifold blessings bestowed upon Hindustan by the Anglo-Indian government, and for the order, justice, and liberal institutions introduced into that ancient nest of Asiatic tyranny by the Anglo-Saxon. This view is aptly expressed by “A native thinker” in an excellent essay recently published under the title of “England, India, and Russia,” as follows:

“But with respect to us Indians, what a calamity it would be to see England defeated and humiliated! Our country’s fate is bound up with



England's. Our civilization, our regeneration, our position among great states—all these things depend upon the permanence and strength of the British rule. Great are the difficulties lying in the path of our Indian patriots, agitating to arouse the conscience of England and persuade her to pay her full share of the cost of defending this glorious Empire, before which the loss of ten Australias or ten Canadas would be immaterial to the might and majesty of England. I at least do not despair of England's inherent strength and of England's sense of justice. But will our patriots do their duty."

We might quote to the same effect other Hindustanis, such as Mehta, Telang, Runade, Dadabhoy, Naoroji, Karaka, Lal Mohan Ghose, and many more, who, with all the ornateness of Oriental eloquence, proclaim to their co-religionists and countrymen the beneficial effects of British rule; and if the native press comprises organs hostile to England, their injurious effect is abundantly counterbalanced by organs friendly to England. In an Oriental society where the ancient ruling class has been divested of its power and authority, and where the former masters find themselves compelled to earn a livelihood, there will of course arise a respectable army of malcontents and grumblers, not to be conciliated even by the ablest statecraft. Unfortunately the English, with the best intentions, are wanting in the art so thoroughly understood by the semi-Asiatic Russian, of dealing properly with the Orientals; and many a measure devised for the benefit of the country has had the contrary effect. Owing to the increased rapidity of communication with the mother country, the Anglo-Indian, who formerly adapted himself to native modes of thought and living, and yielded to homesickness only after a stay of many years, has now become a mere adventurer and fortune hunter, anxious to leave India as soon as possible in order to live on his fat pension at home. The glorious types of a Lawrence, an Elphinstone, a Bentinck, a Canning, a Metcalfe, that noble band of philanthropists who, zealously working for the good of India, constituted the pride of our Western civilization, are steadily decreasing. In the interest of England as well as of the spread of our civilization in general, it would be most desirable that a change for the better should take place in this particular, for the waning of the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race would be far more dangerous to British rule in



India than the dark clouds of Russian aggression coming from the North.

It would therefore be self-deception not to recognize the seriousness of the position occupied by England in the Islamite East in general, and especially in India. Candidly speaking, the situation is neither so desperately bad as the enemies and enviers of England would like it to be, nor by any means as favorable as her friends are disposed to paint it. After a century of honest and strenuous labor a pause has undoubtedly ensued; but it would be difficult to decide at present whether this pause originates in debility and (according to the saying "to rest is to rust") is to be regarded as a premonition of decline, or whether it is the herald of obese helplessness, sure to degenerate into final decay. We are at a loss to discover in England's doings and endeavors at home any warrant for her shortcomings abroad. In the gigantic beehive of the island home the hum and din of industrious labor go on as before. England still continues to surpass the rest of Europe in the products of her literature, in her scientific discoveries, in her love of freedom, in national self-consciousness, in individual self-respect, and in her patriotic sense of duty. In dealing with the views of those who look upon the awakening German as a most formidable future rival of England, both as a colonizer in Australia and Africa, and as a merchant and industrialist in India, two things are generally forgotten. First, that in the matter of colonies, more than in anything else, the proverb *Turde venientibus ossa* holds good, England having long ago swallowed all the fat pickings, and left for the Germans nothing but meager gleanings. Secondly, that it will take considerable time yet before the dreamy German, trained in political bondage, will be able successfully to compete with the eminently practical Briton, reared in liberal principles and familiar with great ideas. Freedom alone ennobles and spurs on to great actions, and for the time being it is only the German empire which has become great and mighty; the German citizen still continues to be small and contracted.

Hence in discussing with dry objectivity and unbiased by any national and political motives, the political, economical, and social situation of England, the conviction grows upon us that all



this continual talk about the decline and impending downfall of the mighty island empire is attributable chiefly to that strictly conservative tendency, inherent there more than elsewhere in the popular mind itself, which to this day has prevented the British people from giving proper consideration to the altered circumstances and to the demands of the present time. England ought to have familiarized herself long ago with the thought that her flag is no longer the only one that "rules the waves," and that in order to regain and keep up her supremacy in the oceans of the world—a supremacy which may be yet attainable—her navy must be first of all free from any taint of inferiority or inefficiency. Isolated voices of criticism in the parliament and the prejudicial reports about the manœuvres near Spithead have done incalculable damage to England's reputation and authority, and every Briton ought to consider it his foremost duty to repair an injury which almost amounts to national disgrace. England still has the grandest material at her disposal, and with her prestige of centuries it would be comparatively easy for her to maintain her rule on the seas and to give the lie to the rumors of her maritime decline. Similar demands are forced upon England with regard to her army. She must at least treble her army, or she must abdicate her position as one of the great powers of the world. It is a sad and an odious necessity to which England must submit in this case, but the precious jewel of liberty is surely worth this sacrifice. With continental critics the view is prevailing that John Bull, clinging to his money bags and deep in the study of his commercial balance sheet, is utterly indifferent to his army and navy, and to his national greatness. As far, however, as I know England, I must characterize this as a tremendous mistake. Indifferent in questions of detail, and shockingly ignorant of all matters relating to Asia and Africa, the English manufacturer, merchant, and even the simple workman, is thoroughly patriotic; a patriot who in the hard struggle of everyday life has but little time left for the pursuit of far-reaching political speculations, and who takes a far deeper concern in municipal, parochial, or religious questions than in the arming of Herat, in the relation between the Nizam and the Viceroy, or in the revolt of Dinizulu, but for all that a patriot who recoils



from no sacrifice, ever so great, where the honor and glory of the Union Jack is involved. It is not his fault, but the fault of the shameful party machinations of English politicians, that England has been left behind in the organization of an armament befitting her political position, for the words spoken in the municipal council of London in relation to the national defense have certainly found a ready echo in the smallest borough of England. It is not the great mass of the English people, but the governing class, which is contaminated with the failings of the century.

England's fall, indeed, would be the severest blow that could be inflicted, not only upon the Anglo-Saxon race, but upon mankind in general. The consequences of such a calamity would, under the present circumstances, prove fatal just now, when Eastern and Central Europe—threatened by the black clouds of mediæval feudalism, and tempted by a statesman whose luck is equal to his astuteness, to tread the gloomy path of retrogression—have only England, the nearest beacon light of liberty, to look up to. Heaven forbid that the waves should close upon this pharos, for the light of the great republic across the ocean reaches but feebly the old mother continent, and the time is as yet far off when “the power of the English-speaking race will outweigh that of all the rest of the world,” as is said by an enthusiastic writer in the April number of this magazine.

ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY.



## CREATING CRIMINALS.

THE telegraph joyfully announced the other day that a notorious cracksman had been caught in Boston. How did he happen to be at large? He was a familiar figure in penitentiaries; he was well known to the police; he had a public reputation. It was perfectly well known that his business was burglary (with incidental murder if necessary to his safety); that he had no other occupation; that he associated with persons of both sexes whose sole calling is the plunder of society. He was a professional criminal, belonging to a well-defined criminal class, who never do a stroke of honest labor, whom the community support in idleness and crime. How did he happen to be at large?

After some weeks or months in a comfortable jail this criminal will be tried. He will have the sharpest, most ingenious criminal lawyers to defend him; every advantage will be taken of technicalities, and allowed; and the ablest effort will be made to clear him of the specific crime for which he was arrested, or to procure for him the shortest possible sentence. As he is so notorious, the chance is that the jury will convict him. He will spend a few years in the State prison. He will behave well there, will earn time by good conduct, and greatly shorten the term of his sentence. If the political demagogues who court the votes of the so-called Labor Party have their way, he will be put to no labor that will pay for his keep—that is, he will be permitted to manufacture nothing that will sell, and the tax-payers will have their taxes increased to keep him in well-fed idleness. He will in time be discharged and go back to his occupation of burglary. He will rob several houses and a bank or two, he will terrorize the whole community, and some day he will be caught again, and the whole farce will be repeated.

Society prefers this method; it must prefer it, in a government by the people, or it would try some other. It is evidently



willing to stand the loss of his repeated robberies, the expense of increased police to watch him, the cost of his successive trials, which make a heavy bill for the state, and finally, is willing to support him during the periods of his incarceration. There is no common sense in the method; it is the most uneconomical that could be devised; but we have a notion that it saves us the trouble of any intelligent and vigorous action. We let the criminal class prey upon us, knowing all the time what they are doing. We have gradually learned to act differently in other social dangers. If a man has small-pox, we send him to a pest house and keep him there till he is cured; if he is a dangerous lunatic, we put him in an asylum and keep him there until he is pronounced sane by competent authority.

But we are not merely passive sufferers of this warfare on society. Our method directly increases and reproduces the criminal class. This cracksman is only a type of a dozen varieties of professional rogues, thieves, swindlers, lying tramps, vagabonds with no occupation except getting a living by dishonesty. Our system of dealing with criminals and those with strong criminal tendencies is calculated to recruit the ranks of the professionals. It is an old story, the life of young offenders, boys and girls, through the city lock-ups, the usually foul county jails, the houses of thirty days' detention, the reform schools, the penitentiaries—always with associations tending to destroy self-respect and increase a liking for vileness—to the full-blown professional condition. It is needless to repeat the details. From the moment society pays attention to a wrong-doer, its machinery is ever making him worse. There are exceptions, but this is the rule. Our main effort is to punish crime, not to prevent it.

In the science of medicine there has been a great deal of progress in the last fifty years; in penology very little. Intelligent physicians and an enlightened society turn their attention now to the prevention of disease. In the diagnosis and the treatment of it amazing progress has been made, but the more notable fact is that people are learning more and more that good sanitary conditions, proper diet, and the avoidance of excesses are surer means of escape from sickness than medicine. He is the best doctor who gives the best advice and the least medicine. When we



put the treatment of crime and criminals on this philosophic basis, we shall begin to make progress in the extirpation of criminals.

When I say that there has been little progress in penology I do not mean to say that there has not been a great reform in the construction of our jails and penitentiaries, making them more wholesome, cleanly, and orderly, nor in the humane treatment of men and women under the sentence of the law. Nor do I mean to say that much valuable knowledge has not been accumulated on this subject, that there are not an increasing number of thoughtful men and women who comprehend the problem, and that there are not here and there institutions mostly struggling against popular prejudice and ignorance which take up the reformation of criminals in a fundamental comprehension of human nature. What I mean to say is, that notwithstanding the efforts of societies, the wisdom of scientific students, the example of a few hopefully conducted institutions, the criminal class is rapidly increasing in this country; and that, alas, owing to the indifference, not to say the consent, of society. The proof of this is in the official statistics of jails and penitentiaries, the demand on legislatures and city councils for increased accommodations for criminals, and the visible condition of city slums and the scarcely less disgraceful small manufacturing villages. The science of penology, that is, the rational mode of dealing with crime and criminals, either for prevention or reform, has made very little progress in the general public mind.

We are just now overwhelmed by a wave of demagogism that threatens to destroy what has been done, and prevent any treatment of criminals likely to benefit them or render them less dangerous. The so-called labor reformers have demanded that prisoners should not be employed in remunerative labor, the products of which can in any way compete with those of free labor. It is a silly demand, because it is undeniably best for society that all men should be producers instead of drones and consumers; because the percentage of competition of prison with free labor is so small as scarcely to affect the market at all; and because it is easy to provide by legislation that prison-made products, in any manufacture, shall not be offered below ruling market rates. It is a monstrous demand, because it is unreasonable that a man by committing crime can compel the rest of the



community to support him in idleness. He ought rather to be compelled to work, so as to contribute to the support of the community he has wronged. It is morally an injury to the criminal and the state, for without the discipline of regular labor no human being can be reformed (few indeed can be prevented from falling into evil), and prison life without labor will certainly add to the danger of society in an increase of the confirmed criminal class. Labor, remunerative labor, which the convict himself feels is profitable, is necessary to his moral well-being and to the development of his self-respect. Upon economic and moral grounds alike, prisons should be as nearly self-supporting as is consistent with due punishment and with reform. Nevertheless, this fatuous experiment of politicians with prisons will probably have to run its course.

The reason why this experiment is fatal for the time being to any effort either to reform criminals or to stop their manufacture by the state, is that remunerative, intelligent labor is an indispensable part of the discipline without which any change of character is impossible. The word "education" in regard to criminals has sometimes been misunderstood. It is discipline that is wanted. Very likely a vicious man cannot be changed in character by imparting to him information; he may indeed be made a greater rascal by increasing his knowledge and giving him the facility of a trained and sharpened intellect. The education we ask for criminals in prison is, so far as reading and writing and the study of books is concerned, only a part of the method of dealing with them, a necessary part of the discipline, and of doubtful value standing by itself. The ordinary criminal is a defective human being, or quite disorganized, always defective morally, generally twisted mentally, and in the majority of cases damaged and defective physically. He cannot be changed into a normal being, with impulses to right and orderly living, except by discipline applied long enough to change his moral, mental, and physical habits. An illustration of this sort of discipline is furnished by the Reformatory at Elmira, New York, which seems to me more philosophical than any attempted elsewhere; it goes to the root of the matter as does no ticket-of-leave system, nor even the famous Crofton system. The convict there is compelled to



study hard, to work hard, and to conduct himself properly; to be neat, orderly, and systematically correct. As I have often said, this training reaches his whole nature; the study trains his mind, the compelled good behavior affects his morals, the work not only educates his physical nature but acts on his total harmonious development. If he can be kept in this life long enough to form a habit of it, he will be radically changed. The motive for cheerful submission to this triple discipline is the hope of being discharged on a ticket of leave. The defect of its application is not in the method at Elmira, but in the unwillingness of society outside to carry it out. For the term of incarceration should be made to depend not upon a sentence of the court, but upon the man's fitness to go at liberty. That is to say, a convict should be sent to prison and hard labor not for a definite arbitrary term, but until he is so changed in his habits that he is fit to take his place in the world again. If that were done, and society understood it, a released man would not find the doors of employment and sympathy shut against him as he does now, for he would come out with a certificate of integrity, industry, and intelligence. If he is so debased as not to be able to be changed in his habits and practices by any discipline, however long continued, then the prison is the place for him for life. We shall do little to reduce the number of criminals till we come to this conclusion.

Considered broadly, the prevention of the increase of crime and of criminals lies in two things: 1. The rescue of children predisposed by their circumstances to crime. 2. The subjection of actual criminals to the discipline calculated to change their habits, until they are by competent authority pronounced fit to go out.

These are radical measures, but I think nothing else will visibly stop the increase of crime and criminals; not sentimental alms-giving and goody-goody institutions that are comfortable refuges and not places of discipline; not model prisons with all the humanitarian good will in the world. Society must concern itself intelligently about the city slums and the vulgar vice of country towns. The schools of both must be made better than they now are, and children must be compelled to attend them at least nine months in the year. If the slums cannot be made habitable, then the children must be taken out of them, and be placed where



they can lead decent lives. It does not need demonstration that no country can go on to prosperity with society rotting at the foundations. A good many noble men and women are devoting their lives to the rescue of these children, but it is only pecking round the edges of a great evil. The whole community must take up the matter seriously. I suppose it will do this when it sees that it is more economical, costly as it may be, to deal with nascent crime than with full-bloom crime.

This is cutting off, as far as human effort can, the source from which the criminal class is recruited. The second part of the method, the confinement of criminals until they are fit persons to be at large, offers the only philosophical way of their reformation, and the only practical way of reducing the class of persons who have become addicted to crime. As long as a youth can count on a checkered career of crime, half the time preying on society, with the zest of a hunter, half the time in jail, where his false heroism is nursed, the career has an attraction for him. This it will cease to have when he knows that he insures permanent loss of liberty unless he ceases to wish to lead a life of crime. By the indeterminate sentence his period of incarceration depends upon himself. If he determines to lead an honest life, it will be very short; if he does not, it will be very long. The law deters men and women from crime by the prospect of punishment. Conviction of crime is punishment, and so is loss of liberty. But who is wise enough to say what punishment is enough for a criminal? The prison should be a place for his reformation and for the protection of society from the evil he would do it. If he will not reform, then let him stay where he cannot injure society.

The time will come, I have no doubt, when the world will look back with astonishment to the period when it was thought either just or economical to let criminals prey upon society, and when it was not thought the highest act of mercy to make, if necessary, a life-long effort for their reformation.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.



## CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

"THE time," says Senator Sherman, "has come when the people of the United States and the people of Canada should take a broader view of their relations toward each other." This unhappy fisheries question, with the question of retaliation which has sprung from it, has at all events had the effect of drawing the attention of the American people to the existence of such a country as Canada. Canadians often complain of British ignorance, and British ignorance respecting Canada, it must be owned, is pretty profound. The English are far off, and unless they happen to hold Canadian investments there is little to turn their eyes this way. But British ignorance can hardly exceed that of the people who divide this continent with Canada, whose territory through its whole extent is completely interlocked with her, who share with her a system of railways and waterways, whose capitalists buy her timber limits and work her mines, with whom she has to a large extent a currency union, and on whose destinies her development cannot fail to exercise a direct influence for good or evil. American politicians notably show on this, as on all external questions, a narrowness of vision which to a foreign observer appears their most characteristic fault, and which probably arises from the absorption of their thoughts by the party game, and especially by the presidential election. A presidential election seems now for nearly two years out of four to suspend not only diplomacy but legislation, and to reduce Congress to practical impotence.

There is one part of the Union, however, which cannot fail to be keenly alive to the existence of one at least of the Canadian Provinces. The home of the Puritans seems in a fair way to become the heritage of two Catholic races, the Irish, who already elect their mayor in Boston, and the French, who pour in from the Province of Quebec. It is reckoned that there are now in New England half a million of French Canadians. The



Northern half of Maine is in their hands. Like the Irish in Ireland, the French of Quebec, having a low standard of living, multiply without limit or foresight, while the church in Quebec, as in Ireland, encourages early marriages and immediate remarriage of widowers, on grounds of what she deems morality, having at the same time an eye to the fees, and perhaps still more to the extension of her power, by the multiplication of her faithful children. Families of twenty are not unknown in Quebec. The soil is niggard, the climate rigorous, and were the Province an island the pressure on the means of subsistence would be the same that it is in Ireland. As it is, the surplus population has overflowed with an ever-swelling tide, partly into the adjacent Provinces of the Dominion, but mainly into the northeastern States of the Union. The priest was at first disposed to restrain this exodus, which carries the faithful out of his peculiar domain, and subjects them to the anti-sacerdotal influences of a free and commercial republic. A "repatriation" society was set on foot. But how repatriate the swarms for whom in their native land there is no bread? Another and a more ambitious idea has now taken hold of the French Canadians. They have conceived the hope of becoming, by sheer dint of numerical increase, a great French nation on this continent, in renewed connection, not political perhaps but moral, with old France. After British Canada shall have been overrun,

"Our next ambition is the conquest of the United States. Northern Maine is French Canadian. In New England we count half a million. Lowell, Worcester, Lawrence, Nashua, and Fall River are ours. In farms, in parishes, in solid masses, we shall establish ourselves on the banks of the Merrimac as we have on our own historic streams, to increase and multiply, and possess the land, *posidentes januas hostium*, performing a divine mission, working out a high destiny for our language and Catholic faith, and establishing a new, magnificent State out of the portions of those destroyed, over which shall fly the lilies of old."

Such is the expression given to this dream in "The Young Seigneur," a tale written by an Englishman living in Montreal, to portray the ideas and aspirations of the French Canadians. A dream we at once pronounce it. Humanity in the New World has not put forth all this effort, gone through all these struggles, and made all this progress only to be choked at



last by the physical growth of a germ of Mediævalism and Bourbonism left by historical accident in Quebec. But this much is certain, that to the assimilative forces of British Canada French Canadianism completely bids defiance. The British element itself is not only being rapidly extruded from Quebec, but is in imminent danger of French encroachment in the Provinces now its own. The hope of anglicizing French Canada probably still lingered in the minds of those who united French to British Canada in 1840. That hope is now extinct, and the only fruit of the union has been the subjection of British Canada to the political domination of people of a different race and their governing priesthood. Nothing apparently can stay the extension of the French element or preserve the social and intellectual unity of the continent, except the intervention of those great assimilating forces which have acted on the French population of Louisiana sufficiently for the practical purposes of union, and have turned so many millions of Germans and other foreigners into American citizens. The priesthood of Quebec is aware of this, and is of all sections of Canadian society, except perhaps the "United Empire Loyalists," the least favorable to any extension of relations with the United States. Thus it is that Quebec, though it has no connection or sympathy with British Toryism, has formed the basis of the Tory Party in Canada.

The population of Canada at the time of the conquest was under seventy thousand. To introduce the English language then would have been easy; nor would there have been anything really harsh in the process. To an uneducated peasantry a language is not what it is to a cultivated and literary community; Scotch regiments disbanded in French Canada have readily given up their native language and adopted the French. Free institutions and honest government would fully have made up for the change. But the truth is that the Englishman, whom American Anglophobists revile as the most ruthless of conquerors, is of all conquerors the one who has least exercised the rights of conquest; he has exercised them in some cases so little that it is not easy to see why he conquered at all. The use he has made of his victory on the Heights of Abraham is to foster a French nationality which under Bourbon rule would very likely have come to nothing,



and certainly would never have been what it is now. It was a leader of the French Canadians who said that the last gun in defense of British dominion on this continent would be fired by a French Canadian.

British Canada is the offspring of a division in the Anglo-Saxon race produced by a civil war, and a civil war in which I am heretical enough to maintain that the canonized Samuel Adams was to blame as well as the uncanonized George III. At the close of the last American civil war, the victors were magnanimous, and the wisdom of their magnanimity was seen the other day at Gettysburg. At the close of the first civil war, the victors were not magnanimous, and the folly of their want of magnanimity was seen in the growth of a separate and for a long time a hostile Canada. Franklin told Burke after the rupture with the mother country, that the colonists had enjoyed many happy days under the rule of England and might possibly never see such again. Those colonists, therefore, who had fought for the old state of things were at least as well entitled to amnesty as the vanquished party in any other civil war, and had amnesty been granted, all experience proves that reconciliation and oblivion would soon have followed. But they were proscribed, driven into exile, and compelled to found an antagonistic state, while England, who would otherwise probably have retired from this continent, as wisdom enjoined her, felt bound to stay here for their protection. The original enmity was rekindled by the war of 1812, which also intensified Canadian patriotism by the memory of a successful defense, and its embers have been fanned from time to time by irritating incidents, such as the interference of American "sympathizers" in 1837, the Trent affair, and the Fenian invasion, farcical as that was. It is fostered by the descendants of the exiles, United Empire Loyalists, as they call themselves, who feel that it invests them with a certain romantic interest, and that their family consequence is bound up with the tradition. Still, in the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the Trent affair, reconciliation, and not only reconciliation but fusion, has been rapidly going on. Not only the race and language, but the structure and spirit of society on the two sides of the line, are essentially the same, while the territories



are interlocked through their whole extent and commercially welded together by the railways and waterways. During the eighteen years which I have spent in Canada, the action of the unifying forces has been so visible and has so manifestly increased that the end can hardly fail to be political union. At the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the battle of Lundy's Lane the other day, the British and American flags were carried side by side. The tie of affection which binds Canada to Great Britain is still strong, and strong I trust it will always remain, for there are features in American politics which seem to me to prove that it is a bad thing for a nation to break with its past. But the political tie is now merely nominal. The Governor-General, though he goes about opening institutions and receiving addresses, is a social fetich, exercising no political power. The speech which he reads to Parliament is written for him by the Canadian Prime Minister, and, in the person of our last Governor-General, an Englishman and a free trader was made to speak with approval of a tariff which imposed protective duties on British goods. Canada still carries on her diplomacy through the British Foreign Office, the British Privy Council is still her ultimate court of appeal, and her forces are still commanded by a British general; otherwise, she is practically independent. It would be well if this fact were more present to the minds of "tail-twisters," who seem to fancy that in annoying or insulting Canada they are annoying or insulting Great Britain.

For my own part, I freely confess that I not only recognize the ultimate decree of destiny, but regard it as beneficent. With the liberty which the federal Constitution secures to each State, and which allows free play for local character and local self-development of every kind as well as for local legislation, I cannot conceive that the union of this continent, for the purposes of internal peace and external security, could be anything but a blessing to all who dwell in it. Nor do I see why the federal system should not be capable of this expansion without any danger of disruption, so long as the federal government remains contented with its legitimate functions. Without being animated by any iconoclastic or revolutionary feeling against the British aristocracy, I should be glad to see Canada finally released



from its influence, which appears to me to be productive of nothing but flunkyism, while it interferes with the education of the people in the political principles on which a commonwealth of the New World must rest. To England, whose interest and honor never can be absent from the mind of one whose home during the greater part of his life she has been, the nominal loss would, I am convinced, be a real gain. Politically she retains, as I have said, no real power over Canada; commercially Canada treats her as a foreign nation, by laying protective duties on her goods. She is involved in Canadian quarrels, with which her people have no concern, and she is bound to defend Canada, which, as Canada has no armaments of her own, would be a most serious burden, especially in the case of a maritime war. In the councils of her own continent, Canada would be an element friendly to the mother country, and would form a link between the American and the European section of the English-speaking race. When, however, Great Britain had retired politically from this continent, no imaginable causes of quarrel between the two sections of the race could remain, nor could the jealousy to which tail-twisters appeal any longer exist. Assuredly Great Britain gains nothing in dignity by such bickerings as she has gone through in relation to the fisheries, or by having to wait in the ante-chamber of political party at Washington till she is turned away with insult.

On the other hand, whatever the vulgar politician may think or do, no statesman, surely, could wish violently to forestall the natural course of events, either by military force or by the pressure of a tariff war. Let the two kindred communities, in the fullness of time and in the ripeness of inclination, when all angry feeling shall have departed and evil memories shall have died away, come together as two drops of water come together by mutual attraction. Such is the desire of the wisest and most truly patriotic Americans whom I know. Such, so far as I can see, is the general sentiment of the American people. There are mischief-makers of course on both sides.

While our political destinies are working themselves out, it seems folly to deny ourselves the mutual benefits of free commercial intercourse and a full development of the resources of our



continent. The mineral wealth of Canada has hardly an equal in the world; but to work her mines to a profit she needs the American market, American capital, American machinery. She has lumber in abundance, which the Middle States of the Union especially need, and which would be better economized and guarded against forest fires when it had been brought into the common store of the continent and acquired its just value. She has fish not only in her seas, but in the great lakes of her Northwest, which the Middle States will gladly buy. She has special kinds of agricultural produce and stock, in which experience shows that a profitable trade would at once be opened if the customs line were out of the way. On the other hand, she wants to buy freely the manufactures and other special products of the wealthier and more scientific country. Nothing can be more manifest than that Nature has made this continent economically one, and that the tariff wall which a political quarrel has drawn across it is a defiance of Nature and a renunciation of her proffered bounty. All this is set forth in detail in the "Handbook of Commercial Union," published by the Commercial Union Club of Toronto, which has hitherto acted as the organ of the movement in Canada; and prefixed to the Handbook is a map showing the territorial relations of Canada to the United States, which speaks to the eye more plainly than any economic details can speak to the mind. A commercial union by which our seas would be made free to us all, alike for fishing and for navigation, can alone effectually put an end to disputes, and relieve the commerce of the continent from the danger of ruinous disturbance which is threatening it now; for make what treaties you may about the fisheries, there will still be quarrels among the fishermen. By such a union would in effect be fulfilled the wishes of the wisest of British statesmen in the last century, who desired that the separation between Great Britain and the colonies, since it must come, should take the form, not of the establishment of two powers entirely foreign to each other, but of a partition of the Anglo-Saxon heritage. Whatever political effect commercial union might have could not fail to be in the direction of amity, and therefore welcome to those who desire good will between the two nations, even if they do not look forward to political union.



Canada has, for her population and wealth, a heavy debt, and she would have to devise means of making up for the loss of revenue entailed by the abolition of the custom duties on the American frontier. It may safely be said that she had better raise revenue in any way rather than in one which shackles her industry and puts a bar to her trade. This, however, is a difficulty which affects Canada alone. To the United States, afflicted only with financial plethora, financial depletion would be welcome. A difficulty extending to both countries would be that of assimilating the seaboard tariff. Assimilation would apparently be necessary, because otherwise there would be smuggling through the country in which the tariff was lower into that in which it was higher. But the tariffs are now so rapidly approaching each other that the difficulty of assimilation is not likely to prove insuperable. An assimilation of excise would also be necessary, but here again the existing difference is not great.

It is merely for the purpose of assimilation that Commercial Unionists in Canada propose to deal with the seaboard tariff. They do not wish to raise the general question between protection and free trade. That, on any hypothesis, a tariff wall built across the continent is a nuisance seems to them a palpable certainty, and this nuisance they desire to remove.

The only commercial opposition in Canada, in fact, is that of the protected manufacturers whose factories have been recently called into artificial existence by tariff legislation, the real object of which was to provide the party in power with a corps of political supporters bound by their commercial interests to its chariot wheels, the authors of the legislation themselves being notoriously not Protectionists by conviction. This interest being better organized, more political, and more concentrated in the cities than the other interests, presents a somewhat formidable front, but it would be a very small minority if we could come to vote on the clear issue. The farmers, our largest and most powerful industry, are thoroughly in favor of commercial union, though in byelections, especially, it is difficult to get them to vote on any but party lines.

The territory of the United States is a continent, embracing almost every variety of production. By Americans, therefore, any



inconveniences which the protective system may entail are comparatively little felt, just as they were comparatively little felt under the continental system of Napoleon, which, though prohibitive on the seaboard, allowed all the communities included in his dominion or its satrapies, that is, the greater part of Europe, to enjoy internal free trade. But in a market so small as Canada the bad effects of a protective system have at once been felt. The spasmodic overproduction which it stimulates has been speedily followed, as it was sure to be, by a glut, half-time, and combinations to keep up prices. To be self-contained is the aim of protection. By the possessors of a continent it may be attainable; by the possessors of a limited territory it is not.

Our protected manufacturers, in fact, do not, in defending monopoly, rely much on commercial arguments. They find it better to borrow weapons from the political armory, and to raise the cry of outraged loyalty. They denounce commercial union with the United States on the ground that it would involve tariff discrimination against the mother country. After laying protective duties on British goods, after running to Ottawa every session to get those duties raised and made if possible prohibitive, these ardent loyalists, as soon as it is proposed to admit American goods into Canada, lift up their hands in horror and cry, "Good Heavens, you propose to discriminate against the mother country!" The mother country herself takes the matter more calmly; if her goods are to be excluded from Canada it matters little to her whose goods are admitted, and, as she has six or seven hundred millions invested in Canada, her interest in its general prosperity is larger than her interest in it as a market. Her interest generally, in fact, is constantly becoming, in a more marked manner, that of the great investing nation of the world. The commercial unity of the empire has been completely dissolved. England has ceased to give any preference to colonial products in her market, and on the other hand she has conceded to the colonies entire fiscal independence. Of that independence each of them must make use according to its own circumstances, and the circumstances of Canada are those of a nation whose commerce is bound up with that of her great neighbor and partner on this continent.



The strongest opposition on the Canadian side is not commercial but political. It is that of the Tory Party, which acts in unison with the Tories of England, and like them desires to perpetuate and as far as possible to intensify the separation of Canada from the American republic. British Toryism has never ceased to cherish a vague hope of making Canada its political outpost, and thus at once wresting a portion of this continent from democracy, and establishing here a balance of power. The bestowal of minor titles of aristocracy which, since the recent advent of the Tories to power in England, has been actively resumed, and the exercise of social influence, are the chief instruments of propagandism, and are more efficacious than might have been supposed. Social influence the nobleman who is a Tory still exercises, though political influence he no longer does. Combined with this is a genuine and powerful natural love of the mother country, which takes alarm at any proposal which might be just as deeply cherished if British Canada were commercially, and not completely disconnected from old England as old France. We must add to these forces the remnant of positive anti-American feeling which the United Empire Loyalists do their best, as has been already said, to keep up, and which is of course stimulated by every hostile or insulting word uttered against Canada by American politicians. In Canada, as in the United States, we have the party system, with its everlasting struggle for place and patronage, its narrow organization, its shibboleths, its blind servility, its corruption. It is astonishingly difficult to get the people out of their party lines, even when the question is one so manifestly vital to their material interests as commercial union. The Tories have now, moreover, been for many years in power, and have got all the machinery of influence and bribery thoroughly into their hands, while the Liberal opposition has of late been weakened and discredited by serious errors on the part of its leaders, notably by the intrigue into which in an evil hour it was betrayed with the French Canadians in connection with the execution of Riel.

It is natural that the need and value of a commercial union



should be more felt by the smaller and poorer than by the larger and richer country, and that the movement in Canada should at first outstrip the movement in the United States. Not that it would be wise on the part of the Americans to refuse a great gain merely because the gain of the Canadians might be greater. People seem to be still haunted, to a surprising extent, by the notion that in commerce whatever one party gains must be so much loss to the other. That in a fair bargain both parties gain is the fundamental maxim of trade; nor is this less true though, in the particular case, the exchange may chance to be more profitable or necessary to one party than to the other. If one man grows wheat and another shoes, both benefit by the exchange, and the hungry man may be more urgent than the shoemaker. The commercial union between England and the United States has gained most, yet England gained least. It is not that he has settled the question by pointing to the difference between the two markets. Would he not have profitably cut off from itself the market of New England is by itself richer than that of the rest of the United States? The two cases are exactly parallel, since economic considerations are not affected by political lines. Besides, if Canada is poor or comparatively poor, it is because she is shut off from the market of the continent, as New England would be if a tariff wall were built between her and the rest of the Union. Canada, as has been well said, is rich by nature, poor by policy. Her wealth, her mineral wealth especially, needs a free market and American capital for its development. With the development of Canadian wealth the population of Canada and her purchasing power would increase and become a better market for American goods. These arguments have told, and the movement represented in Congress by Mr. Hitt and Mr. Butterworth has been advancing in the United States as fast as could have been reasonably expected. It is in the Border States naturally that sympathy with it is first manifested. Detroit could not fail to feel herself cribbed and confined by the tariff wall. But boards of trade in different parts of the Union have passed favorable resolutions; nor has



definite opposition of a commercial kind as yet been anywhere developed on a large scale.

The opposition here again to a measure the economical advantages of which nobody seems able to deny, is not commercial but political, and has its root apparently in party. The government of Mr. Cleveland was believed, apparently on good grounds, to be in favor of commercial union, or at least of an extension of commercial relations with Canada. This is enough to arouse the opposition of the other party. Mr. Blaine accordingly takes up his parable, to this effect:

“You pay your taxes in Maine; you pay your taxes in the United States; you yield obedience. You owe allegiance; you observe the laws. You live under the flag; you stand ready to fight for the national Union, as you already have fought. Beyond the frontier, across that river, our neighbors choose another government, another allegiance. They are subjects of Queen Victoria; they are loyal to her Majesty. They live under a foreign flag. They do exactly as they have a right to do. I neither dispute their right nor envy their situation. It is their right to choose for themselves, as it is our right to choose for ourselves. But I am opposed, teetotally opposed, to giving the Canadians the sentimental satisfaction of waving the British flag, paying British taxes, and the actual cash remuneration of American markets. They cannot have both at the same time. If they come with us they can have what we have; but it is an absolute wrong against the rights of American citizens that millions of men who owe the United States no allegiance, who take no part nor lot with us, who are not of us, but choose to be foreign to us—it is an absolute wrong for a Democratic Congress to say that they shall have exactly the same share in our markets and the same privileges of trade under our flag that we have. I do not believe any gentleman from the other side who may now be doing me the honor to listen to me, would say himself, glad as he might be of the advantage, that it was fair play. It is not fair play. It is not taking care of your own. It is not looking out for the rights of those who are obedient, honest, and loyal citizens, and a government would be in default as to the duty it owes the humblest citizen if it chose to say that we have no market here that shall be sacred to our people, any more than it shall be sacred to those who are alien to us and owe allegiance to Queen Victoria.”

You cannot buy of a woman or sell to her without marrying her. It would be about as reasonable to assert this as to say that one country cannot trade freely with another without entering into political union. Suppose it were a question between France and Belgium, or between Germany and Holland—to preserve the



analogy of relative size, though in fact the relative size of the nations which enter into a fiscal arrangement has no more to do with the matter than the relative corpulence of the store keeper and his customer—would it be “an absolute wrong” to let a Belgian trade with Frenchmen without becoming a Frenchman, or to let a Dutchman trade with Germans without becoming a German, as Mr. Blaine avers that it would be to let a Canadian trade with Americans without becoming an American? To come nearer home, is it an absolute wrong that the American wheat grower or cotton grower should pay American taxes, enjoy the substantial satisfaction of waving the American flag, and at the same time receive the actual cash remuneration of British markets? For some articles, eggs and fruit for instance, there is already free trade between Canada and the United States. When an American buys an egg of a Canadian or a Canadian buys an egg of an American, is there any violation of fiscal justice, or any confusion of political allegiance? “So far as I can help it,” says Mr. Blaine in the next paragraph of his speech, “I do not mean that they (the people of Canada) shall be Canadians and Americans at one and the same time.” Mr. Morton, the candidate of Mr. Blaine’s party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, is the retiring Vice-President of a great Canadian railway, and one, as it happens, of an especially political kind. Is his nationality ambiguous? Would any man of Mr. Blaine’s ability use such arguments anywhere but on the stump?

“They can choose their side of the question,” says Mr. Blaine of the Canadians, “and remain over there.” Does he require that they shall leave their own country and come over bodily to his before he will trade with them? The fact is, as it may be important to him and to those on whose prejudices he is working to know, that a large number of Canadians do not “remain over there.” The industry and commerce of their own country being kept back by the commercial blockade, they flock by thousands and tens of thousands into the United States, where they compete with American labor, and draw the cash remuneration of the American market, often without ever becoming American citizens. The consequence of the system of separation which Mr. Blaine upholds is, in short, a constant displacement of popu-



lation, with results, to say the least, much less beneficial to his countrymen than would be the development of Canadian resources by free trade with the United States, and the reciprocal opening of the Canadian market, thus enhanced in value, to American manufactures.

“They are subjects of Queen Victoria; they are loyal to her Majesty.” In those words no doubt lies the sting. But supposing it desirable that Canadians should change their political condition, is it the part of a statesman, by treating them as objects of special disfavor and maintaining a commercial blockade against them, to harden them in anti-American feeling and force them to cling more tightly than ever to their transatlantic connection? The day, let us hope, is coming—it begins already to dawn in the pages of the best American writers on history—when this cultivation, for demagogic purposes, of a hatred which has long ceased to be reciprocated or to have any rational cause, while it manifestly outrages the ties of nature, will be denounced as utterly ignoble and consigned to an ignominious grave. But however this may be, to allow hatred of England to cast its shadow over the destinies of this continent, depriving us of the measure of wealth and prosperity which nature offers us, and sowing, it may be, the seeds of future political trouble in the North, similar to that which slavery bred in the South, would surely be a policy worthy of a Malay. Canada, as has been already said, is in fact independent; in form and name only is she a dependency of Great Britain. Statesmanship looks to facts and not to forms or names.

There is another thing which is not considered by Mr. Blaine and those other politicians who insist that Canada shall not be allowed to trade with the United States unless she will surrender her political independence. Congress has now been for six years trying to admit Dakota, whose title is unquestionable, as a State of the Union, and has failed. Would it be able to incorporate Canada, supposing even that Canada herself consented? The obstacle in the case of Dakota is party, the balance of which politicians fear would be disturbed by the entrance of Dakota as a State. Would not the same cause operate on a far larger scale to prevent the incorporation of Canada? Supposing there was



reason to believe that the Canadian vote would be Democratic, should we not have Mr. Blaine himself, if he were in Congress, maneuvering and filibustering session after session to put off annexation? To the foreign observer Congress in its present state appears to be, if not a broken-down machine, a machine so trammelled in its action and reduced to such helplessness by party, that it is incapable of passing even the most needful domestic measures, much more of dealing successfully with vast questions of external policy. One is led to raise the question whether the infusion of a political element, such as Canada would be, unfettered by the existing party organizations of the United States, may not be necessary to restore the vital energy of the Constitution. It is difficult, however, to see what the Republicans could find, even for electioneering purposes, better than a measure which would at once reduce the surplus revenue by the amount levied on imports from Canada, and at the same time largely extend the market for American manufactures and the field for the investment of American capital.

In spite, however, of the opposition on one side of Mr. Blaine and others who apparently seek to keep alive war sentiment for the support of the war tariff, and on the other side of Canadian Tories hostile to the extension of relations with the United States, commercial union was visibly gaining ground. Mr. Hitt's resolution authorizing the President, in case the Canadian government should be found favorable, to take action by appointing a commission, had passed the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and seemed to have a fair chance of passing the House. In Canada the Liberal Party had definitively adopted commercial union, under the name of "unrestricted reciprocity," as its platform, and had evidently renewed its own vigor thereby. The resolutions moved by its leaders in Parliament had been voted down, but this had been the act of a majority elected before the flag of commercial union had been unfurled, and on a different issue. Proofs of adhesion were being received from all parts of the country, notably from the great farming region of the Northwest. The tide had begun to turn against the Tory and Separatist government, even in the by-elections, and commercial unionists were looking forward with confidence to the general



election three years hence, when the broad issue will be brought before the whole people.

Now, however, comes the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty by the Senate, followed by the President's "thunderbolt out of the blue." The inevitable consequences in Canada have been a temporary revival of bad feeling, and an accession of strength to the Tory and anti-American Party, which has not failed to make capital of the occasion. It must be added that President Cleveland has impaired the personal influence which he had acquired in Canada, where the people had learned to regard his character with respect and confidence, and felt more interest in his election than they have felt in any question of American politics within my memory. The cause of commercial union receives a temporary check. Such are the adverse accidents to which an economic reform, or a practical reform of any kind, is exposed in steering its course among the rocks and shoals of party politics. But those who are familiar with conflicts of opinion know better than to expect the tide to be always flowing, or to despond because for a time they encounter a backward current. The Canadians are only too well trained to understand the meaning and measure the importance of a political maneuver, and they have received the thunderbolt on the whole with great composure. So have the people of England, notwithstanding a little talk in one high Tory quarter about ironclads. The cloud which had come over commercial union already begins to show its silver lining. Mr. Sherman's speech by its friendly tone gives hope of the best and the only effectual termination of all these disputes. The map of the continent will remain unchanged and continue to bear stamped upon it economic unity as the fiat of nature, while the momentary alarm produced by the threat of retaliation will have brought home to all minds, and particularly to those of the Americans and Canadians concerned in the industries specially threatened, the necessity of putting an end forever, in the only possible way, to the danger of commercial war.

GOLDWIN SMITH.



## THE STRUGGLE FOR SUBSISTENCE.

ONE of the most noticeable facts of the present day is the great and general interest in statistics. It is now admitted that every economic hypothesis must be tried by the test of figures to see if it coincides with the facts of life. It is also admitted that these figures must be compiled, sorted, and corrected by well-trained men and the work guided by their judgment, so that the figures may not lie. Both parties in the national Congress have united in establishing the national Department of Labor Statistics, and more than half the States have established State bureaus. Not least significant among various incidents is the fact that special labor organizations are making appointments of statisticians by whom the specific figures relating to their separate departments of labor may be compiled. After a few years there will be a basis for a true science of statistics such as has never heretofore existed; it almost exists to-day, and from it a true science of inductive political economy may soon be evolved.

By drawing from every source as yet available, the writer has recently presented statistics which cannot be gainsaid, proving, so far as figures suffice for proof, that greater progress than ever before has been made during the present generation, dating from 1865, when this nation first truly attained its independence, in providing for the means of subsistence, shelter, and clothing, and in organizing the machinery for distributing the necessities of life. Computations have also been given which go far to prove not only that since the dangers, difficulties, and destruction of the Civil War were surmounted and since slavery was abolished, there has been a more equal distribution of the necessities of life among the masses of the people of this country, but also that there has been a more equitable distribution since the standard of value of the country was re-established on a specie basis.

No attempt has yet been made to compile or to compare the statistics of the hours of labor, but figures are not needed to



prove to any one who has even a moderate faculty for observation, that the hours of labor as a whole have been diminished, while much of the hard hand work has been displaced by labor-saving mechanism. In the factory, either by way of legislation or in spite of legislation, it matters not which for our present purpose, ten hours have become customary in place of eleven or even twelve; the usual hours of work in textile factories forty or fifty years ago having been thirteen and even fourteen. In the building trades, either by way of trade unions or in spite of them, nine and ten hours have become customary in place of eleven and twelve, or even more. In all the great retail shops and wholesale warehouses in which goods are distributed, the hour of closing is earlier and the hour of opening is later than it used to be. In the factory the rooms are better lighted, better ventilated, and in winter more uniformly heated than ever before. Attention to sanitary conditions has become necessary even to pecuniary success. In the field the farm laborer rides upon the plow or upon the mowing machine, the hay rake, or the tedder, freed from the hard labor of guiding the plow by hand, mowing the hay with the scythe, or reaping the harvest with the sickle. The steam harvester and thresher have rendered the work of saving the grain crop vastly more effective and much less arduous to each person. In the building trades the small hoisting engine lifts the men and the materials to the tops of the highest buildings, while much of the heavy work of preparing the timber and other materials, which formerly required long and arduous work by hand, is done by steam or water power in the factory. The optimist can thus find on every side facts which sustain his view that the general struggle for life is becoming easier and not harder, while the statistics of the life insurance companies prove that the duration of life is lengthening.

Even in some cases where the quality of the working people may appear to have deteriorated, and their standard of living to be no longer equal to what it was in the same pursuit twenty or thirty years ago, one may find, on looking a little deeper into the causes of the change, that by way of improvements in machinery either less intelligence or less mechanical aptitude is now required on the part of those who tend the machines than was



formerly needed in the same branch of industry. In this way a class of operatives has been brought into the factory and there enabled to do efficient work, for whom a few years since there would have been no place above the plane of unskilled, menial, or common labor; while the class of operatives formerly required to do this kind of work has been lifted up to better conditions, better work, and better wages by the possession of the same superior qualities which first enabled them to do the work of the factory when the machinery did less and the man or woman did more. Forty or fifty years since, the daughters of the farmers of New England worked thirteen hours a day in the cotton factory in order to earn \$175 a year; to-day French Canadians, working ten hours a day, earn \$300 a year; yet the cost of labor is less now than ever before.

Every point thus far recited can be sustained by such evidence that it cannot be gainsaid by any one. In a broad and general way it might be proved that Uncle Sam and his children have obtained such power over the mechanism of production and distribution during the last twenty-five years, that if the long hours of work required thirty years ago to produce the materials for a narrow and poor subsistence were now applied under the new conditions, the same hours would yield at least one-third more of all the necessities and comforts of life than they did then. This gain in power has been applied in two ways. First, it has led in part to shortening the hours of work. Secondly, it has led in part to the attainment of a more ample subsistence and to a higher standard of common comfort and welfare. A better subsistence, better clothing, and better shelter are now obtained with shorter hours of work and less arduous effort than ever before, by all who have aptitude and industry coupled with the mental capacity which is required to enable them to adopt the new methods. Such must be the necessary conclusion from a comparison of the conditions of the present generation with those of the one next preceding it.

Yet no one can be blind to the fact that in many occupations which are necessary to the present mode of life, great numbers of persons are either worked to the utmost of their strength, or else are of necessity occupied so many hours of each day that what



time remains to them is barely sufficient for eating and sleeping, so that healthy recreation is absolutely wanting. Time has not yet been saved to all. The well-trained or skilled workman can get more with less effort, but the common laborers have increased relatively in their number by immigration, and are not yet educated to the level of the present opportunity; hence arises want in the midst of plenty, and a waste of abundance which with better individual training might be saved and made conducive to comfort and leisure.

Again, many occupations which are necessary to the present methods of life, and without which modern society could not exist in its present form—especially the kind of work which is done in great factories, mines, and furnaces—involve the continuous labor of multitudes of men and even of women under very monotonous and in some few branches even noxious conditions, or else under conditions in which the attainment of even a physically clean and wholesome life for a part of each day or week seems almost hopeless.

What is called division of labor distributes and sorts men and women each to a separate part of the work, which may be in some cases harmful to health, in some cases so extremely monotonous that there is no mental stimulus in it, and in some cases so depressing or even degrading in its necessary conditions as to preclude almost any hope of mental development. It is one kind of work all the time, in place of many and varying kinds dividing the longer day's labor. In former days there may have been more hard work, more unpleasant work, and even more unwholesome work to be done; but was it not so divided and distributed that but few persons were limited to work of any one kind, day in and day out, for three hundred days in the year? Was there not more variety, more versatility, and more opportunity for young men and women to find out for themselves what they could do in the best way, and also a better opportunity to improve their position than there is now in the arts to which this so-called system of division of labor has been applied? Was there not also a more humane relation between the employer and the employed, more sympathy, and more recognized mutuality in the service of each to the other? Yet, if the great factory did



not exist, and were it not for modern machinery and mechanism and this subdivision of labor which has become necessary to any adequate supply of the means of living, how could the existing population of Massachusetts, for instance, of whom at the present time more than one-fourth are foreign-born, and more than one-half of foreign parentage, live even as well as they do? Had it not been possible for these foreigners to come here in order to avail themselves of the opportunity which is offered, how could they have existed at all in the lands which gave them birth, which are even now over-crowded? If it sometimes seems that progress and poverty march together, one may ask what would have been the poverty without the progress? If the analysis of our present condition, relatively good as it is compared to former times or to other countries, yet proves that only a narrow, poor, and meager life has become possible to great masses of people, in what direction shall we look for the progress in which poverty shall cease to be one of the phases or correlatives? Can we lift great masses of people all together to a higher plane, or must we rest content with such developments as open their own way to those who have the eyes to see and the capacity to attain each for himself or herself? Can any one be boosted by the state who cannot help himself?

After all has been proved in respect to greater abundance, lower cost, more equitable distribution, higher wages, and smaller margins of profit; after all has been recited that can be claimed in the line of progress, what does it come to? What is the result? What is the present measure or limit within which each and all must of necessity subsist? Is it sufficient and ought it to induce content, or is there a sound and reasonable cause for discontent and a craving for something better?

In order to consider these questions great aggregates in millions must be avoided; such figures only mislead and delude. The conditions of life must be brought down to the unit of the individual or of the family. When this has been done, the few who have attained an abundance, and who have reaped the full benefit of all that science and invention have enabled them to accomplish, may for the first time begin to comprehend the aspect of life that is presented to the many who have not yet secured a



much better subsistence, or a more suitable dwelling, or greater comfort and better opportunities.

These problems must be studied from below as well as from above, from within as well as from without, if the discontent of the present day is to be removed by gradual, peaceful, and adequate methods; for the very reason that the better conditions of life which are now so readily attained by those who are capable of grasping the opportunity offered them, bring into more and more conspicuous contrast the adverse conditions of those who have not yet become capable of such attainment.

Probably very few of the persons who will read this article, in fact very few among those who read with interest and intelligence any articles, essays, or books upon what is called the labor question, have themselves had the kind of experience which is necessary to enable them to comprehend the aspect of life to the man who can earn only one or two dollars a day for the support of himself and of his family, if he has one. Perhaps even a less number may have the kind of imagination that will enable them, without having had the experience, to comprehend the struggle for life on these terms, even if they try to put themselves in the place of the common laborer or of the mechanic who can barely do the limited and monotonous work in which he is occupied, without the prospect of ever doing anything more or different.

If it shall prove that a great number of people at the bottom can barely exist, while a considerable number at the top enjoy much more than is required for a good subsistence, may it not soon become necessary for those who are in possession of wealth to justify their position, by proving that by the use either of their own personal ability or of their capital they add more to the annual product from which all incomes are derived than they take from it for their own consumption? The man of superior ability may add a million dollars' worth a year to the value of the annual product, which addition except for him would not have been made; from this he may secure a personal income of a hundred thousand dollars a year, yet he costs the community only what he and those who depend upon him consume. Is he not a cheap man for the community to employ in its service, even if he finds his recreation in fine horses and a fast yacht?



If nine-tenths of the product which he has brought into use falls into the common stock whether he will or not, cannot the community well afford to him his tithe even if he wastes it? Vanderbilt reduced the cost of moving a barrel of flour a thousand miles from a dollar and a half to fifty cents; was he not a cheap man for the community to employ even if he did make a hundred million dollars? What he made himself was but a tithe of what he saved to the community.

In other essays I have endeavored to show that not exceeding ten per cent. of the product of a normal or average year can be saved in a concrete form and added to the capital of the nation. Whether this ratio is correct or not, it will be admitted by all that a certain amount of capital must be saved in some way in order that society may continue to exist, even under the present narrow conditions of life. It will be generally admitted that it is more important that capital should be efficiently maintained than it is to determine who saves it or who controls it. A large part of this addition to capital may, and doubtless does, consist of the savings of persons who can never hope to accumulate enough to enable themselves to give up work in their later years, or to live wholly upon the income of what they may save. The most that the great majority can expect to do, is to lay up a moderate sum of which they may expend the principal when they become disqualified for work, unless they are then supported by their children wholly or in part.

There are no *data* by means of which the number of the rich or even of the well-to-do persons can be set off as a separate class from the rest of the community; that is to say, there is no way to find out how many can accumulate a sufficient amount of capital to enable themselves or their children to live upon the income of their property without further work. Suffice it that the proportion is very small indeed in point of number; and as the margin of profit becomes less, or as the amount of capital required in order to yield an income sufficient for a comfortable support without work becomes greater, the proportion of those who can hope to live without work in their later years will probably diminish rather than increase as time goes on.

It is probable, to say the least, that fully ninety per cent. of



the whole body of the people spend nearly all that they earn; of this ninety per cent. a portion may, by setting aside a moderate part of their small earnings, become the owners of a house, or become depositors in a savings bank, or insure their lives in a moderate way; of the remaining ten per cent. a part save enough to protect themselves against want in their later years, and a very small part may become rich, and then need not work unless they choose. There are but few in each generation who do not choose to work, whatever their motive may be and however rich they may be; the actual drones are but a small fraction even of the rich, hardly calling for attention. They are, like Mr. Toots, of little consequence to themselves and of no consequence to others.

When it is admitted that the whole capital of the richest State in this Union does not, and probably never can, exceed in value three years' annual product of the same State; and that the people of the richest State are always within one year of starvation, within two years of being naked, and within a very few years of being houseless and homeless, unless they work for a living, what possibility is there that any considerable part of one generation can save their children to any extent from the beneficent necessity of supporting themselves? Our present aggregate product, whatever it may be, being mostly consumed by those who work for a living, what is the limit within which the measure or cost of living must of necessity be confined? When we have settled this question we may ask, What is the aspect of life to the average man or woman who works for a living in order to gain a mere subsistence, and what can we do to better it?

In the next article I will give the reasons for my conclusion that the present limit within which the great mass of the people of this country must find food, fuel, shelter, and clothing ranges between that which forty cents and that which sixty cents a day will buy for each man, woman, and child in the community, the average not exceeding what fifty cents a day will purchase. It requires the work for gain or the earnings in money of more than one in three in the population to sustain the whole community; and the average earnings of the great mass of the people range from \$1.00 to \$3.00 a day, on which earnings three persons must be sheltered, fed, and clothed.



The picture which is brought before the eye or mind of him who can take in the full significance of these figures is somewhat appalling. It might lead many to ask, If this is the result of the highest civilization yet attained by the most favored nation, is life on the whole worth living? and one must carefully guard himself against the influences of materialistic philosophy in order to keep an even balance in his own life.

It may not be judicious for the mere business observer, who cannot claim to be able to comprehend anything more than the elements of the philosophy of history, to venture to forecast the future; yet to many prosperous persons who now pay little regard to the blind struggle of vast numbers of working men and women to improve their condition, and who think workmen have no rights to be secured and no wrongs to be redressed, one may rightly put the question, Have not you also something to do in the solution of these problems? Are there not signs of danger? May not the existing unbearable tension among European nations, burdened as they are with monstrous national debts that can never be paid, and with huge and onerous standing armies which it seems to be impossible to disband, end in revolutions in which many feudal privileges and vested wrongs may go down forever, but in which also many institutions covering not only rights of property in land but in all the products on which existence depends, may for a time be questioned? If such should be the course of events in other countries, are we so strong in our popular government that we ourselves may not share some of these difficulties and dangers? Or even if there be no danger to society in this country, and, as the writer most profoundly believes, nothing but benefit to be ultimately gained from the organization of labor and the study of economic problems by so-called labor associations, clubs, and societies, might not all others also join in attempting to solve these problems, to the end that free institutions may be fully justified, not only by those who possess an abundance, but also by those who can find in such institutions the opportunity for themselves or their children to attain the conditions of life which may indeed make this life worth living to the poor as well as to the prosperous?

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## OUR BETTER HALVES.

THE practice of calling women better than men is purely chivalric—an empty compliment to the sex. The less enlightened regard them as inferior. The more enlightened consider them equal when all elements are taken into the account. The general opinion is that they are superior morally and inferior mentally and physically. But there are so many kinds of moral, mental, and physical qualities that each of these classes, when carefully analyzed, is found to contain some elements in which the one and some in which the other sex stands higher. It is therefore a difficult problem, increasing in intricacy with more thorough and candid investigation. Attempts have been made, often with much success, to point out the leading characteristics in which the sexes differ, especially in mental traits, and some have gone deeper and sought to explain these differences as arising from physical and social conditions.

It is not my purpose to treat the subject from this standpoint, nor to attempt in any way to show wherein superiority consists. I propose simply to predicate of the female sex a particular kind of superiority and to offer some proofs on this single point. Whatever may be woman's present condition in civilized, barbaric, or savage society, and whatever may be the condition of the female sex in the different departments of animal life, I shall undertake to contend that in the economy of organic nature the female sex is the primary, and the male a secondary element. If this be a law, its application to the human race is readily made and its importance to social life cannot be ignored.

That such a view should be looked upon as unsound, and even absurd, by those who have only studied men is quite natural, but one would suppose that close students of nature, particularly such as have chosen the world of life as their special field of research, would pause at this question and seek to give it such a final solution as to prevent its return into the arena of discus-



sion. I am sorry to say that they have not done so. In fact, so far as I have observed, they have treated it from the most superficial standpoint. Writers of this class have frequently drawn important practical conclusions from what I hope to show to be mere half-truths—conclusions bearing upon the future education, treatment, and position of woman in society. A quotation or two from authors of repute will make this point clear. Thus, in an article entitled “The Woman’s Rights Question Considered from a Biological Point of View,” in the “Quarterly Journal of Science” for October, 1878, the writer says:

“We purpose, therefore, to examine this question in the light of the principles of natural selection, of differentiation and specialization, and to inquire whether the relations of the sexes in the human species and the distribution of their respective functions are or are not in general harmony with what is observed in that portion of the animal kingdom which lies nearest to man; to wit, in Mammalia. . . . Even a very superficial and popular survey of the class Mammalia will satisfy us that the structural differences between the males and the females of each species are by no means confined to the reproductive organs. The male ruminant, whale, bat, elephant, rodent, carnivore, or ape, is on the average a larger and heavier animal than his mate. The tiger, for instance, exceeds the tigress in size by a proportion of from ten to twenty per cent. In few, if any, species is the superior stature of the male more striking than in the one which approaches man most nearly in its physical development—the gorilla. But the mere difference in size is not all; the female is scarcely in any normal case a mere miniature copy of the male. Her proportions differ; the head and the thorax are relatively smaller, the pelvis broader, the bones slighter, the muscles less powerful. The male in many cases possesses offensive weapons which in the female are wanting. In illustration we need only to refer to the tusks of the elephant and the boar, and the horns of many species of deer. On the contrary, there is no instance of a female possessing any weapon which is not also found, to at least an equal degree, in the male. Further, the superior size of the head in the male is not merely due to the more massive osseous growth needful for the support of tusks, horns, etc., but to a proportionately larger development of brain.”

And after much more in the same strain, this writer concludes:

“We have, therefore, in fine, full ground for maintaining that the ‘woman’s rights movement’ is an attempt to rear, by a process of ‘unnatural selection,’ a race of monstrosities—hostile alike to men, to normal women, to human society, and to the future development of our race.”

Prof. W. K. Brooks, in a very able article in the “Popular



Science Monthly " for June and July, 1879, succeeded, as I think, in proving that the well-known passivity of the female sex has the important significance that it represents the principle of heredity, or permanence of type, the male representing that of variability; thus completely reversing the *varium et mutabile semper femina*. But notwithstanding his lucid conceptions on this point, Prof. Brooks felt called upon in this article to write:

"Our conclusions have a strong leaning to the conservative or old-fashioned view of the subject—to what many will call the 'male' view of women. The positions which women already occupy in society and the duties which they perform are, in the main, what they should be if our view is correct; and any attempt to improve the condition of women by ignoring or obliterating the intellectual differences between them and men must result in disaster to the race, and the obstruction of that progress and improvement which the history of the past shows to be in store for both men and women in the future. So far as human life in this world is concerned, there can be no improvement which is not accomplished in accordance with the laws of nature; and, if it is a natural law that the parts which the sexes perform in the natural evolution of the race are complementary to each other, we cannot hope to accomplish anything by working in opposition to the natural method."

Utterances similar to those above quoted have constantly found place for the last twenty years in our best scientific literature, and it may be fairly said to be the fashion among scientific men to treat the woman question from this point of view. A great array of evidence is brought to show that woman is physically inferior to man, that she is smaller in stature, and that her brain is not only absolutely smaller, but is smaller in proportion to her body; that she has less strength in proportion to her size, less power of endurance, and a greater number of ailments. This, it is said, is the natural result of her sex. Reproduction is so great a drain upon the female system that we should expect it to be attended with diminished strength and vitality. It is further argued that the smaller and weaker females of animals, as well as the young, are protected by the larger and stronger males, and the inference is freely drawn that the dependence of the females among animals is similar to that of women in society, which latter is therefore the natural condition.

I shall not deny the fact of woman's physical and mental inferiority, nor shall I deny that the differences are, in the main,



due to causes analogous to those which have differentiated the sexes of the higher animals. I must, however, deny *in toto* that these causes are what they are assumed by these writers to be. It has always surprised me that those who start out avowedly from a Darwinian standpoint should so quickly abandon it and proceed to argue from pre-Darwinian premises. It was Darwin who taught us why the boar has tusks, the stag antlers, and the peacock gaudy tail-feathers. It is because the females chose mates that possessed these characters. The characters selected by the females have been, in the main, those that tended to insure success in rivalry for mates. The greater size and strength of the males, together with their powerful weapons, have not been acquired, as is implied in the argument above stated, for the purpose of protecting the dependent females; they have been acquired entirely for the purpose of combating rivals and winning mates. In very few such animals do the males ever attempt to protect the females, even where the latter have their young to take care of. When the hen with her brood of chickens is attacked, it is not the cock that ruffs his feathers and defends them with his spurs; it is the mother herself that defends them. The cock is always found with hens that have no chickens, and only uses his spurs in fighting with other cocks that have no notion of injuring the females. In the entire animal kingdom the cases where the male uses his great powers to protect the female or the young, or to bring them food, are so rare that where they are observed they are recorded as curious approximations to the social state of man. These "secondary sexual characters," as Darwin has named them, are generally adapted to aggressive warfare, not with the enemies of the species, but with the males of the same species for the possession of the females. All this has positively no analogy with the human condition, and those who cite these facts as a justification for retaining woman in a lower sphere of either mental or physical activity than that occupied by man, abandon the modern and correct interpretation of them and fall back upon the old interpretation which has been proved to be false.

That secondary sexual characters exist in man is, indeed, true. His beard is clearly one of the purely ornamental ones. His



larger size and greater strength were doubtless acquired before his moral faculties had awakened, and are the result of his battles for his wives. The predominance of the male brain in the human species doubtless partakes of this nature, and is in a large degree attributable to this cause. The time came in the development of the race when brute force began to give way to sagacity, and the first use to which this growing power was put was that of circumventing rivals for female favor. Brain grew with effort, and like the other organs that are so strangely developed through this cause, it began to be more especially characteristic of the sex. The weaker sex admired success then as now, and the bright-witted became the successful ones, while the dull failed to transmit their dullness. There was a survival of the cunning.

The first use of mental power, as of physical power, was to defeat rivals and secure mates; it was not to protect female frailty or supply food to offspring. The females protected themselves and their progeny by maternal instinct. The females of all wild animals are more dangerous to encounter than the males, especially when they have young; and it has been observed that the male carnivores rarely attack man.

Nor do I deny that these agencies of selection are still at work, slowly, it is true, but perhaps as rapidly as at any previous period, producing physical modifications in man. But it is no longer simple female selection of male qualities, as in the lower animals; there is now going on an opposite class of influences by which a true male selection is bringing about modifications in woman, and this had progressed so far at the beginning of the historic period that the ornamental characters had been, as it were, transferred from the male to the female, and beauty, which in birds and many animals is the exclusive attribute of the males, had become the leading attribute of the women of the higher races. And while setting down this fact, let me call attention to its great significance as pointing to future possibilities in woman when men shall learn to select other qualities in their companions than mere beauty; for under the power of this comparatively modern male selection woman may become whatever man shall desire her to be, and the ideal woman, however high the standard, will become more and more the real woman.



The entire argument of those who would restrict woman's sphere because she is mentally and physically inferior to man would therefore fall to the ground, even if we were to admit that there was something in her sex that rendered that inferiority natural and essential. To be fully consistent, it would be necessary to insist that woman should defend both herself and her offspring from hostile influences of all kinds, and also assume the whole duty of supplying her children with food, while the sole function of man should be, as it is in most mammals and birds, to take care of himself and fight off rivals. This would be the "natural" state of society in the sense in which these philosophers employ that term. It is only distantly approached in a few of the very lowest tribes of savages.

But let us now inquire what grounds there are for accepting this mental and physical inferiority of women as something inherent in the nature of things. Is it really true that the larger part taken by the female in the work of reproduction necessarily impairs her strength, dwarfs her proportions, and renders her a physically inferior and dependent being? In most human races it may be admitted that women are less stalwart than men, although all the stories of Amazonian tribes are not mere fictions. It is also true, as has been insisted upon, that the males of most mammals and birds exceed the females in size and strength, and often differ from them greatly in appearance. But this is by no means always the case. The fable of the hedgehog that won the race with the hare by cunningly stationing Mrs. Hedgehog at the other end of the course, instructed to claim the stakes, is founded upon an exception which has many parallels. Among birds there are cases in which the rule is reversed. There are some entire families, as for example the hawks, in which the females exceed the males. If we go further down the scale, however, we find this attribute of male superiority to disappear almost entirely throughout the reptiles and amphibians, with a decided leaning toward female supremacy; and in the fishes, where male rivalry does not exist, the female, as every fisherman knows, is almost invariably the heavier game.

But it is not until we go below the vertebrate series and contemplate the invertebrate and vegetable worlds that we really



begin to find the data for a philosophical study of the meaning of sex. It has been frequently remarked that the laws governing the higher forms of life can be rightly comprehended only by an acquaintance with the lower and more formative types of being. In no problem is this more true than in that of sex.

In studying this problem it is found that there is a great world of life that wholly antedates the appearance of sex—the world of asexual life—nor is the passage from the sexless to the distinctly male and female definite and abrupt. Between them occur parthenogenesis or virgin reproduction, hermaphroditism, in which the male being consists simply of an organ, and parasitic males, of which we shall presently speak, while the other devices of nature for perpetuating life are innumerable and infinitely varied. But so far as sex can be predicated of these beings, they must all be regarded as female. The asexual parent must be contemplated as, to all intents and purposes, maternal. The parthenogenetic aphid or shrimp is in all essential respects a mother. The hermaphrodite creature, whatever else it may be, is also necessarily a female. Following these states come the numberless cases in which the female form continues to constitute the type of life, the insignificant male appearing to be a mere afterthought.

The vegetable kingdom, except in its very lowest stages, affords comparatively few pointed illustrations of this truth. The strange behavior of the hemp plant, in which, as has long been known, the female plants crowd out the male plants by overshadowing them as soon as they have been fertilized by the latter, used to be frequently commented upon as a perverse anomaly in nature. Now it is correctly interpreted as an expression of the general law that the primary purpose of the male sex is to enable the female, or type form, to reproduce, after performing which function the male form is useless and a mere cumberer of the ground. But the hemp plant is by no means alone in possessing this peculiarity. I could enumerate several pretty well known species that have a somewhat similar habit. I will mention only one, the common cud-weed, or everlasting (*Antennaria plantaginifolia*), which, unlike the hemp, has colonies of males separate from the females, and these male plants are small and short-lived. Long after their



flowering stalks have disappeared the female plants continue to grow, and they become large and thrifty herbs lasting until frost.

In the animal kingdom below the vertebrates female superiority is well-nigh universal. In the few cases where it does not occur it is generally found that the males combat each other, after the manner of the higher animals, for the possession of the females. The cases that I shall name are such as all are familiar with. The only new thing in their presentation is their application to the point at issue.

The superiority of the queen bee over the drone is only a well-known illustration of a condition which, with the usual variations and exceptions, is common to a great natural order of insects. The only mosquito that the unscientific world knows is the female mosquito. The male mosquito is a frail and harmless little creature that swarms with the females in the early season and passes away when his work is done. There are many insects of which the males possess no organs of nutrition in the imago state, their duties during their ephemeral existence being confined to what the Germans call the *Minnedienst*. Such is the life of many male moths and butterflies. But much greater inequalities are often found. I should, perhaps, apologize for citing the familiar case of spiders, in some species of which the miniature lover is often seized and devoured during his courtship by the gigantic object of his affections. Something similar, I learn, sometimes occurs with the mantis or "praying insect."

Merely mentioning the extreme case of *Sphaerularia*, in which the female is several thousand times as large as the male, I may surely be permitted to introduce the barnacle, since it is one of the creatures upon which Prof. Brooks lays considerable stress in the article to which I have referred. Not being myself a zoologist, I am only too happy to quote him. He says:

"Among the barnacles there are a few species the males and females of which differ remarkably. The female is an ordinary barnacle, with all the peculiarities of the group fully developed, while the male is a small parasite upon the body of the female, and is so different from the female of its own species, and from all ordinary barnacles, that no one would ever recognize in the adult male any affinity whatever to its closest allies."

The barnacle, or cirripede, is the creature which Mr. Darwin so



long studied, and from which he learned so many lessons leading up to his grand generalizations. In a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, dated September 14, 1849, he recounts some of his discoveries while engaged in this study. Having learned that most cirripedes, but not all, were hermaphrodite, he remarks:

“ The other day I got a curious case of a unisexual instead of hermaphrodite cirripede, in which the female had the common cirripedial character, and in two valves of her shell had two little pockets in each of which she kept a little husband. I do not know of any other case where a female invariably has two husbands. I have one still odder fact, common to several species, namely, that though they are hermaphrodite, they have small additional, or, as I call them, complemental males. One specimen, itself hermaphrodite, had no less than seven of these complemental males attached to it.”

Prof. Brooks brings forward facts of this class to demonstrate that the male is the variable sex, while the female is comparatively stable. However much we may doubt his further conclusion that variability rather than supplementary procreative power was the primary purpose of the separate male principle, we must, it would seem, concede that variability and adaptability are the distinguishing characteristics of the male sex everywhere, as the transmitting power and permanence of type are those of the female. But this is a very different thing from saying that the female sex is incapable of progress, or that man is destined to develop indefinitely, leaving woman constantly farther and farther in the rear. Does the class of philosophers to which reference has been made look forward to a time when woman shall become as insignificant an object compared to man as the male spider is compared to the female? This would be the logical outcome of their argument if based upon the relative variability of the male sex.

We have now seen that, whether we contemplate the higher animals, among which male superiority prevails, or the lower forms, among which female superiority prevails, the argument from biology that the existing relations between the sexes in the human race are precisely what nature intended them to be, that they ought not to be disturbed and cannot be improved, leads, when carried to its logical conclusion, to a palpable absurdity. But have we, then, profited nothing by the thoughtful contemplation of the subject from these two points of view? Those who



rightly interpret the facts cannot avoid learning a most important lesson from each of these lines of inquiry. From the first the truth comes clearly forth that the relations of the sexes among the higher animals are widely abnormal, warped, and strained by a long line of curious influences, chiefly psychic, which are incident to the development of animal organisms under the competitive principle that prevails throughout nature. From the second comes now into full view the still more important truth with which we first set out, that the female sex is primary in point both of origin and of importance in the history and economy of organic life. And as life is the highest product of nature and human life the highest type of life, it follows that the grandest fact in nature is woman.

But we have learned even more than this, that which is certainly of more practical value. We have learned how to carry forward the progress of development so far advanced by the unconscious agencies of nature. Accepting evolution as we must, recognizing heredity as the distinctive attribute of the female sex, it becomes clear that it must be from the steady advance of woman rather than from the uncertain fluctuations of man that the sure and solid progress of the future is to come. The attempt to move the whole race forward by elevating only the sex that represents the principle of instability, has long enough been tried. The many cases of superior men the sons of superior mothers, coupled with the many more cases of degenerate sons of superior sires, have taught us over and over again that the way to civilize the race is to civilize woman. And now, thanks to science, we see why this is so. Woman is the unchanging trunk of the great genealogic tree; while man, with all his vaunted superiority, is but a branch, a grafted scion, as it were, whose acquired qualities die with the individual, while those of woman are handed on to futurity. Woman is the race, and the race can be raised up only as she is raised up. There is no fixed rule by which Nature has intended that one sex should excel the other, any more than there is any fixed point beyond which either cannot further develop. Nature has no intentions, and evolution has no limits. True science teaches that the elevation of woman is the only sure road to the evolution of man.

LESTER F. WARD.



## HOW THE TARIFF AFFECTS INDUSTRY.

THE mandate of the Constitution that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to population, is practically equivalent to a mandate to this generation that the federal revenues shall not be raised by direct taxes.

The demands of those who for twenty-five years have dictated legislation and influenced, if not controlled, elections, have caused the repeal of all the internal taxes except those on distilled spirits, malt liquors, tobacco, and State bank-notes. The oleo-margarine tax is only an apparent exception, for this tax is indubitably not for revenue, and is an application of the principle of protection—that is, of discrimination in favor of a certain class as against other classes—to internal taxation and as between American industries.

Nor is it possible to multiply the subjects of internal taxation; the present tendency is to the gradual curtailment of that system, with the purpose ultimately of its extinction. It has been harshly and unwisely administered. It has been so administered as to create irritation and opposition, and no doubt arbitrary and cruel acts have been done under the pretence of its execution. It is based on the conception, and administered in accordance with the idea, that all persons engaged in the manufacture of spirits, malt liquors, and tobacco were dishonest. Unnecessary and annoying restrictions, narrow and arbitrary rules, rigorous exercise of power, have made the system unpopular. The officers in charge of the system have stood in the way of all liberal amendments, and those members of Congress who desire the perpetuation of high protective duties or the abolishment of the internal revenue refuse to permit such legislative amendments as might render the system popular and thereby permanent.

The tax of 90 cents per gallon on spirits—a tax of 500 per cent. on prime cost—and the unjust requirements as to the bonding period, are preserved in part by those who desire to repeal the



whole system; for they are assured that a lower tax and a wise and liberal system of bonding, warehousing, and collection would render permanent the raising of that much revenue from spirits. A wise reform of our laws as to internal taxation is perhaps impossible at present. Its first necessity is that there shall be a recognition by Congress that the American people intend to revise the tariff taxation before they will permit the repeal of these internal taxes, and that the burdens left by the war in the form of bonded debt and pension rolls must in part be met by these taxes. If this can once be realized by Congress, the proper amendments will be made, and the reformation of this branch of federal taxation can then be accomplished.

It is certain that the larger part of the revenues of the government must be raised by customs duties on imported merchandise. The income imperatively required, without excessive appropriations or the squandering of the public monies, cannot be less than \$310,000,000, of which the larger part will be gathered from tariff taxation. All indirect taxation is expensive in its incidental burdens, and all duties tend to the creation of fraud in importations. The bulk of our present duties is a tax on production, and therefore is added to the cost of production, on which the various profits of those who handle the merchandise must be made; so that ultimately, as a rule, the consumer is mulct not only with the tax, but with its accumulated profits. This cannot be prevented; it is inherent and unavoidable in the nature of the case.

The higher the duty the greater the temptation to every form of evasion, legitimate or fraudulent; and at present these evasions under each head are very numerous. The frauds practiced or attempted are almost innumerable, while the legitimate evasions are also numerous. Here is an example of such evasion. The Act of 1883 imposed "on wire rods wound in coils and loops, not lighter than No. 5 wire gauge, valued at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents or less per lb.,  $\frac{1}{10}$ ct. per lb.; and on wire rods of steel, not elsewhere specified, 45 per cent." By skilful undervaluation wire rods No. 6 were imported at a lower rate than No. 5; and at once the foreign manufacturer made his rods No. 6, so that in 1887, 247, 730,164 lbs of No. 6 were imported, to about 86,964,673 lbs. of



wire rods not lighter than No. 5. And the contest before the 50th Congress between the wire-rod manufacturers and the wire manufacturers illustrates at once the inequalities, injuries, and burdens of the present tariff. The temptation to fraud is so great under the present act that the dishonest importer has largely the advantage over the honest importer. In some branches of trade there are no longer American importers but only consignees of foreign houses, and in some cases the very rate of duty which was meant to be prohibitory has tempted to such successful fraud as to increase the importation of the article. These frauds beget counter-frauds in the manufacturers, and undervaluation is met by adulteration; and as the dishonest importer can undersell the honest importer, so the dishonest manufacturer can drive the honest manufacturer to the wall. Nor does fraud stop here; it enters into the Custom House and debauches the public official entrusted with the execution of the law. The rate, having been originally dictated by private interest and secured by combined effort, is practically varied in its collection by fraud; but the burdens remain on the consumer and tax-payer. I do not mean to say by any means that the majority of importers, manufacturers, or officials are guilty of fraud; only that fraud is frequent; that it is the natural and inevitable fruit of the present law, and the constant accompaniment of high tariff rates.

The 47th Congress was Republican, and the clamor for the revision of the tariff drove it to the creation of the Tariff Commission, which was wholly controlled by the views of "those interested"—to use the ordinary and accurate phrase employed to describe those by whom our tariff legislation has been dictated and for whose benefit it was enacted. Yet those interested were dissatisfied with the report of that Commission, and the Senate, also in the same interest, in violation of the true intent and spirit of the Constitution, which invests the House with the power of originating revenue bills, formulated the present bill, which was pushed through under a change in the rules. The full effect of this usurpation by the Senate upon the privileges of the House has not yet been felt. The precedent then established by the Republican Party will be followed by the present Senate, and the question of tariff revision may be complicated with the grave



question of the prerogative of the House of Representatives; and this once earnestly discussed and subjected to the calcium light of public passion, will reveal the inequalities in Senatorial representation and power, which may demand rectification in the future. An act with such a history could not be accepted as a settlement. Full of inequalities, illogical in many of its requirements, loosely drawn in some of its provisions, excessive in its rates, it will be a monument to the Congress which enacted it. Its wisdom may be illustrated by the worsted schedule.

The same party which enacted this act so tied our hands as to leave the government no power to call in the 4's and 4½'s, so that when all the 3 per cents were called in there was no legitimate use for the surplus remaining after the actual expenses of the government were paid, except the payment of the undue bonds, which were at an enormous premium. This was the predicament the Republican Party had driven the government into: its bonds undue and not subject to call and bearing a large premium; its income by unequal taxation over one hundred millions of dollars in excess of its proper needs. The simple remedy, to any plain man, would have been the reduction of taxation by this redundant hundred millions; and this is the only wise remedy.

But when Congress undertook to select the subjects upon which it would reduce or remove duties, it was met by the combined opposition of those interested against any reduction whatever. Not even could the sugar duty then be touched, for it was claimed that the sugar interest was in the combination; and it is only since Louisiana has indicated its purpose to stand by the Mills bill and the Democratic Party, that it has been discovered that the sugar duty is improper and ought to be repealed, or very much reduced.

The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee agreed: 1. That not only should the revenues be reduced, but that this should be done by the reduction of taxation, by the reduction of duties; not by the increase of taxation, by diverting the money from the public treasury to the pockets of those interested. 2. That the free list should be enlarged by placing thereon so far as could be justly done (a) the necessities of life, *e. g.* salt, lumber etc.; (b) the crude material needed by



manufacturers, *e. g.* wool, flax, hemp, etc.; (c) partly manufactured materials usable only in farther manufacture, *e. g.* tin-plate. 3. That in reducing duties the abatement should be so moderate as to leave a duty greater than the fair difference in the possible cost here and abroad, and yet only to such extent as would enable the American consumer to protect himself by importation from extortion practiced by means of combination. 4. To leave untouched such schedules as either were luxuries, or were so complicated with other interests as to create antagonisms.

The Mills bill was the result. The modifications made by the Democratic caucus were not very important, and were in the aggregate less than 6 per cent. of the reduction by alterations in duties. The average duty on the articles reduced by the Mills bill is under the present law 64.84 per cent; under the Mills bill 48.28 per cent. The value of our imports of merchandise in the fiscal year 1887-88 was \$683,418,980.70, but the value of those articles the duties on which are reduced by the Mills bill was only \$179,363,722.56.

There will be, if the Mills bill becomes a law, a renewal of the experiment made in cotton, silk, leather, and various other manufactures—that of free crude material for our manufacturers. We enlarge the lumber free list, and we give wool, flax, hemp, jute, manilla, sunn, sisal, and tinned plate free of duty to the American manufacturer. This is a distinct advance upon the Walker tariff, and is of importance. Here in my judgment is the greatest value of the Mills bill. These materials will be made free whether the 50th Congress acts or not. This advance is beyond doubt. On this basis alone can our manufacturers hold the “home market” against their foreign competitors; this is the absolute requisite of the prosperity of those engaged in the manufacture of the products composed of these materials. We raise perhaps 10,000 tons of the fibers which are classed with flax, hemp, etc., and we use over 210,000 tons; we use 570,643,389 pounds of tin-plate, and we do not make a pound; we require 600,000,000 lbs. of wool, and produce about 265,000,000 lbs. Our foreign competitors have free materials, which carries with it free selection; and we must obtain materials on the same terms or be beaten in the contest. This change will give stability and



peace to the industries based on these materials, and only thus will they have that stability. And this change will reduce the capital necessary to the establishment and management of such enterprises, and enable the factories to give twelve months' labor to the wage-worker. It will gradually prevent the importation of the finished product by having it supplanted by the American product. The day will soon come under such a law when an English suit of woolen goods will be as rare in America as a pair of English shoes now are.

The greatest of all products, which in this country must have its daily sale, and that for cash, is labor. Whoever else may retain his goods or wares in barns, or granaries, or warehouses, he who has nought but labor must sell it, and that for cash, so that the daily bread which depends upon the daily wage may be given to those whom God has put upon him to support. Competition alone can furnish a profitable market for labor; not that ruinous competition which the stimulus of a forced and unnatural system produces, but the natural competition which grows out of the development of a country and the necessity of a daily supply of its daily wants. The wage-worker demands that we shall frame such a system, if it be within our power to do so, as will furnish twelve months' labor for twelve months' pay. As things stand now, whatever other advantages may be claimed for the present system, no fair man will deny that in all the great "protected" industries there can be but seven months of labor, or at least seven months' pay, for twelve months' labor; for in seven months, when these factories run at their full capacity, they turn out twelve months' supply for the market they have, so that they give to their operatives the option of seven months' labor, at fair prices for the labor, to secure twelve months' living, or let them work the whole twelve months, but only at such rates as would in the aggregate amount to seven months' pay.

A protective tariff does not, and in the nature of the case cannot, fix the wages of labor. Labor, like all commodities, will, under the operation of the law of supply and demand, command its worth in the market where it is for sale; and all that legislation can possibly accomplish is to interfere with the natural operation of this law, and so far as it does this only harm can ensue.



Canada, the United States, and Mexico have protective tariffs, but the price of labor is not uniform in any section of the continent; it differs in every Province of Canada, in almost every State of the United States, and in the various parts of Mexico.

If there is demand for labor equal to or greater than the supply, then labor is profitably paid; and if combinations of capital to force labor to sell itself at prices fixed by the combination cannot be successfully formed, then labor will be free to make its own bargains. But if the market be so restricted that the supply of labor exceeds the demand, or if capital is enabled to combine to prevent competition, then labor must be sold at the price fixed by the employer. Now, our present system does both; it restricts the market to be supplied by our labor, and it enables the manufacturers to fix the price they will pay to labor. Whenever the duty is high enough to prevent foreign competition, then the operative making, and the consumer purchasing, those "protected" fabrics are in the power of the manufacturer. No organization of labor, no Knights of Labor, can break such shackles; the "strikes" give only assistance to the "trusts," which own the market. The only relief is in Congress, by the reduction of duty to the competitive point. We are in morals the partner of every combination rendered possible by the tariff.

There may be no reform in our tax laws effected by this Congress; but there has been aroused a universal interest in these economic questions, and as they are studied and as they come to be understood, there will be reforms—perhaps revolution. I believe that the reduction of taxation and the revision of the tariff must be done with a constant remembrance that systems long established cannot be readily changed; that in the progress of years investments were made, habits formed, and combinations entered into that need time, care, and patience to reform. And also in a country like this, with a territory so large, interests so diversified, industries so varied, and with its peculiar political institutions and modes of transacting public business, there are grave practical difficulties in the way of any reform. Combinations of capital; leagued associations of the interested, who by the present system are enriched at the expense of the many; sectional industries; political positions dependent on local inter-



ests; slender majorities—these are factors in legislation which have largely influenced, if not actually controlled, the legislation of the past twenty-five years on this matter of tariff taxation.

The power and the right of taxation in a free country are co-extensive; but the right of taxation being granted to the government as the means of meeting its expenses, taxation is solely a revenue power. The power to regulate commerce is not a grant of power to tax, nor does it include it, either as regards commerce between the States or between us and foreign nations. The right of eminent domain, the right to exact civic duties or to require military service, and to lay taxes, are alike limited by the necessities of the government, and ought to be exercised only for public purposes.

Each citizen ought to bear his share of the public burdens and only his share, whether of personal service or of money; and the public burdens ought to be so imposed as to secure this impartial service so far as may be practicable. And while it may be impossible so to levy and collect taxes as to secure this impartiality, it can be kept steadily in view; and in selecting the subjects and adopting the modes of taxation, we must keep this fundamental limitation upon our power constantly before us, so that the increased cost to the citizen thereby caused shall go to the government, and so that this increased cost shall cause as small additional burden to labor as possible.

In 1866 we received from internal revenue taxation \$310,906,984.17, from about 240 different sources of taxation. Of this sum spirits furnished 10.7 per cent., fermented liquors 1.68 per cent., and tobacco 5.32 per cent. From this long schedule of sources of revenue all have been taken except spirits, fermented liquors, and tobacco; and as spirits and tobacco are now taxed at lower rates than then, perhaps 90 per cent. of the internal revenue has been given up. During the years when this taxation was heaviest the tariff rates were raised, on the plea of compensating the manufacturers for certain burdens imposed by the internal revenue taxation. But those rates remain, although the burdens have long been removed.

The war taxes consisted of increased tariff rates and the internal revenue taxation, and the return to the taxation of peace



ought to have been by the equal reduction of tariff rates and internal taxation. But skillful and concerted action of those interested used the reduction of revenue by successive repeals of statutes imposing internal taxation to prevent revision of the tariff or reduction of tariff rates. During the same twenty years the additions made to the free list from dutiable articles have been made in the same interest. Wherever the duty was a tax paid to the government, and not a bounty to some favored class, it was repealed or lowered. The revenues were lessened, but the burdens to the taxpayer and the subsidies to the protected classes were not proportionately reduced, while all the obstructions to free intercourse and to the natural development of commerce are left.

Thirty years ago the American flag was seen in every port. In our bottoms outgoing cargoes paid freight to our ship-owners, and incoming cargoes added to the profits of the trip. Our insurance companies during those years obtained the premiums on those cargoes. Our warehousemen received the commissions for their storage. Our merchants made the profits on the exchange of these goods. We sold in the foreign markets in which we were able to buy. We sold at a reasonable profit, we bought at a fair price. The materials which we obtained in exchange for our manufactured products we turned into new products, and our laborers obtained the profit of the wages thereby occasioned. And so, year by year, as this commerce grew our wealth accumulated.

All this has been changed. Partly the change has been caused by the substitution of the iron vessel for the wooden vessel, but largely too by a system of taxation which rendered it impossible for an American to carry on trade with a foreigner. You cannot sell at advantage where you cannot buy at a profit. While barter in the old mode, where one man traded his grain for another man's cloth, has apparently passed away, all the commerce of the world is equally barter now as it was then. No man can buy unless some man will buy from him that which he has to sell. No man can sell unless he can buy from the person to whom he sells, directly or indirectly. Besides that, there is a profit which is enormous from the mere handling, if I may so ex-



press it, of trade. As civilization increases, in the mere bringing to the consumer that which the producer has made, and returning to the producer that which the consumer has paid, there is a large profit. He who transports these goods, he who insures them, he who guarantees the credit involved in the transaction, he who manages the business of the exchange, becomes as necessary as the weaver or the manufacturer, and must have his share of the cost of production and profit of the transaction.

In levying taxes we ought to try so to levy them as to be just; in such a way that, so far as possible, they shall be paid out of the net surplus of the country; and so that they shall be voluntarily paid. And while this is practically impossible with exact precision, it is not impossible to keep this end steadily in view. Tax-reform will come with sure and gradual strides whenever Congress shall exercise its power of taxation solely for public ends and only for governmental purposes; and such a Congress will convene when the taxpayers shall select as well as elect the members.

W. C. P. BRECKINRIDGE.



## AFTER US—WHAT?

THE answer of many is, the deluge. Indeed, not a few declare that the deluge is already upon us. In their view the heavens are black with omens of disaster, the fountains of the great deep are broken up, and the forty days' rain has actually set in. Modern society, they insist, is far gone in the process of disintegration. In so saying I have not especially in mind the opinions and predictions of the prophets of that philosophical system known as pessimism. It is of small consequence that Schopenhauer holds that "for the human race, always tending from bad to worse, there is no prospect but ever deepening confusion and wretchedness"; and that Von Hartmann, in the same dismal strain, declares that "existence is unspeakably wretched, and society will ever grow worse." These eccentricities of opinion, though based upon an elaborate philosophy, need not give us much concern, even if we have to admit that they have contributed some support to the idea that modern society is moribund. More serious indications of the prevalence of this idea are to be found in the despairing tone and spirit of a good deal of our literature, especially novels and poetry; in the violently splenetic vaticinations of such sages as Carlyle and Ruskin; in the simple skepticism and negation characteristic of recent science; and in the vague, unformulated expectations of multitudes of dissatisfied persons in the humbler walks of life. At the age of seventy-seven Carlyle wrote: "More dreary, barren, base, and ugly seem to me all the aspects of this poor, diminishing, quack world, doomed to a death which one can only wish to be speedy." In his later "Locksley Hall," Tennyson seems to have proclaimed our progress but regress, and our boasted cosmos mere chaos. Count Tolstoi avows the belief that "the edifice of civil society, erected by the toil and energy of countless generations, is a crumbling ruin." More painfully significant than anything else



is the fact that anxiety, not to say despair, about the future is more or less in the air.

Now, is this somewhat prevalent conviction or feeling that society is threatened with convulsion well founded? Are we on the edge of a social cataclysm? It is pertinent to recall the fact that revolutions which may justly be styled social catastrophes have been of rare occurrence in the world's history, while revolutions whose effects have been great, but not convulsive and epoch-making, have been numerous. Various notable events which at first glance might seem entitled to the epoch-making distinction, would not stand the test of rigid scrutiny. Without pausing to justify the averment, I may say that we are reduced to the recognition of but three proper cataclysms in the history of the modern world; that is, convulsions which really engulfed an existing order of things and introduced a new order.

The first of these was the conquest of Rome by the northern barbarians. This event had long been preparing in the deepening corruption of Roman society, and the ever advancing encroachments of those resolute warriors. The swelling waters of this genuine deluge culminated in the overthrow of Rome, about the middle of the fifth century. But they left a rich deposit on the barren soil of the prostrate empire out of which in due time grew and ripened the fruits of a better civilization. In the new order of things that slowly emerged from the abyss of universal ignorance and disorder, finally appeared that blended sense of personal freedom and responsibility which has been the germinal principle of modern progress. The better elements of the wrecked Roman civilization, such as Christian institutions, law, and municipal government, survived the flood, and combined with German manhood and love of liberty to breed a race fitted to renew the fortunes of the world.

The second cataclysm in history, like the first, was the inevitable result of obvious causes that had long been tending to a social upheaval. Great inventions, great discoveries, the wide diffusion of learning, stimulated at length by the fall of Constantinople, gave a vast expansion to the human horizon, and set the minds of men in a ferment of unrest and inquiry. The old mediæval bottles could no longer bear the strain of the new wine



with which they had been filled, and they at last burst in that explosion which we call the Reformation. In that explosion, old ideas, old faiths, old institutions, the supremacy of the church, the tyranny of Aristotle, the oppression of feudalism, all perished, or received wounds from which they slowly bled to death. New forms of Christianity, new at least since the earliest centuries, new laws, above all a new spirit of self-assertion and investigation resulting in the splendid triumphs of modern science—these were the signs of a genuine renaissance for society.

The last great convulsion in the civilized world was coincident with and consequent upon the French Revolution. This Revolution was indeed little else than the carrying out, in a delirium of passion, of the principles and spirit of the Reformation. Out of that crash in which the French blind Samson pulled down, along with hoary systems of chartered oppression, much that was fairest and best, issued forces which changed the face not of France only, but of Christendom, and are still intensely operative for good and ill.

It is to be observed that all these periods of paroxysm and change, the signs of whose approach filled wise and good men with terrible forebodings, proved in the end highly beneficent. The world has been, in each instance, a better world because of their occurrence. It is clear that over the *débris* of fallen thrones and dismantled institutions society has ever been steadily mounting to higher levels of knowledge and order. It is also to be observed that a common if not invariable cause of disturbance resulting in these commotions has been the dissatisfaction of the humbler classes with their lot, and the uniform outcome of them has been the wider emancipation and more distinct elevation of these classes.

The question now recurs, Are we on the brink of another seismic movement of society? Do the signs, fairly read, betoken a breakdown in the present social order, to be succeeded, perhaps by chaos, perhaps by another step upward?

It will be admitted on all hands that the chief cohesive and regulative forces in the present constitution of society are religion, philosophy, government, and a fair degree of contentment among those styled the common people—the great majority in



any country. So long as these forces are easily dominant, so long as they are not in violent disagreement with themselves or one another, and the masses have no incurable sense of outrage, things may be expected to move smoothly in their present grooves, or at least without alarming interruptions.

The disruptive forces that may threaten the foundations of established order are skepticism in religion, revolutionary systems of philosophy, unjust and corrupt government, and radical wrongs in the social organization such as warrant a deep and explosive discontent among the laboring classes. Are the cohesive forces of our civilization so relaxed, and its disruptive forces so active, as to menace us with convulsion?

Take religion. None will deny that Christianity is the great bond of modern society, and a main factor in modern civilization. We call the enlightened and progressive portion of our globe "Christendom," and this name implies the supreme influence of Christianity in differentiating it from other portions regarded as barbarous or semi-civilized. It is beyond dispute that many of the strongest roots of our civil and social life are found in the religion of the Bible, and that our laws, institutions, customs, and habits of thought are a direct outgrowth from these roots. It is difficult to overestimate the part which Christian ideas have played in building up and cementing the structure of our existing civilization. To change the figure, we may say that Christianity forms the very atmosphere in which modern society has lived and moved and had its being. Now, it would seem simply inevitable that a general loss of faith in God and revealed religion should go far to disrupt and dismember society. The wide, not to say universal, prevalence of atheism, in any of its forms of pure materialism, secularism, positivism, agnosticism, or pantheism, would not merely disintegrate our social fabric, but undermine its very foundations and bring on a disastrous crash. The annihilation of all religious faith would destroy the most effective restraints on vicious desire and the noblest incitements to virtuous conduct; worse yet, if possible, it would wither human life at its root, and leave it a sapless, blasted, and barren tree. The stimulus of hope, the play of idealization, the sweetness of resignation, the upward struggle toward spiritual standards,



would soon be impossible in such a vacuum as would be consequent on the denial of God. Indeed, atheism would end in a pessimism in which the continued propagation of the race might seem a mere superfluous cruelty. To this complexion things have actually come in the speculations of certain contemporary French novelists and *savants*, who treat of religion and love as illusions or enchantments, and represent our modern progress as a condition of disillusionment or disenchantment which leaves life an arid desert. To forecast the state of an utterly godless society would be a forlorn undertaking. It is possible, indeed, that in such a society morality might survive among the educated and refined; but for the masses no such hope can rationally be entertained. I am aware that we have not much historical and experimental knowledge to guide our conclusions in this matter, since religion, in some form, has hitherto been an almost constant factor in the progress of the race, and atheism only a sporadic and temporary development confined mainly to the philosophic few. What little historical illustration we have, however, as in the later Roman annals and in the carnival of the French Revolution, is anything but reassuring.

For those who hold with me as to the effects of atheism on man's future, the burning question evidently is, What is the religious outlook? Have the propagandists of disbelief really discredited the divine existence and the authority of the Bible? or is there serious ground for apprehending that they may do so? My confident answer is, No. In so replying I do not forget, or disguise to myself, the startling progress which atheism has made and is still making in our generation. Not a few of the leading thinkers of the day, comprising some of the most brilliant men in science and literature, are its bold and uncompromising advocates, and display a proselytizing zeal worthy of Christian missionaries. From this select intellectual circle atheism has percolated down through all the strata of society, until in the shape of secularism it has become the creed or no-creed of vast bodies of working people. All this no doubt is sufficiently alarming, especially the fact that so many of the humbler classes are breaking with the church and the Bible. But still, when calmly viewed, I cannot think that the present condition of Christendom foreshadows any-



thing like a general and permanent renunciation of the old religious convictions. Christianity is simply having her ever-renewed combat with unbelief—modified in every century by special conditions—inevitably modified in ours by the sudden and immense progress of science. She has triumphantly survived all previous conflicts of a similar sort, and this fact lends confirmation to the belief that she will survive the present struggle. Indeed, there have been several periods in which disbelief was relatively more prevalent and more confident than it now is. So was it in England when Bishop Butler breasted its sweeping tide with his immortal "Analogy." So was it in this country when the infidelity of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson poisoned many of our colleges and infected the remotest rural districts.

Of course in the rapid review which I am now attempting of a large field of inquiry, it would be impossible to give any adequate treatment of the theistic argument. That argument is wide in its scope, complex in its structure, and cumulative in its force. It is more than a three-fold cord, though its main strands are the argument from events and phenomena to a First Cause, or the cosmological; the argument from order and adaptation in the universe to a supreme presiding intelligence and will, or the teleological; and the argument from man's reason, conscience, and will to a being who is at once creator, lawgiver, and end, or the moral. The decisive theistic proof, however, and that which especially suits my present purpose, is the fact that the idea of God is with man an instinct and intuition. It belongs to the category of his fundamental and necessary beliefs. He is essentially a religious being, and he must worship. The idea of God underlies, and is implied in, all his knowledge. Indeed, it is scarcely going too far to affirm that he cannot think without thinking God. Until human nature becomes something quite other than it is, general and prolonged lapses into atheism may safely be regarded as impossible. Reactions will be sure to succeed paroxysms of unbelief. The human mind and heart will refuse to remain long without God and without hope. It is well known that Comte, recognizing at last the indestructibility of the religious instinct, supplemented the cold negations of his system with a cult which he styled the "Religion of Humanity." He



made a God or "Great Being" out of "the abstract of humanity, conceived as a kind of personality." John Stuart Mill, in like manner, turned his wife's grave into a religious shrine.

Besides, if it must be admitted that the old religious convictions are widely shaken, it is also demonstrable that Christianity was never so confident, practical, and aggressive as she is at this moment, and never before made such rapid strides in the conquest of the world. Her courageous front and steady advance on all the lines of beneficent conflict are anything but signs of conscious weakness and anticipated disaster. It may be that the results of progress in science and in historical criticism will require some modification of our traditional interpretations of Scripture, some readjustments in the scheme of Christian evidences, and possibly a revised statement of some theological dogmas; but that the permanent hold of the religion of the Bible on the minds and consciences of men is seriously imperiled, may be pronounced the mere hope of her too eager enemies, or the fancy of her foolishly timid friends.

Philosophy and religion stand to one another in the closest and most sympathetic relations. Sir William Hamilton has strikingly said that no difficulty ever emerged in the latter which had not first emerged in the former. Skepticism in the one means skepticism in the other. Errors in one breed errors in the other, and when both are corrupted society is sure to become unsound at its very center and core. What in the philosophy of our day is most characteristic and most disquieting, especially so far as the prospects of the race are concerned, is its strong tendency to materialism, a system whose general acceptance implies atheism in religion, utilitarianism in morals, and anarchy or despotism in politics. With the distinction between mind and matter effaced, with the world explained in the terms of matter, and "everything in nature, including life, thought, poetry, religion, resolved into combinations and motions of matter, a world is left in which reason, morality, and religion have been got rid of—a world not worth having." It is not dogmatism, but the simple dictate of a common-sense philosophy, to affirm that the distinction between mind and matter is radical and indelible, and that human nature may be relied upon to resent and reject a the-



ory of man and the universe which flatly contradicts its most primary and tenacious convictions.

The causes and attractions of materialism are sufficiently obvious. The physical and biological sciences, which have recently made such brilliant progress and justly excite an absorbing interest, have steadily brought the facts and phenomena of nature to a simpler order and under the control of a few comprehensive laws. Materialism, taking advantage of this result, flatters the mind with the promise of absolute unity in its explanation of the world. It presents itself as an intelligible system of monism, in which all things, including man and mind, are accounted for by a single principle or substance. But considerable as is the apparent strength of materialism, and alluring in some respects as are its claims, it fails and must ever fail as a satisfactory and final philosophy. It assumes without proof, or the possibility of proof, the eternity and self-existence of matter. It gives no consistent account of what is called force, and of the relation between matter and force. It fails to explain the origin of life, and leaves an unbridged chasm between the inorganic and the organic, the dead and the living, above all between molecular changes and the faculties of mind. It contradicts the first *datum* of human consciousness, the distinction and contrast between body and spirit, the me and the not-me. It ignores or annihilates our moral nature, with its categorical imperative as to right and wrong, its spontaneity and freedom of choice, and its sense of responsibility for its choices and conduct. It leaves our spiritual yearnings with no realities answering to their crying demands. Having denied the existence of God and man's possession of a soul, it of course makes light of the idea of immortality. In its dismal and degrading creed sense bounds all and death ends all. Such a philosophy as this cannot be anything else than a bad fashion that will soon be discarded. Like most fashions it is very old. It has been revived from century to century, always to be cast aside after a transient season of favor. Peculiar circumstances have contributed to give it in our day unusual attractiveness and dignity, but these cannot long keep it from the crowded limbo of rejected systems and speculations.

In forecasting the future of society it would not do to leave



out of the account the probable effects of the evolution philosophy, so widely accepted by the leading minds of the age. If this is to prove a philosophy of pure materialism, I do not hesitate to say that it must entail all the disastrous consequences just imputed to that system. But I am quite aware that all evolutionists are not materialists; that there are many in fact who style themselves Christian evolutionists. So long as the theories of evolution are not held as exclusive of God and spirit, there is no reason to apprehend that their universal prevalence will prove revolutionary. If they should necessitate changes and readjustments in a good many opinions, these will be effected without serious disturbance. Strangers to fear or jealousy, we may bid the evolutionists do their utmost in lifting the vail from the secrets of the universe.

My acquaintance with the evolution philosophy is not sufficient to warrant me in stating what are its anticipations as to the future of society and man. Mr. Herbert Spencer seems somewhat wavering and uncertain on this subject. "Change," he says, "does not necessarily imply advance; degradation may sometimes follow." It has seemed to me that so much depends in the evolution philosophy on unpredictable conditions, that it supplies no stable ground for calculations with regard to man's destiny. Is he to develop still upward into a higher order of being,—a supernatural order, we might say, if that word supernatural were not ruled out of the evolution vocabulary? Or, oppressed by some unforeseen and unfavorable environment, will he turn downward and slowly degenerate? Or, may not he and his earthly habitation suddenly collapse into chaos, and both begin again the eternal round of development? What had been my own thought on this point recently found unexpected confirmation from Prof. Huxley in one of his magazine articles. He says:

"On the evolutionist side we are told to take comfort from the reflection that the terrible struggle for existence tends to final good. But it is an error to imagine that evolution signifies a constant tendency to increased perfection. That process undoubtedly involves a constant readjustment of the organism to new conditions; but it depends on the nature of those conditions whether the direction of the modifications shall be downward or upward. Retrogressive is as practicable as progressive metamorphosis."



And he goes on to suggest the possibility that our globe by the cooling-down process may become uninhabitable for all except the lowest forms of life. These speculations wind up the drama of earth and man in a last act worse than tragical.

Among the evolutionists there are, as just intimated, various grades and schools. Here, as in other sects, the standard of orthodoxy may be uncertain, and differences of opinion on various points may be tolerated. At all events it is reassuring that so able a representative of the evolution church as John Fiske—whether he ranks as Low, High, or Broad it is not for me to determine—finds in its doctrines grounds of the most cheering hope for the future. In his very interesting little book, "The Destiny of Man," he literally borrows the glowing language of the old Hebrew prophets in describing that destiny. He says, in concluding his argument:

"The future is lighted for us with the radiant colors of hope. Strife and sorrow shall disappear. Peace and love shall reign supreme. The dream of poets, the lesson of priest and prophet, the inspiration of the greatest musician, is confirmed in the light of modern knowledge; and as we gird ourselves up for the work of life, we may look forward to the time when in the truest sense the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdom of Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever king of kings and lord of lords."

To which all Christian people will cordially respond, Amen.

So far as political institutions and forms of government enter into our problem, they may be dismissed with a brief notice. With the exception of Russia, and possibly Germany and Austria, the civil governments of Christendom cannot fairly be complained of as monstrously unjust and oppressive. Absolute monarchy, with its old abuses and arbitrary exactions, is rapidly giving place—for the most part has given place—to constitutional governments which to a fair degree obey and express the popular will. Most modern political institutions are penetrated by a liberal spirit, and they are so elastic and adjustable as to render their stability compatible with improvement. This is emphatically true of the governments of England and America, and toward these as a model all other enlightened nations are steadily working. Apprehension of a break-up in society brought



on by causes lying in this quarter would seem to be quite groundless.

It must be confessed, however, that our most serious indication of future trouble is akin to that which I have treated so lightly. I refer to the popular unrest of our time, the deep discontent of the masses, springing not so much from dissatisfaction with this or that form and administration of government, as from hostility to our entire social organization. This discontent is startlingly evidenced in the wide diffusion of communistic ideas, the lurid rhetoric of radical orators and newspapers, and the existence of revolutionary societies which secretly plot against established order and occasionally burst into murder and mob violence. What makes the popular unrest of our day more serious than ever before, is the fact that it is associated with unusual intelligence, bases itself upon elaborate philosophies and theories of political economy, and has in its ranks thinkers of a high order. In the writings of Prince Krapotkin and others anarchy is presented as a reasoned belief, a sober realization of an ideal social state. These speculations, almost uniformly implying atheism, have undoubtedly gained wide currency among the working people of many countries, and may well be regarded with painful concern.

But after all I cannot think that these socialistic theories and agitations threaten our civilization with great and abrupt changes. The number of persons interested in the rights of property is too large in most countries to make anything like agrarian revolution possible. When popular discontent has the liberty of venting itself in speech—a liberty sternly qualified, as at Chicago, with occasional applications of the hangman's rope—we may reasonably hope that it will at last quiet down without volcanic explosions. What there is just and true in Socialism—and no one will deny that it makes some just complaints and demands—will find fair recognition in this large-minded and benevolent age, and will finally work itself into law, custom, and institutions.

While, as I have just intimated, there are real grounds of dissatisfaction on the part of the masses, not a few of their complaints, often uttered as postulates or axioms, are absurdly unjust or great exaggerations of the truth. The favorite reproach



against our age, that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, is, so far at least as the poor are concerned, unfounded in fact and false in spirit. Giffen, Atkinson, and Wells, not to mention other students of social economics, insist that food productions more than keep pace with the progress of population in the countries of Christendom; that wages are steadily rising, while the purchasing power of money does not decrease; that the accumulations of savings banks show a percentage of increase far in advance of that of fifty years ago. Pauperism in most countries is steadily diminishing, and so is crime. From a review of all the elements that enter into the problem of social economics, the Hon. David A. Wells concludes that "there is certainly small basis for pessimistic views respecting the effect on the future of recent industrial and social transitions."

Having thus considered what will be confessed to be the most vital and controlling factors in our civilization, and their bearing on the future, I may pass without comment certain obtrusive signs of evil augury which engage a large share of popular attention. We hear much, perhaps none too much, of the monopolistic tendencies of the time, culminating in gigantic trusts, of breaches of faith, and wide-spread dishonesties which seem to have become almost endemic; of the degradation of marriage and the family relation as evidenced especially in the facility of divorce; of the rapacious greed of gain, and idolatry of mere material good as having infected all classes and turned modern life into a race for pleasure. These signs, undeniable and deplorable as they are, are but the superficial symptoms of diseases which we have seen reason to regard as not deadly, and will abate, we may hope, as those diseases yield to a proper remedial treatment.

It has already been remarked that history clearly records the fact that all the cataclysms of the past have in the end resulted in higher forms of civilization. The old and rotten edifices, swept away by social cyclones or conflagrations, have been replaced by fairer and better structures. This confirms the reasonableness of our hope that the commotions which may await us, even if violent and disruptive, will have their outcome on a higher plane of attainment and progress.

It is by no means improbable that very considerable social



changes are not far away, and it is the part of wisdom to prepare for them. It will be blind folly to resist them when clearly right and inevitable, rather than calmly submit to the readjustments which they may necessitate. To set the house in order in view of probable or even possible contingencies, is the simplest dictate of prudence. The chief disturber of society now, as in all the past, is the democratic spirit which is ever making new complaints and new demands. To these complaints and demands large concessions on the part of the more favored classes will have to be made, concessions which may seem to them almost equivalent to revolution and chaos. Perhaps Count Tolstoi, in his strangely erratic principles and practices, may be giving the world some valuable lessons in respect to sympathy with the poor and lowly, and the methods of applying Christianity to human need. While his religion, doctrinally judged, is far from Christian, his altruistic devotion and self-sacrifice may well command our admiration and study. At all events, whether we like it or not, we may accept it as certain that democracy has come to stay. All signs import the growing importance of the common people, the abatement of aristocratic privileges, and a more equal distribution of the prizes of life.

Not less certain is it that science also is here to stay, and it may be counted on more and more to mitigate the hard conditions of the poor and to contribute to the material welfare and comfort of all classes. Science will never solve the riddle of the universe, nor will it, as some who almost despair of the fortunes of the race venture to suggest, ever restore to nature and man the beauty and hope, the mystery and joy, so utterly lost in a state of so-called religious disillusion. But in the better future which science is helping to introduce, it will be the most potent ally of religion in still further elevating and inspiring the race.

Of religion I have already expressed the conviction that it is indestructible, and will never lose its supremacy among the great motive and regulative human forces. We may anticipate that religion will display new energies and capabilities in meeting the new dangers and wants which the future may develop. Christianity is at once radical and conservative, progressive and restrictive. It is a spur, a check, and a guide. So far from being



exhausted, Christianity has the consciousness of perpetual youth, and of resources hardly as yet fully tested. It feels the potency while it makes the promise of indefinite reform and progress.

On the whole, my conclusion with regard to the prospects of modern society is one of reassurance and hope. While indulging no optimistic dreams and professing no faith in the natural perfectibility of man, I still confidently anticipate for him a steadily brightening future. No doubt evil portents abound, and they who allow themselves to look only in one direction and at one set of indications may easily fall into despair. No doubt the era of universal prosperity, peace, and good will is far away. Fierce race and class struggles, here and there alarming reactions toward tyranny or anarchy, local revolutions in this or that nation that may seem for the moment to overturn the very foundations of order, great and bloody wars calling a continent to arms—any or all of these things are possibilities of the near future. But it is safe to predict that the human race will steadily rise through them to higher and better conditions.

It seems to me that a rational basis for this prediction has been found in those signs and aspects of the times which have just been reviewed. I confess, however, that my real confidence in the soundness of this prediction has another foundation—the promise as well as the existence of God. My hope with regard to the destiny of man rises to assurance only in the light of a recognized divine presence, order, and providence in human affairs; and it touches full assurance only in the recognition of the regenerative power of Christianity as a supernatural religion, and the validity of those promises in which it points to a millennial state as the ultimate goal of man's destiny.

J. R. KENDRICK.



## ESOTERIC BROWNINGISM.

THE poetry of Mr. Browning has had singular fortunes. Rejected at first by the world, his poems became the possession of a few friends of romance; then a wider public was induced to read them; finally they fell into the hands of people who have overbuilt the fairy plot of ground with "societies," and who squabble about texts and meanings like scholiasts or Biblical commentators. The last estate of the poems has been worse than the first. They have been annexed, as it were, by enthusiasts, who clearly value them chiefly as problems or puzzles, to which they alone possess the key. It is as if Ariadne had loved the Labyrinth because she alone had the clue to its dark recesses. Now as long as Mr. Browning's verse is the joy of wild societies, and as long as they praise it chiefly because they believe that they alone understand it (a belief which gives them a happy sense of being wondrous wise), so long the verse will fail to find the proper audience of poetry—the young. It is not the essence of poetry to be cryptic. Poetry lacks merit just in proportion to its need of commentators. It should speak directly for itself; it should speak to the ear, the heart, the imagination. But the professional devotees of Mr. Browning, an irritating band, praise him as one who speaks chiefly to the intellect. They hunt through him for puzzles and problems, they canvass him for "thoughts." It does not seem to occur to them that he, like other poets, is a master of romance; that he appeals with perfect clearness and directness to the heart, the fancy, and even to the ear. If he did not do this, and do it successfully, winningly, with phrases and fancies that haunt the memory, that mingle with our musings on love and death and day and night, Mr. Browning would be a failure. He would be no worse and no better than an obscure mystic, a darkling preacher, the joy of coteries; no better than an artist with an esoteric jargon. Poetry of that esoteric sort, adored in a chapel of darkness, has been pop-



ular in very early, and in very late decadent periods of verse. The old Norsemen, the Alexandrine Greeks, and the confused scholars of the European revival of letters have taken pleasure in the poetic riddles of the "Edda," in the obscurities of Callimachus, and the learned fogs of Lycophron. All these exercises of intricate diction and far-fetched thought are the mistakes of a Muse which has lost her way in some mist upon Parnassus. I do not mean that all poetry which is not pellucid in thought is necessarily wrong and a blunder. Poetry may move in a moonlit mist to the sound of excellent cadences, and may win us by the mere melody and color of the words, by the address to the ear and the fancy, while the heart and the emotions are touched only as they are touched by music. Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" is the renowned example which proves that this kind of obscurity may be beautiful and winning.

Charles Lamb writes in a letter to Wordsworth (April 26, 1816):

"Coleridge is printing 'Christabel' by Lord Byron's recommendation to Murray, with what he calls a vision, 'Kubla Khan,' which said vision he repeats so enchantingly that it irradiates and brings heaven and elysian bowers into my parlor while he sings or says it; but there is an observation, 'Never tell thy dreams,' and I am almost afraid that 'Kubla Khan' is an owl that won't bear daylight. I fear lest it should be discovered by the lantern of typography and clear reducing to letters no better than nonsense or no sense."

Lamb's fear was groundless, and in its own owl-light "Kubla Khan" "sings or says" as deathlessly as the nightingales of Heraclitus, for all its obscurity or lack of meaning. But when Mr. Browning's verse is difficult or dark, it certainly does not win us by its appeal to the fancy, the ear, almost to the eye, like "Kubla Khan." It is not rich in pictures then, nor eloquent in music. Nevertheless it is precisely his darkest, his most involved, his least melodious pieces that are the favorites of the societies which discuss Mr. Browning, piously "beating the bush and never starting the hare." These worthy but misled admirers do the poet injustice by seeking for a cryptic philosophic meaning where there neither is nor should be any such meaning at all.

Let us imagine some young man or woman who takes up



"Childe Roland" without having heard any clatter of commentators and societies. He or she (he at all events) needs no introduction to the piece, and no explanation and no discussion. It is a piece of pure romance, a series of the most distinct pictures, a summoning into life of the most intelligible emotions, a portion of the world of fairy story told again to men and women, not to children. Here is an ogre's tower, full of adventures; here is the road to the tower, across a desolate land, strewn with the bodies and informed with the memories of those "who strove in other days to pass." What were the adventures to be achieved in the tower? Who knows, who cares. There is an imprisoned princess to be released, a giant to be slain, a treasure to be won, an elixir of youth to be tasted, *que sçais-je?* All that is of no moment. What is of moment is the romance, the pictures of

"That hoary cripple, with malicious eye  
Askance to watch the working of his lie";

of the starved plain with grass "as scant as hair in leprosy"; of the wretched jade browsing there:

"I never saw a brute I hated so."

Then come the phantasms of memory that will haunt a man on a desperate quest; the faces of Cuthbert, of Giles.

"And some saw faces out of golden youth,"

says the Laureate in his clear Virgilian style. So the panorama runs on, the dreadful brook—

"how I feared  
To set my foot upon a dead man's cheek,  
Each step, or feel the spear I thrust to seek  
For hollows, tangled in his hair or beard!"

Again,

"What bad use was that engine for, that wheel,  
Or brake, not wheel, that harrow fit to reel  
Men's bodies out like silk? with all the air  
Of Tophet's tool, on earth left unaware,  
Or brought to sharpen its rusty teeth of steel."

All these things, and the bulls

"Crouched like two bulls locked horn in horn in fight,"  
and the

"Round squat turret blind as the fool's heart,"



or as the heart of the commentator, make a series of romantic pictures, with no cryptic thought or ethical meaning in the matter. You might just as well hunt, like Lord Tennyson's lady in the poem, for a moral to the "Sleeping Beauty." One piece is as much a fairy tale as the other, and a child can understand either, and any human being with an unpervverted fancy can take pleasure in both. But the devotees of Mr. Browning try to make even this *märchen* a puzzle and a problem.

By the boundless ingenuity of dullness, the abomination of desolation of pedantry standing where it ought not, the enchanted castle of Mr. Browning's verse has become nearly as inaccessible as the dark tower whither Childe Roland came. The land about it is haunted by scarecrow scholiasts, disheveled essayists, male and female.

"I never saw a brute I hated so."

Their engines of torture, their examination papers, their pamphlets, their proceedings, are thick on the ground as the gins and snares of Giant Pope or Giant Despair. A young adventurer who loves poetry, and would sojourn in all the caves of Calypso, in all the towers of Armida, is frightened away by the pedants from the soil which Mr. Browning rules as his demesne. The neophyte fears that the palace of the magician will prove as bleak as "the round squat turret," and so it will if he approaches it under the guidance of societies and of problem-hunters. Never, never, if he followeth with the scholiasts of this world will the young adventurer come to the real tower of ivory, to the true enchanted castle. 'Tis of a fairy architecture, with a hundred chapels, turrets, galleries, full of music, hung with tapestries grim or gay, pictures of duchesses riding in the greenwood, of wild monks reeling home from revels, beautiful ladies happy or unhappy, of true friends arm in arm. This enchanted palace is peopled with a thousand dreams, faces and figures out of all the centuries, Caliban on his isle, and Blougram over his wine, and the Disciple dying in the desert, and Venetian ladies with the sun staining their yellow locks to a more fiery gold. The palace is not hard to find if you turn a deaf ear to the commentator, to

"That hoary cripple with malicious eye,"



who will but misguide you if you listen to him. He will be for leading you over dry places, seeking sense and finding none, where "Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau" holds unenvied sway; he will bewilder you in "Red Cotton Night-Cap Country"; he will make you jig dolefully to the fife of "Fifine at the Fair." Spurn that hoary cripple, thou girl or boy who lovest verse, and follow with me, who am no scholiast, and care not for "stopped endings," nor philosophy. Depend upon it, Mr. Browning is not all a puzzle, nor his Muse merely a sphinx. He is a poet like the rest, and what Keats and Scott and Tennyson give you, he gives you also, in his own manner and measure, if you take him at his best and when he is most himself.

When is a poet most himself and at his best? Assuredly when he is young. If Lord Tennyson were to attain the years of the raven, he

"Never could recapture that first fine careless rapture"

of his youth, of 1830, 1833, 1841. If all the rest of Lord Tennyson's works perished, except what we have in the two little books of 1830, 1833, and in the two brown volumes of 1841 ("In Memoriam" was written but not yet published), the world would still possess the flower and essence of his genius. The same tale is true of Mr. Browning. Give us only the fruits that glow and the tunes that chime in his "Bells and Pomegranates," and we have the best of him, the romantic lyrics, the stuff of his "Men and Women." Now to the young lover of poetry who has been frightened away from Mr. Browning by the sybils who shriek and the priests who beat their vain cymbals around him, interpreting his dark meanings, I would say, read "Men and Women." Read it without puzzling after problems, or grubbing for more than you see on the surface. Read "Men and Women" as you read "Adonais," or the "Ode to Autumn," or the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," or the "Ancient Mariner," just for the first plain sense, for the romance, for the delight of the heart and the fancy, for the human beings who move there, and the human emotions. Whoever does this, not being blind and deaf to poetry, will be a life-long and grateful admirer of Mr. Browning. I do not say that he will ever be fond of "Red Cot



ton Night-Cap Country," or of "Pacchiarotto," or of "Ferishtah's Fancies," or of the "Transcript" of "Agamemnon." Every poet has his defects. Mr. Browning's have been length—nobody agrees less with Poe's theory that all good poems are short—subtlety, eccentricity, and the besetting sin of considering too curiously. Even from the poems of his youth, even from his romantic lyrics, these faults are not absent, but they nearly disappear in the fire and glow of his genius—in love, tenderness, imagination, energy. In the "Dramatic Lyrics," above all, there is a wealth not only of character but of situations. There is a rapidity, there is a life distinct from the keen but long-drawn subtleties of "The Ring and the Book," and of many monologues in the later works of Mr. Browning. What enchants is the speed, the glow, the distinctness, the power of each well-placed touch. Here is no tedious, tame "analysis"; no dawdling microscopic investigation, as dull as a modern scientific novel by some over-rated and under-educated writer, groping blindly after a style. The "Dramatic Lyrics" and "Men and Women" generally are alive, are embodiments of passion and of romance. They do not pretend to offer you mere "thoughts," but to show you people whom you can live with in recollection, or scenes that live with you, pictures that cannot fade while memory endures. Possessing these qualities, the lyrics necessarily have an original style, not wholly without its intended eccentricities, indeed, for nothing is perfect, but still a poetic style, not a thing of trick, or of mere manner. Consequently, Mr. Browning's immortal pieces, his "Fifty Men and Women," as I have said before, are poems less utterly unlike other poems than the later pieces more boasted and more wrangled over by his professional worshipers.

Let us take only a few examples of plain romantic poetry in Mr. Browning—examples in which he wins us by magic of words, by regret, by charm, by simple emotion, by a wistful kind of mystery of desire, by music, by color, by love or hatred. These are the materials of Shakespeare and Keats, Coleridge and Scott; these are not so certainly or unmingledly the materials of "Ferishtah's Fancies" or "Fifine at the Fair." Take first what must be a very early work, the song in "Paracelsus." Now "Paracelsus" is rather a long than a lucid study of souls, characters, or types



of character. What remains of all of it in the mind of a patient and even an admiring reader? Why nothing, or very little except these mournful and beautiful words:

“Heap cassia, sandal-buds, and stripes  
Of labdanum, and aloe-balls  
Smeared with dull nard an Indian wipes  
From out her hair (such balsam falls  
Down seaside mountain pedestals,  
From summits where tired winds are fain,  
Spent with the vast and howling main,  
To treasure half their island-gain).

“And strew faint sweetness from some old  
Egyptian’s fine worm-eaten shroud,  
Which breaks to dust when once unrolled;  
And shred dim perfume, like a cloud  
From chamber long to quiet vowed,  
With moth and dropping arras hung,  
Mouldering the lute and books among  
Of queen, long dead, who lived there young.”

“Mine, every word,” adds Paracelsus. The lay is his before he began philosophizing. He had not yet considered too curiously; he still possessed

“His lovely fancies with fair perished things  
Themselves fair and forgotten. Yes, forgotten!”

Why did Mr. Browning ever abjure lovely fancies? When composing this chant Mr. Browning was in the central current of lyric verse, where Simonides and Shelley are. But in the prelude of the Eumenides to “Ferishtah’s Fancies” where is he? Why in a kind of serious and grotesque “Bab Ballad,” in a travesty of the Greek, which is all the more deplorable because it is not even funny. Yet his devotees hold tea-parties, I dare say, and read lectures over these later conundrums. Presented to any person of natural poetic taste and aptitude, these barbaric excursions into the odd and harsh merely repel him. On the other hand try

“To-morrow we meet the same then, dearest?  
May I take your hand in mine?  
Mere friends are we—well, friends the merest  
Keep much that I resign:



“For each glance of the eye so bright and black,  
 Though I keep with heart’s endeavor—  
 Your voice, when you wish the snowdrops back,  
 Though it stay in my heart forever !

“Yet I will but say what mere friends say,  
 Or only a thought stronger ;  
 I will hold your hand but as long as all may,  
 Or so very little longer !”

*That* needs no scholiast; Burns could not be clearer than the last verse, and therefore I dare say “The Lost Mistress” is no great idol of the inner world of worshippers.

Again, “One Way of Love” is no more like the Browning of “Fifine at the Fair” than it is like Walt Whitman. But it is of the essence of romance, and a love song that sings itself to almost Elizabethan melodies, and is as clean cut, as classic, as a gem of Meleager.

“All June I bound the rose in sheaves,  
 Now, rose by rose, I strip the leaves  
 And strew them where Pauline may pass.  
 She will not turn aside? Alas !  
 Let them lie. Suppose they die?  
 The chance was they might take her eye.

‘How many a month I strove to suit  
 These stubborn fingers to the lute!  
 To-day I venture all I know.  
 She will not hear my music? So !  
 Break the string; fold music’s wing:  
 Suppose Pauline had bade me sing !

“My whole life long I learned to love.  
 This hour my utmost art I prove  
 And speak my passion—heaven or hell?  
 She will not give me heaven? ‘T is well !  
 Lose who may—I still can say,  
 Those who win heaven, blest are they !”

As natural as this is, and as chivalrous, so beyond common nature, and full of passion that might say *Acheronta movebo*, is “Mesmerism.” Here is romance daringly familiar, and more apt to remind one of French than English models. This verse reminds one remotely of an etching by Felicien Rops. The lover can magically or mesmerically summon his lady



“ At night, when doors are shut,  
 And the wood-worm picks,  
 And the death-watch ticks,  
 And the bar has a flag of smut,  
 And a cat's in the water-butt—

“ And the socket floats and flares,  
 And the house-beams groan,  
 And a foot unknown  
 Is surmised on the garret-stairs,  
 And the locks slip unawares—

“ And the spider, to serve his ends,  
 By a sudden thread,  
 Arms and legs outspread  
 On the table's midst descends,  
 Comes to find, God knows what friends !”

The unholy *modernité* of “ Mesmerism ” reveals itself most when contrasted with the prettiest picture of modern love in the world, the picture in “ A Lovers' Quarrel.” How the happy rhymes trot in one's head, in our good days, and later, when these are ended !

“ Dearest, three months ago ! ”

Let any one who has forgotten his Browning, who has let the lyric treasures of old years be buried under mausoleums of conundrums in blank verse, turn again to this poem, to his old love, and revive the recollections of delight. Who has rhymed of a lover's happiness more gaily or more truthfully ? If any one must have philosophy in verse, where will he find philosophy more transfigured into poetry, and Queen Entelechy disguised more gracefully as a Muse, than in “ Two in the Campagna ” ? How worthy of Claude is that picture of the Campagna :

“ The champaign with its endless fleece  
 Of feathery grasses everywhere !  
 Silence and passion, joy and peace,  
 An everlasting wash of air—  
 Rome's ghost since her decease.”

What wins us here but a poet using poetic words, ideas, measures, as other poets use them, without eccentricity or affectation or obscurity, but with a master's hand ? Are we to forget these



gifts and this grace, and leave Mr. Browning's verse to be "a joy of wild asses," like Cambridge in Gray's time, because in some later essay Mr. Browning has broken his wizard's staff, buried his magic books, and tried to write poetry as it cannot be written? Not in that mood, not without the lyre and the myrtle bough, did he sing:

"Oh, which were best, to roam or rest?  
The land's lap or the water's breast?  
To sleep on yellow millet sheaves,  
Or swim in lucid shallows, just  
Eluding water-lily leaves,  
An inch from Death's black fingers, thrust  
To lock you, whom release he must;  
Which life were best on Summer eves?"

So the lover sings within half an hour of his death in "Two in a Gondola," one of the pieces which contain all the poetry of Venice, from Francesca Colonna's day to Byron's or Alfred de Musset. It is not possible to overestimate the poet who has given us verse of such countless moods and numbers, so terribly grotesque as in the "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister," so musically mad as in "Porphyrio's Lover," so quaintly fierce as in the "Heretic's Tragedy."

"John, Master of the Temple of God,  
Falling to sin the Unknown Sin,  
What he bought of Emperor Aldabrod  
He sold it to Sultan Saladin"—

mysterious inexplicable offence, and well punished, for

"Lo, he is horribly in the toils  
Of a giant coal-black flower of hell."

It may not need all this quoting of passages and numbering of names to remind readers that Mr. Browning is something other than a scientific analyst of souls, using a jargon worse than scientific. It should be superfluous to repeat that he is as full of magic, of charm, of art; that he has raised and can raise as many phantoms, fair or terrible, as ever Faust beheld in the magic mirror. He has interpreted every one of our emotions from divine love to human friendship, from the despair of the soul to the depths of personal hatred. He has unravelled with delicate fin-



gers the words of Andrea del Sarto, and has not disdained beauty, but has made

“A common greyness silver everything.”

He has piped to children, like his own Pied Piper, and they have followed him as willingly as they of Hamelin. All these poems, and scores of others, need no interpreter, no commentator; any boy of sixteen who cares for verse can read them as easily as he can read Longfellow.

This later generation is in danger of forgetting the real poet in the multitude of dissertations about poems which need explaining. It is for this reason that one has attempted, however weakly, to praise that in Mr. Browning's work which is divine and imperishable. It is not that one undervalues “The Ring and the Book,” or “Balaustion's Adventure,” or “Pippa Passes.” But time, that sifts poets like wheat, will almost certainly treat much that Mr. Browning has written as time has treated the dark pieces of George Chapman or the “Cassandra” of Lycophron. They will survive, indeed, but rather because a poet wrote them than because they are poetry. They can hardly survive, as Theocritus hoped one of his idyls would do, “on the lips of all, and chiefly on those of the young.” There is, however, no reason why the central and perfect poems of Mr. Browning should not survive thus, in men's pockets, not only on their shelves; in men's hands, not only in scholar's libraries. But there is at present this danger, that young readers, just waking to poetry, may be lost in “Red Cotton Night-Cap Country,” and may emerge with difficulty, as from a Sleepy Hollow haunted by nightmares—may emerge and may never again choose to enter even that demesne which is peopled by “Men and Women.” In that event great would be their loss, nor less great if, by way of approving themselves clever and “cultured,” they try to heat themselves into an enthusiasm for the poems commended by commentators, and for the riddles which are their despair and delight.

ANDREW LANG.



## POSSIBILITIES OF CULTURE.

JEAN PAUL RICHTER begins his "Levana," or book on education, with two chapters, in one of which he shows that education is powerless to influence human destinies, and in the other of which he argues that it is all-powerful. The human mind is apt to sway between these two conclusions, and it depends very much on the temperament and experience of the individual thinker whether he takes the bright or the gloomy side. But the history of the race is strongly in favor of the more cheerful opinion. And even out of despair hope forever rises, as every winter is followed by spring. A striking instance of this invariable sequence appears in the recent history of the relation of philosophy to education. Toward the end of the last century, and for a considerable portion of the present, the Germans devoted themselves with unexampled ardor to solving the problems of the universe, and for some time they were animated by strong confidence and joyous hope. In this condition they worked on the subject of education. And we have the very remarkable utterance of Kant in his "Pädagogik" as to the future of mankind. "It is delightful," he says, "to think that human nature will be continually better developed by education, and that this can be brought into a form which is suitable to humanity. This opens up for us the prospect of a future happy race of men." Speculation, however, grew weary, hope and faith disappeared, and pessimism became prevalent. What was the result? Thinkers turned from metaphysical to physical investigations and were engulfed in material fatalism. But the theories which they adopted were in spite of themselves radiant with hope. Darwinism affords the very strongest arguments for the belief in a bright future for humanity. The blackness with which it paints in the past as a background makes the present look more cheerful and the future more hopeful. It demands the widest space for development, and if man has by a slow process been evolved from the



monkey, surely it would not be unreasonable to suppose, on the basis of such a theory, that out of man may be evolved a being as superior to man as man is to the monkey. But such a process would require a long period for its completion, and we shall content ourselves by trying to show that even within our own period much may be done to advance the well-being of men by culture, and that there is reason to hope that that culture may penetrate the masses and make the world in all its extent wiser and happier and better. The way in which we think we can show this more effectively is by pointing out how we neglect some of the most important methods of culture, and how it is probable that, when these are properly applied, we may expect much more satisfactory results.

At the outset a barrier stands in our way in the shape of prevalent ideas of heredity. What exactly is meant by heredity it would be difficult for many who make frequent use of the term to state. But it is supposed that a father or mother communicates to the child some germ of a constitution which with the growth of the child gives directions and range to his capacities, his impulses, and his actions. That there may be some truth in this conception we are not prepared to deny. But it is evident that the slightest glance at facts will dissipate the grossly exaggerated ideas that prevail on this subject. If heredity were a powerful influence, every child would be like his father or mother not merely in features, but in character, and brothers and sisters would resemble each other closely. But no fact is more patent than that children are often widely different in character from their parents, that intemperate fathers have had temperate children, that irreligious parents have had devout children, that strong parents have had weak children. And if we could examine more minutely, we should find that a great amount of the influence attributed to the undefined and mysterious principle called heredity is due to the action of intelligent soul upon intelligent soul. Thus we take little note of the education which goes on in a child's mind during the first year of his life. Indeed, we take little note altogether of what we may call unconscious education, and the unconscious action of the mind. I walked the other day along a crowded thoroughfare for a few minutes, and I



counted the people that passed me. There were upward of three hundred. Each one of these individuals I noted. I recognized at least parts of their attire. I saw the features of their faces, their mouths, their noses, their eyes. In moving along I noticed the stones of the pavement on which I was walking, I avoided the lamp posts, I observed the houses and shops, and indeed a wide range of objects came within my view. It would be difficult to say how many things, and thoughts connected with these things, passed before my mind during this short walk, but at least there were many thousands. All these objects and thoughts, there is reason to believe, found a permanent place in my memory, produced a certain effect on me, and became as it were a portion of myself, but not one of these can I recall. They were all for a single moment on the surface of consciousness, and sank forever into the deeper and wider abysses of unconsciousness. But doubtless they give some color to my whole life. So it is with the infant. He sees and hears and feels thousands of things during the period of his infancy. These sensations and feelings have an incalculable influence on his future powers and character. And it is here at the commencement that we may expect an indefinite improvement in the future of mankind, through an improvement in the unconscious influences that work on the child. It has often been observed that children have nearly all finely developed foreheads, and no one who takes an interest in children can have failed to be struck with the exquisite beauty that characterizes very many of the children of the humblest classes who are brought up in healthy places. In fact, a sad degeneration takes place in the looks of the humbler classes as the child grows to boyhood, and the boy to manhood and old age. And the question occurs, Might not this degeneration be arrested? Surely this is possible to a large extent. Everything depends on the treatment of the child in his earliest years, and on the character of the persons with whom he comes in contact.

It seems to us that in the reformation of mankind sufficient attention has not been concentrated on the subjects of eating, drinking, and the sexual passions. Nearly all the miseries, and a large number of the incapacities of mankind can be traced to violations of the laws of nature in regard to these actions.



Science has still much to do in investigating what are the foods most suitable for every age and climate. But after science has done its best, statecraft has to discover how these foods can be supplied to the public without mixture of deleterious substances, and in a condition most suitable for healthy digestion. And finally, the great majority of men have yet to learn to exercise wise control over themselves in the amount of food and the times for taking it. If this is the case with food, it is still more so with drink, which is too frequently absorbed in immoderate quantities, and even the most innocent of drinks, water, is often in such a state of impurity as to be injurious to the health. And it is needless to say that mankind are in considerable ignorance as to the relations of sexual desires to the health, and that much remains for inquiry and for reformation.

These three appetites are the strongest in human nature, and it may confidently be asserted that if they were regulated properly the happiness of mankind would be enormously increased. And both science and education could do much to help this result. We however are looking at the question from the point of view of their influence on the child. The first year of the child is spent in constant contact with the mother or the nurse. A thousand acts of intercourse take place between them every day, and these acts tend to form the intelligence and the character of the child. If the mother is healthy and bright with smiles, and can exercise control over herself and her passions and desires, the health and serenity are likely to impress themselves on the constitution of the child. She will also take care to feed him properly, avoiding all indulgence, taking the utmost care not to sow the seeds of vicious tastes and abnormal appetites, but making the child live a healthy natural life. This early period is thus a period in which it is possible for a senseless or vicious mother or nurse to lay the basis of a vicious constitution both in body and soul. And no one can doubt that at this stage the great majority of mothers and nurses do considerable mischief to the young ones who have been entrusted to them. When mothers and nurses are better fitted for their work, there will be a great increase to the happiness of mankind. And they will be better fitted when they themselves are taught to live more



healthy and natural lives; for in unconscious education it is the character most of all that tells upon the person who is being educated. But no doubt it would also be an advantage for mothers and nurses to have a clear comprehension of the nature of infants, and to know when it is wise to act and when it is wise to refrain from action. Here a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. The mother or nurse must make a wide study; for it is better that the character should act unconsciously on the unconscious child, than that rules should be followed which are only imperfectly understood, or based only on half truths.

After the child has reached permanent consciousness and can make himself understood, the perils of his education increase. It would take too long to go into all the mistakes that are continually made in the efforts to train him. These mistakes result at first mainly from two causes. The educator is apt to act in a purely mechanical spirit. He has learned certain rules and methods, and he applies these without due regard to the individuality of the child. He measures all children by the same standard, and that standard is apt to be one which in some respects is more suitable for a grown than a growing human being. Then there is a powerful tendency in most educators to force results. They are continually trying to find out how far they have succeeded. They interfere where interference can do only harm. They will not believe that character grows in silence and in the dark recesses of the soul, and that it is unwise to try to bring things prematurely to light or to speech. And at a later stage of the boy's career a third mistake is exceedingly often committed. A false and factitious aim directs the efforts of the educator. He ought in every lesson to place before himself the resolution to increase the healthy activity of the boy or girl, the real well-being of the pupil, and to regard every lesson that does not contribute to this result as a failure. But instead of this, the educator is apt to overload the memory, to deaden the appetite for knowledge, to worry the child when his physical powers are unable to sustain him in intellectual exertion, and to create in him a disgust for the pursuit of knowledge or the inquiry into truth. It is rare to find a man whose health of body is so vigorous that he has no difficulty in controlling all his physical powers,



or whose health of soul is such that he has regularly a strong appetite for increase of knowledge, a strong admiration for all that is truly great, and a strong love for all that is really good. And the reason very often is that in our processes of education we have done much to impair the health of the body and to deaden the aspirations and endeavors of the soul.

In this connection we may point to one radical error, for which we are indebted to a large extent to tradition, of which a great number of educators seem to be entirely ignorant or at least to be entirely forgetful, and the results of which even those who know the right method often feel themselves powerless to counteract. This error applies to the entire system of acquiring and appreciating knowledge. It is a striking feature in the Platonic dialogues, and still more in the sayings of Socrates recorded in the "Memorabilia" of Xenophon, that knowing a thing and doing it are assumed as being inextricably united. Knowledge and action seem as if they could not be divorced. But the knowledge which is meant is a real actual contact with the thing. There is an immense difference between knowing a man and knowing about a man, and there is the same difference between knowing a thing and knowing about a thing. The one implies that you have come personally in contact with the thing and that you have had a series of experiences in regard to it; the other that you have merely read or heard about it, and that the object is to your mind purely an object of your imagination. Now the first knowledge is operative and influential; the other may be entirely dead and nothing but lumber. But it is this latter kind of knowledge with which the young and the old of this generation are to a large extent supplied. Take for instance the case of temperance in drinks. No lesson in this direction can be effectual that is not based on experience, and that lesson is most effectual in which the youth is the discoverer for himself. A lecturer brings before the youth the action of alcohol on the stomach by experiments. These experiments are certainly more vivid than mere statements, but they produce only a feeble impression. Let the youth pursue the scientific studies for himself and for their own sake. Do not inform him of the result, but let him come upon the action of alcohol as a discovery which he himself has



made, and the effect will be much more powerful. This holds in regard to spiritual as well as physical facts. A body of men under strongly exciting circumstances, which stretch the mind to the utmost, conceive a noble ideal of life and carry it out. Many have gone through a series of experiences which have brought home certain truths to their consciences, and they exercise a potent effect for good on the world. Many hand down these ideas to their followers and successors, but now there are no longer the vivid experiences as a basis for the truths. The ideas become mere commonplaces, the motive power for action vanishes from them, and those who have adopted them by education and inheritance are no longer characterized by the same lofty aspirations and the same energetic beneficence as distinguished their predecessors. And herein lies a barrier to the progress of the race. It is often stated that we are the heirs of all the ages, and that the latest century enjoys all the truths and wisdom of previous generations. But this is far from being the case. The heir of a truth must go through much of the experience which the discoverer of the truth went through, if he is to enjoy the benefit of it. The discovery may shorten the process, but it does not render it unnecessary. And altogether it is much better for a man to know comparatively few things discovered by his own experience, even amid mistakes and though his knowledge is finally imperfect, than to have all the information of a cyclopædia crammed into him from without. It is the individual power to grapple with the complicated problems and mysteries of life that is the measure of the man, and not the amount of information which he has gathered from books. It is needless to say how difficult it is to work out this idea in education; how the habits of society, our system of rewards, our methods of praise, are all against; it how it would require a revolution in our educational schemes to carry it out consistently, and how it would demand an amount of self-control and intelligence on the part of teachers which we can expect only after long periods of sound training. But there is no reason why we should not expect it and strive after it; on the contrary, there is every reason to hope that more and more, in the course of time, right methods will be pursued, that the divorce between knowledge and action will be



annulled, and that the effect of knowledge which the humblest children will thus be enabled to acquire for themselves will bear directly upon right conduct in all the relations of life.

There is one great difficulty in the way of this happy prospect, which suggests a problem that must attract the attention of all philanthropists. It consists in the fact that the people who are least likely to set a good example to children in self-control, prudence, and wisdom, are most prolific. The closest and most unhealthy dens are giving birth to the greatest number of the future generation. This is a question which cannot be discussed at the end of an article, but at least this can be said, that the prospect is not hopeless; that in many places these dens are disappearing and the people are becoming more provident, and that with a compulsory system and with sound methods education has done much and will do much more to meet this great difficulty.

JAMES DONALDSON.



## THE LAST RESORT OF THE LANDLESS.

DUTY, allegiance, obedience, and loyalty are words which in the ancient and mediæval world had a deep and persuasive meaning. They were the moral bulwarks of property and privilege. Man has never been permanently ruled by fear of man. Right, as it is understood or misunderstood from age to age, has always held Might in check. The few have possessed the riches; the many have worked as mercenaries, servants, and retainers. Wealth and opulence have been constantly in sight of the toiling masses. The masses have never been unaware of their power to grasp and divide the lands and goods of the earth among themselves. Leaders have not been wanting to tell them that all was theirs if they but willed it. Thirty centuries have had as many Blüchers looking down from the crest of events and crying, *Was für Plunder!*

The avarice and hunger of the masses have been controlled by the moral reciprocities suggested in the words duty and loyalty. In the ancient world the patriarchal and servile sentiment tied the hands of the many and weighed like an incubus on the spirit of avarice. The slave clothed the relations between himself and his master with a religious meaning. To revolt was to defy the gods; to complain was to criticise Fate. But to hug one's chains was to practice piety. Perverted human ingenuity created a cult of servility and cushioned this degrading taste with amenities of form and sentiment that went far to make it permanent. Men were born into it, and fashioned in word, action, and spirit according to its genius. The master taught his slave's child a superstition, and led him by his absurd notion of duty and loyalty.

Feudalism succeeded to the patriarchal, servile, and clan systems of the ancient world. The words allegiance and fealty, with all their meaning, were preserved amid the shock of moving nations and tumbling empires. The serfs and retainers still



looked up to a lord and master. The moral sense of mankind was manipulated until the labor, the property, and the lives of the many were at the disposal of the few. This relationship was polished up under the requirements of a growing civilization. It effloresced into chivalry. The enchantment of beauty, the glamour of courtesy, and the opiates of romance and poetry were employed to continue its sway. It was described as a "generous loyalty to rank and sex," a "proud submission," a "dignified obedience," a "subordination of heart that kept alive even in servitude itself the spirit of an exalted freedom." As a *quid pro quo* there was some talk of *Noblesse oblige*. Thomas Carlyle indicates the practical workings of the system in a passage describing a widow gathering nettles for her starving children, while a perfumed seignior lounging about the opulent court at Paris hath an alchemy by which he extorts from the widow three out of every four of the nettles she harvests, and calls it "rent."

For this state of affairs the French Revolution was a veritable crack of doom. "The age of chivalry is gone," said Burke in prophetic tones; "that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded." And the new age has been diverging more and more from the old ever since. Holy alliances, men of blood and iron, and trimming conservatives have been dashed aside. Obedience has been fading out. Loyalty is a thing tolerated. Submissiveness and fealty are against the spirit of the age. That spirit is above all one of social equality.

In asserting its sense of this equality, the present age illustrates its thoroughly practical turn. The equality it craves is not a mere sentiment. In the last century the democrat asked:

"What though on homely fare we dine,  
Wear hodden grey and a' that;  
Give fools their silk and knaves their wine,  
A man's a man for a' that."

The present age is not so concessive. It is not content with the forms of equality; it wants the substance. The right to vote equally with the richest and the proudest in the land is an equality that shows itself only on election day. Equality before the law is not the cure-all it was once expected to prove. Equality of condition is the genuine craving of this practical and thoroughly



selfish age. The disparities in houses, lands, and moneys are its great grievance; not that there is a *meum* and *tuum*, but that yours should be so much greater than mine. The socialisms and collectivisms, in so far as they have any firm hold upon the people, are pleas not for community of goods but for a new division of what there is. The impecunious, the worsted in the money-getting race, the under dogs in the fight, are a great and growing opposition party, bent upon making the ins outs, and getting the outs in.

Land acts like Gladstone's, theories like those of George, Wallace, and Spencer, and state socialisms like that of Bismark, are efforts at compromise. Some, shadowy outlines; others, temporary expedients intended to fence off revolutions and to hedge in so-called vested rights against irreverent anarchies; yet others, drastic theories welded for permanent use. But the world cannot escape in the future what has been the rule in the past.

Periodical readjustments of property have come with every epoch. When society felt itself too much stifled under the tightening bonds of the few, there came a spasm. In one night the French peasantry set ten thousand manor houses blazing, and so revolutionized the tenure of property which for three centuries had been little disturbed. The spoliation of the monastery lands in the sixteenth century by grasping lords and greedy court favorites was a widespread readjustment. The Jews lost their lands in Spain in the fifteenth century, and the Jesuits were cleared off theirs in the eighteenth. Laws of entail to the contrary notwithstanding, half of England was taken out of the grip of the Catholic recusants under Queen Elizabeth, and vested in the tools of the Star Chamber. Cromwell originated the Irish land question by sweeping the Celts out of three-fourths of Ireland and planting his Ironsides in their place.

With such examples before us and knowing that revolutions operate as safety valves of the social mechanism, we cannot but expect a transition from the old-fashioned notion of right, especially when we reflect that the credo of loyalty and obedience is no more, and that the desires of men have most broadened with the progress of the suns. A revision of ideas on property rights is in fact one of the marked tendencies of the present time.



If nowhere else noticeable, it would be discernible in the mitigation of the judicial penalties once inflicted for offenses against lands and goods. Men are no longer hanged for stealing, or transported for poaching. A trespasser does not now take his life in his hands.

The traditional superstitious veneration for vested rights was, no doubt, rudely shocked by the blasphemy of Proudhon, and although the age has not gone to the extent of regarding property as robbery, still the spectacle of the hunted and landless turning upon the affluent landlord with the cry of "Stop thief," is in keeping with the audacity of the times.

The dogmas of property, like the dogmas of theology, must, in order to be held sacred, have something of unchangeableness and consistency about them. Here, however, are Maine and De Laveleye finding out through independent investigation that property was originally owned by village communities in common. The feudal lord was a usurper. Yet the world soon forgot how he acquired the title. His invalid claim appears to have become valid at a certain rate per annum, and time actually had power to change an original wrong into a sacred right.

The present age, which reads history, makes investigations, repudiates worn-out sanctities, and outgrows the charms of loyalty and obedience, cannot be expected to endure hardship or to starve, out of respect to dogmas of property and vested interests which have such a history and such an origin. The vulgar by-word, "Second thief is best owner," will occur to the landless but common-schooled Knight of Labor, and the spoils of the children of the mediæval robber knight and baron will be endangered. There will be a disposition to revert to the

"ancient plan  
That they may get who have the power,  
And they may keep who can."

History is so replete with instances where the law has been wrested in one direction or another, and where to do what they supposed a great right men have been willing to do a little wrong, that our age will not be slow to fall back upon like convenient practices when it has once clearly decided what it wants. Whose title is sacred, or on what basis shall society be challenged to hold its



hands off any man's inheritance? An historical abstract runs down through conquests, invasions, expropriations, escheats, revolutions, and robberies, just titles alternating with unjust seizures, until little that is seems to be either permanent or good. The "Earth Song" of Emerson will occur to the reader:

"The lawyer's deed  
Ran sure  
In tail  
To them and to their heirs  
Who shall inherit  
Forever more.  
Here is the land,  
Shaggy with wood,  
With its old valley,  
Mound, and flood.  
But the heritors?  
Fled like the flood's foam;  
The lawyers and the laws  
And the kingdom  
Clean swept therefrom."

In democratic communities the state is now the lord paramount of the soil, subrogated to all the rights and prerogatives of the feudal king by a chain of political events that makes its title indisputable. All the courts and all the constitutions uphold the right of eminent domain, but all the courts and all the constitutions cannot limit or set bounds to the operation of that right in the hands of a determined landless majority. The people are the state, and it is rather a harmless fiction which supposes society to be anything separate or distinct from the mass of human beings who compose it. The right of the people to take private property for a railway track, or a canal, or a public building is susceptible of being made a potent lever for industrial revolution. Once the conditions have arrived, there can be no obstacle to the people enacting by legal process the readjustments which in other days were secured by invasion, expulsions, robberies, and revolutions.

Heretofore individual ownership of property has been secure in America because the interest of the overwhelming majority lay in sustaining it. Every man possessed his own home, and



the prospect for further acquisition was open to all. Strictly analyzed, this is, with the mass of Americans, the real motive for this dislike of Socialism and its kindred forms. Not anything having its main spring in the moral sense, not any religious precept, neither the commandments nor the rights of man, have kept us so respectful toward the claims of private property. Self-interest alone is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure rests. As long as the great majority have an interest in the land, so long will they fight for the principle upon which their right to property rests. So long will this right remain inviolate.

But suppose we arrive at the condition which seems to be reached eventually in all nations; suppose the majority lose their interest in the land and hold their houses by permission of the minority and for tribute. Will this *status* be meekly acquiesced in here as it has been in the countries of Europe? Our census tables tell us that we are approaching this condition steadily from decade to decade. A million tenant farmers in 1880 will, perhaps, be increased to a million and a half when the national census man is next abroad. Now and then the cry of the alarmist is heard, but the settled drift of affairs toward the inevitable dispossession of the many is not disturbed. The inexorable law of fate has decreed it, and it is useless to suggest remedies, because society will always refuse to accept drastic measures until there are desperate ills.

The question we have put will have to be answered sooner than many persons imagine. The elements are not here for a meek acquiescence in a state of affairs where the minority own the wealth of the country. The American proletariat are just now the peasantry of Europe, emigrating hither from an old-world condition of industrial dominance by the minority. They have their anarchists and their socialists, it is true, but these are the exceptions. In the mass they are docile and governable. Their children, however, will be educated in a sense of American equality. They will not interpret this idea to suit the comfort of the affluent minority. They will sit by the children of the rich in the common school and imbibe the same desires for power and ease and independence. The imprecation uttered by



the handicapped of poverty in "Locksley's Hall" will be on their lips:

"Cursed be the social wants that sin  
Against the strength of youth."

With the power to make and unmake fortunes by their ballots, what check will it be possible to place on the action of the landless majority? Religion will not interpose. Cæsar has emphatically rejected its assistance in obtaining his dues. He has not thought it necessary to teach in his schools precepts like that famous exhortation to the Pharisees. He has, however, sounded the tocsin of equality in the ears of the republican youth, from the primer to the school history; and the "greatest good to the greatest number," and the divine right of the People-King, have been his constant teachings.

Here then are all the elements for the coming industrial revolution: obedience and loyalty dead; the superstitious veneration for property undermined by the exposure of its checkered history, and tottering without the assistance of religious injunction; the prevailing passion for equality in all things; common desires and a common education; the majority absolute in its power and omniscient in its self-esteem; and, finally, the wealth of the country absorbed in the possession of the few. The resultant from these conditions will be inevitable. Power will lay hold of wealth, and make it its own. Democracy will struggle for industrial readjustment with the blind energy of brute strength, nerved by a sense that it is fighting for self-preservation.

HUMPHREY J. DESMOND.



## WATERWAYS TO THE PACIFIC.

IN an article entitled "The Control of the Pacific," in a former number of the FORUM, the writer presented some of the principal facts concerning the Nicaragua Canal enterprise, as it existed at that time. The year and a half which has elapsed since then has been full of events bearing upon the Canal question, and for the most part favorable to its solution. A brief account of the present condition of the undertaking may interest the public. When the former article was written an association of American gentlemen had just obtained from Nicaragua a concession of great value. In the act of securing this concession, news was received of the death of that distinguished inventor and engineer, Captain Eads, and it was quickly recognized that now the project of a ship railroad across Tehuantepec in Mexico must be given up. This fact could not fail to strengthen the prospects of a Nicaragua Canal. It was at about this time also that the hopelessness of M. de Lesseps's Panama scheme began to dawn upon the business men of the United States. A favorable time for action having thus arrived, and ample funds for all preliminary work having been provided, active movements were begun in the various directions necessary to make the inception of the enterprise worthy of its great future. To secure this future properly and beyond doubt, it was desirable, first, to survey with minute exactness the route whose general location had already been decided by the exhaustive governmental examinations of the past years; secondly, to conclude with Costa Rica such a contract or concession as should be mutually advantageous and should bind together the interests of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the Canal; and thirdly, to publish a just and temperate statement of the enterprise in all its details, and to circulate this information among the best engineers and capitalists of this country and of Europe.



A well-equipped expedition left New York in November, 1887, for Nicaragua, and has completed the exact location of the Canal, and mapped the line and its vicinity with engineering exactness. Careful borings have been made along the whole distance, and the nature of materials to be excavated is now clearly known. The drawings which show the results of these surveys are completed, and they indicate a length of about 29 miles of canal to be excavated. The total distance from sea to sea being 169 miles, the remainder, 140 miles, in Lake Nicaragua, the River San Juan, and their adjacent basins, will, by the use of dams and natural basins, become free navigation. Without going into the details of the engineering features, it may be said that former estimates were 50 millions of dollars for the work, and 15 millions for contingencies, making 65 millions in all; while the present revised estimates, based on absolute data, are about 55 millions for the work and contingencies.

The second point was the Costa Rica concession. This has also been happily arranged, and a concession from that republic has been secured, granting valuable lands and privileges, and guaranteeing to the Canal the assistance and good will of the Costa Rican nation and its government.

Thirdly, the dissemination of correct ideas concerning the Nicaragua Canal has continued unceasingly, and has been much aided by our newspapers, which have grasped at once the national and international bearings of the undertaking. Thus with every chance of failure guarded against, the enterprise now stands ready to take the final step of organizing the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua. An act of incorporation for this company has been introduced in Congress, and having passed the Senate last February, has since then awaited patiently the action of the House of Representatives. It is undoubtedly fitting that a work of such magnitude, of so national a character, should be initiated under the authority of Congress, and it is to be hoped that the House of Representatives may find the time to grant this authority. But we should remember that this action, though beneficial, is not indispensable, and that under a charter from a State legislature this undertaking will go forward to unquestioned success, as did the Panama Railroad under a charter from the State of New York,



receiving always, though without a national charter, the countenance and protection of the national government.

Whether with or without a national charter, the enterprise has already received such assurance from this country and from Europe that it may be considered as having passed successfully through its earlier stages, bringing before us for immediate solution the problems of practical construction, and, later, those collateral circumstances of commerce, politics, and war which have hitherto been vague and shadowy, but which, with the certainty of a canal, will quickly take definite shape.

As to the construction of the Canal, it is in its engineering aspects a work of great magnitude but of remarkable simplicity. Nature has done almost everything here, and the able engineer, Mr. Menocal, whose admirable plans will doubtless be adopted, has worked always with nature and never against her. A few large pieces of work present themselves. There is a long stretch of dredging back of Greytown, a deep rock-cut at the Divide, a strong dam across the San Juan; but when we examine the American Dredging Company's work at Panama, when we observe the ease and quickness with which the tunnel of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the Cascade Range was lately bored through difficult rock, and when we realize the number of dams vastly larger than the San Juan dam which have been and are being constructed throughout the world, we become aware that in the Nicaragua Canal we confront a large work, but one having no elements of doubt or mystery in its engineering features. The total length of route from Greytown on the Atlantic to Brito on the Pacific is 169.67 miles, and as a result of the exact final surveys, that distance is divided as follows:

	Free Navigation. Miles.	Canal in Excav Miles.
From Greytown to Deseado Basin, dredging in swamp, lagoon, and low ground.....		12.37
Deseado Basin, formed in valley of stream Des- eado, by a dam....	4.00	
From Deseado Basin to San Francisco Basin, a cut through rock.....		3.07
San Francisco and Machado Basins, formed by embankments across those streams and some auxiliary embankments... ..	11.00	1.73



	Free Navigation. Miles.	Canal in Excavation. Miles.
River San Juan.....	64.00	
Lake Nicaragua.....	56.50	
From Lake Nicaragua to Tola Basin, excavation through ordinary ground.....		8.22
Tola Basin, formed by dam across Rio Grande Valley .....	5.28	
From Tola Basin to Brito, excavation through low ground... ..		3.50
	<hr/> 140.78	<hr/> 28.89

Outside of the engineering work many questions present themselves—questions of labor, climate, transportation, food, hygiene, police—and it is upon the intelligent solution of these questions that the work of construction largely depends for success. That the ability of the engineers may produce its proper fruit, all their needs must be foreseen and carefully provided for. The number of laborers they desire must be always ready for them at designated hours and places, and when not at work, the men must be fed, lodged, doctored, policed, and amused. Dredges and drills must be at the engineer's hand at a moment's notice. Machine shops must be ready for work day and night, in order to keep in repair the plant, or to manufacture such new forms of plant as the ingenuity of the engineers may from time to time devise to meet the necessities of special occasions. All that seems necessary to complete success is a proper arrangement and methodizing of the collateral and auxiliary branches of labor, machinery, transportation, hospitals, and repair shops, and the careful maintenance of a thorough and kindly discipline. This method and management have been conspicuously lacking in some of the great construction works of the present day, and the finest engineering talent has failed to save them from the losses and confusion due to a vicious system, or to the total absence of system. It would be invidious to name specific cases. Sufficient be it for us that they exist as useful warnings, and that on the other hand we have in some of our Western railroads, lately, and let us hope in the coming Manchester Ship Canal, examples of method and energy combined which cannot fail to instruct the Nicaragua Canal Company and excite its emulation.



Some mention should be made of the Panama Canal. About the time the writer's former article appeared in the FORUM, M. de Lesseps had by a partially successful loan increased his company's debt to about three hundred and sixty millions of dollars. Becoming again short of funds, he obtained last spring from the *Corps Législatif* authority to issue a lottery loan. It was thought by some that the reputed fondness of the French people for lotteries would overcome the bad name which some years of failure had given to the Panama project. Such was not the case. Their suspicions were at last aroused, and the lottery loan has proved a failure. About sixty millions of dollars in bonds were sold, and with all discounts deducted, a sum of between thirty and forty millions was realized. It is believed that after paying debts there will be enough left to pay one year's interest on the whole loan, and to make such outlay on the Isthmus as will keep the work from going backward, but will not advance it. The company's obligations to-day amount to about 420 millions of dollars, and the annual interest and fixed charges to about 22 millions. M. de Lesseps has recently adopted the idea of a lock canal, claiming, however, that it is only a temporary expedient, and that he will somehow dredge it down to sea level while ships are using it. No doubt exists that, for the first few years of the work, M. de Lesseps sincerely believed that the Canal would be built. But as time goes on, with unvarying failures, it discredits his intelligence to suppose that he any longer expects success. It seems probable that he will now devote himself to the task of placing upon the shoulders of the French government the heavy load of debt incurred by the company, and leave to it the problem of paying at least some little interest to the unfortunate holders of the company's obligations. However this may be, we cannot withhold our admiration for the energy and dauntless spirit of this gallant old gentleman. His vigor and daring, though sadly misdirected, have constituted a substantial force in shaping events, and will procure for him a great though sad prominence in the history of France during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The general effect upon commerce would be approximately the same whether the Canal had been opened at Panama, or, as



now seems determined, at Nicaragua, but with one exception. If the Panama route had been possible, it would have made impracticable the general use of sailing ships, on account of the windless area which extends into the Pacific from the vicinity of Panama Bay, resembling in some degree those vexatious calms at Suez which have embarrassed navigation in the Red Sea in all ages. There will doubtless be much encouragement for steamers upon the completion of the Nicaragua Canal, but this will be caused by the increase of general traffic, not by any disadvantages for sailing ships. The position of Nicaragua, in the heart of the Northeast trade winds, offers especial convenience to all sailing craft, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, and though the increase in steam tonnage may be greater than that of sail tonnage, there will quite surely be some increase in the latter. A study of the maps and of the various conditions which govern sea freighting will indicate the probable effects upon steam and sail freights *via* Nicaragua. Between New Orleans and Peru the trade will be by steamer; between New Orleans and Mazatlan, on the west coast of Mexico, the same conditions apply. Taking greater distances, say between Brunswick, Georgia, and Santa Monica, California, which promise to be the principal ports of important sections, we may expect the trade to be divided, though perhaps not equally, between sail and steam vessels. Looking further north, on both sides of the continent, it seems quite likely that, for a time at least, sailing ships will carry half the freights between New York and Newport News on the Atlantic, and San Francisco and Portland on the Pacific, while all the ship yards of the Atlantic coast will probably have their ship timber brought to them by sailing craft from the Alaskan and Columbian forest belts, whose inexhaustible supplies of valuable woods closely border the coasts and inlets of the North Pacific. We must think, also, of that large traffic which will pass through the Canal, independent of this continent, between Spain and Manila, France and Tonquin, England and New Zealand, and Holland and part of the East India Colonies. The finer and quicker freights of this trade will move by steam through the Suez Canal, but the heavy and slow freights will be largely by sail through the Nicaragua Canal and across the Pacific; and this will be insured



not by the distances saved but by the circumstances of winds, currents, and weather, which so signally favor the route by way of Nicaragua. Vessels from European ports have but a short distance to sail before entering the belt of Northeast trade winds in the vicinity of Madeira. Then shaping their course to the westward, they carry with them the most favorable winds and perfect weather across the Atlantic, through the West Indies and Caribbean Sea, and into the eastern entrance of the Canal. Again, when issuing from the Nicaragua Canal into the Pacific, the same conditions will accompany them to within a short distance of the Chinese coast and the East Indies, or to the vicinity of Australia and New Zealand, with the slight delay of crossing the narrow Equatorial belt of calms and variable winds known to the sailors as "the Doldrums."

The return voyages from China and Japan across the Pacific can secure favorable winds from the west by following the great circle routes, which, while not increasing the distances, will carry ships into the higher latitudes where westerly winds prevail. From Australia and New Zealand vessels could return by sailing to the eastward with the westerly winds of the South Temperate Zone, until they should arrive at a point from which the southeast trade winds would bear them to the vicinity of the Canal entrance. The distance and the favorable winds from Australia and New Zealand to Europe by way of Cape Horn are, however, so nearly equal to the Nicaragua route that return voyages will frequently be made on that line; the dangers and expense of wear and tear of a voyage by Cape Horn being considered balanced, perhaps, by the Canal tolls through Nicaragua. And although tramp steamers will be much used, the large traffic by means of sailing ships between Europe and the western shores of the North and South Pacific will continue and increase after the Canal is completed.

The details of the commercial changes resulting from the Canal need not be presented here, but without considering any of the trade which the completion of this Canal would bring into existence, there would be in 1894, at the opening of the Canal, a shipping of between six and seven millions of tons annually ready and anxious to use the Canal, and paying in tolls a gross sum of over \$16,000,000. Allowing generously for maintenance and



repairs, there would be a net annual revenue of \$15,000,000. It is needless to discuss the vast gains destined to result from the growth of trade fostered by the existence of such a canal. A prominent member of President Cleveland's Cabinet has said:

"The profits which can now be exactly calculated of the Nicaragua Canal are very large, and it is unwise to consider the additional gains which must come from the rapid increase of its business, for to those who have not studied the question, these gains would seem fabulous."

The mind dwells with interest upon the various problems which confront us, now that the Canal is an assured fact—questions auxiliary and collateral, but whose importance grows as we approach them, and which may in time overshadow the Canal itself. The possible changes are worthy of deep study. Commercial centers have in the historic period moved from point to point, with a certain regularity and with a constant regard for geographical position. Constantinople was the great *entrepot* for a time. Later, Venice centered in herself the exchange of the commodities of the East and West, and held it with imperial grasp until the scepter passed to Genoa. Still later, passing further to the westward, it halted for a time about Cadiz and Lisbon, and thence, after a short delay in the Netherlands, it moved from Amsterdam and Antwerp to London. Here the heart and center of trade has long remained, as is natural, for its next leap to the westward must be across 3000 miles of ocean, and to a new nation. For this, much preparation is needed, and when that is completed, there is still needed the immediate cause for the change. This preparation has long been going on, and no one will deny that New York is now ready, when the change shall come, to assume the position of a world's *entrepot*. The immediate cause will be provided by the opening of the Nicaragua Ship Canal. But not alone will a great change be thus effected and a long leap of the world's center of trade, but a phenomenon new in history will be witnessed, whose far-reaching results can only be vaguely foretold. The currents of trade will be reversed in their direction. Hitherto from the dawn of history the products of Asia have moved westward, and European products have gone eastward in return. Some slight indications of change are to be noticed lately in the movement of a few commodities from China eastward



across the Pacific, America, and the Atlantic, to Europe; but a complete reversal of circulation through all the veins and arteries of commerce will be established by the opening of the Canal. There is much food for thought in this fact, and he would be a wise man who could foretell the many important results which will flow from this unprecedented and singular occurrence.

Who shall grasp this great opportunity? What group of capitalists, what nation or race, shall absorb the profits of this vast increase of trade, the advantages of these great physical changes in the position of trade centers and in the direction of trade currents? Shall the sagacious Germans, already intrenched upon the shores and islands of the Pacific, seize and hold this power? Or shall a second East India Company grow up in London and Liverpool, with another center in Australia and New Zealand, controlling the wide trade of the Pacific and pouring its gains into the already swelling money bags of the merchants of England? Or is there at last a sufficient foundation for commercial greatness to build upon in this country? Have we among our financiers, whose keenness of vision and business ability is unexcelled, a few men of such broad and comprehensive grasp of mind as to realize how simple is the problem of drawing to themselves and to their nation these sure and steady currents of commercial supremacy? Practically, New Orleans will be a closer neighbor to Ecuador than to New England; New York will be nearer to the Pacific than to Europe. If these significant facts do not now impress our merchants, the near approach of the Canal's completion must soon awaken them.

The political aspects of the matter may be summed up, for the present, by saying that the completion of the Canal and the daily passage through it of our great coastwise shipping, must in the nature of things extend our interests and influence to the southward, even to the Canal itself. There will come upon us, with the responsibility of our own interests, some duties with reference to those nations of Central America whose military establishments are too limited to enable them properly to defend themselves. Upon the United States must undoubtedly fall the duty of sustaining their autonomy and defending them from oppression. This result must come, but until it does come we



have only to insist that the Canal shall be neutral, and that all nations shall be welcome to it. Such being the case, the military and naval view of the situation becomes less important. Occasion for armed intervention could arise only in the event of our being called upon by Nicaragua and Costa Rica to guarantee and defend their neutrality and that of the Canal. Then, indeed, the impregnable strength of the Canal line with its great interior sea shows out in bold relief. But, as was said in the article, "The Control of the Pacific,"

"It is the lake that gives to this route a political and international importance unique and significant. The nation that controls this canal under terms of amity with Nicaragua will here find rest and refreshment for its fleets. Here may the delays of warlike complications, so injurious in seawater to the iron-hulled frigates of our time, so fatal to their speed, be safely endured without loss of efficiency; the crews growing healthier, the ships more clean-limbed and speedier, in this great fresh-water sea. Hence may issue squadrons in the height of vigor and discipline, striking rapid and effective blows in both oceans, and returning to refit in this sheltered stronghold, and to draw from it nourishment and fresh strength for a renewal of hostilities. There cannot be imagined a more potent factor in deciding threatened difficulties, or in securing an honorable peace with a powerful enemy, than the presence in this healthy and capacious water-fortress of a strong fleet, prepared, at a moment's notice, to issue fully equipped from either entrance for instant service in the Atlantic or Pacific."

We hope, and may with reason expect, that this strategic advantage will not have to be utilized in the presence of warlike demonstrations. No such strong factor, making for peace, has ever been known, as the existence of this commercial highway between the oceans. Nor will the world for a long time feel again an influence so powerful as the Canal in bringing about that unity of nations and brotherhood of races which fill the mind of the philosopher and the dream of the poet.

H. C. TAYLOR.







# The Forum.

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## COUNT TOLSTOI'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

IN a previous article on Count Tolstoi I expressed my admiration for the sincerity which he has proved by absolutely conforming his life to the convictions at which he has arrived. He claims to have gained perfect peace and happiness from his sudden discovery of the true meaning of Christ's teaching. Whereas he once hated life and dreaded death, he now enjoys a complete serenity and a tranquil empire over himself. Whereas life once appeared to him appalling in its emptiness, and he experienced the thrice-doubled "vanity" of the Preacher, he now lives with "happy yesterdays and confident to-morrows." Whereas wealth and fame and rank and comfort once seemed to him to slip into ashes at a touch, like the body of an exhumed king, he now finds contentment, hope, health, and blessedness in the life of a peasant and the toil of a shoemaker.

I have no doubt that in all this he does not deceive himself. In all sincerity and in all self-sacrifice there lies a potent alchemy, and the extent to which true happiness depends on external surroundings is inappreciable in comparison with what it gains from those elements of contentment and charity which have more power than aught beside to make our thoughts

"Pleasant as roses in the thickets blown,  
And pure as dew bathing their crimson leaves."

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He who lives up to an unselfish ideal will find with certainty that it yields him a delight which neither the world, the flesh, nor the devil can pretend to bestow. Tolstoi can doubtless say from his heart to him whom he has chosen literally to obey:

*“Longtemps j’errai dans les sentiers du doute,  
Le vide au cœur et la mort avant moi,  
Lorsque tu vins resplendir sur ma route:  
Je suis à toi, toujours à toi.”*

But it no more follows that the same ideal should be adopted by all mankind than it follows that the joy inspired by a delusion is an argument in favor of accepting the delusion. A hermit, a trappist, a stylite may be supremely happy, and yet the theory on which his life is based may be radically false. For indeed Christ never fails those who honestly try to take him at his word, even if their interpretation of his teaching be intellectually untenable. The blessing earned by the sincerity outweighs the consequences of the error.

Now Count Tolstoi, rightly holding that the teaching of Christ should be received with supreme obedience, thinks that the meaning of that teaching lies upon the surface, and yet that he alone has discovered the meaning. He does not desire to comment upon it; his one wish is that all comments should be forbidden. He thinks that the ignorant are in a better position to understand it than the learned, since it was originally addressed to men of simple minds, and is still intended for the vast multitude to whom the glosses of exegetes are never accessible. Believing that the essence of Christ's teaching is love, humility, self-abnegation, the returning of good for evil, it seems to him that the Church has made these virtues only accessory and secondary. The Church, he says, has approved of religious persecution, capital punishment, and wars of intolerance, thus sanctioning what Christ denounced, while at the same time she puts in a false perspective that which he approved. Repudiating the obvious, she has dwelt on the obscure. Retrenching the spiritual, she has expanded the ecclesiastical. Subjecting the Sermon on the Mount to theological explanations, she has declared it to be the presentation of an impossible ideal, whereas it is perfectly within the reach of all who will accept it in a childlike spirit. The in-



most essence of all Christ's teaching seems to him to lie in literal obedience to the command, "Resist not evil," whereas the Church has sanctioned resistance to evil in every form. But he holds that Christ's words admit of no limitations or exceptions. Christ said, "Resist not evil"; therefore, according to Count Tolstoi, all war is wrong. Christ said, "Judge not"; therefore all judicial tribunals are unchristian. Christ said, "Swear not at all"; therefore all oaths are forbidden. Christ forbade us to be angry with our brother, and the Church, in the fifth century, interpolated into the text the word *εἰς τι*, "without cause," thereby stultifying the precept.\* Christ rejected divorce, and the Church, by a mis-translation of his words, permits divorce "for the cause of fornication."

Such are the views of the famous author of "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina," as set forth in his work, "My Religion"; and he is not unnaturally astonished to find that, after nineteen centuries of Christianity, it has been left to him to discover, for the first time, what Christ really meant. It seems to him that all the world is like a man in a snow-storm pressing forward to an imaginary fire, whereas *he* has resolutely pushed through the snow to the true pathway; or again, the world is like the frantic crowd in the flaming circus of Berditchef, pressing with fatal force against a door which opens only inward. A voice is heard from the midst of the crowd: "Draw back from the door that it may be opened; the more you lean against it the less chance will there be for your being saved." Tolstoi has heard that voice, and tries to make others hear it too; for Christ "came to cast fire on the earth," and it has been burning for eighteen centuries. Nor does he suffer any misgivings to arise from the fact that the Church interprets Christ's mandates otherwise; for he thinks that the Church has been mistaken too frequently to be able to lay any claim to infallibility. The Church once defended slavery; the people abolished it, and they will equally abolish (so he thinks) popes, emperors, property, the state, in conformity with the doctrines of Christ. The Church, he says, has nothing left her but

\* Critically this may be quite correct, for some of the most ancient uncial MSS. omit *εἰς τι*. It is not found in the Sinaitic and the Vatican MSS., but is in the Codex Ephraemi and the Codex Bezae.



the valueless paraphernalia of temples, images, gold-embroidered banners, and—words. With her metaphysical explanations she has hidden the light of Christ's doctrine under her vestments, and has been scorched by it. She has done any work she ever had to do, and is atrophied. Therefore mankind has repudiated her, and everything that is alive in the world of Europe has detached itself from her. All churches, he says, are like sentries carefully keeping guard over a prisoner who has long escaped them. He expressly compares himself to Jonah preaching to the Nineveh of a disregardful world.

I have thus expressed Count Tolstoi's views as much as possible in his own language, that they might be seen in their naked extravagance. It will be observed that, in order to maintain his own absolute literalism, Count Tolstoi is obliged to throw over the whole Old Testament, and to reject every interpretation of Christ's sayings which might be gathered from the New Testament; expressly repudiating, for instance, any views derivable from St. Paul. Further, he cuts himself loose at one stroke from the opinions of the universal church, no less than from the common sense and prolonged experience of human society. Christ, according to him, came to revolutionize human society to its very foundations. And yet, even if we confine ourselves to the gospels, we see that Christ always recognized the Old Testament as a sacred book, that he appointed his apostles to continue his work, and that he paid respect to the existing institutions and framework of the commonwealth. His apostles stood nearest to himself. He poured forth his spirit upon them, and they were in a far better position than we can be to understand the real significance of what he said. And it is certain that they accepted the general teaching of their Divine Master in the same sense as ourselves, that is, with those obvious limitations assigned to it by the laws of language no less than by the reason and conscience of mankind. Christ came to found a universal church, and though the Church is not infallible, yet her absolute and unchanging opinion comes with immeasurable weight, and by the voice of all her fathers, teachers, and saints she has always refused to interpret according to the crude and bare letter those injunctions which she believes to have been intended only in the



spirit. She cannot accept interpretations which would be injurious instead of beneficent to the welfare of mankind. She has clearly seen that opinions like those of Tolstoi—with which she has indeed been familiar from the first—would render all human institutions impossible. They would reduce life to that dead and dreary plain “in which every molehill is a mountain, and every thistle a forest tree.” They would cut away the most ordinary and innocent motives of human endeavor. They would render science and art impossible. They practically fling aside the Bible, condemn humanity, and obliterate the Church.

Nor are these opinions of Count Tolstoi in the least degree novel. They were the views of the Ebionites even in the first century. They lay at the base of the life of many hermits whose lives were worse than useless to the world; and of some monastic orders, which, as external institutions, proved to be deadly failures. None have complained more loudly and pathetically than monks and hermits themselves that their particular form of self-sacrifice was in itself valueless, and increased rather than extinguished their temptations. The transient and disastrous attempt at communism in the first days of the church of Jerusalem was always partial, was very early abandoned, and perhaps had its share in plunging that church into a misery and pauperism deeper than prevailed in any other Christian community. The command, “Go and sell all that thou hast,” was never meant to be a universal statute. It was addressed exclusively to the young ruler then, and since then it has come as a special message to individual souls. It was not addressed then to Nicodemus, or Josephus of Arimathea, or the well-to-do family at Bethany, or Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward. Even our Lord and his apostles were not dependent on alms like the mendicant orders of the middle ages. On the contrary, they themselves had their own little store, and gave from it freely to those who were poorer than themselves. Full garners and earthly prosperity are not indeed God's best or highest blessings, but they are reckoned as blessings both in the Old Testament and the New.

But abandoning all appeal to history, experience, or authority, we will narrow ourselves to the sole consideration of what Christ actually meant, forming our conclusions as to his meaning from



the ordinary principles of language, and from his own objects and example. There was no wiser rule in the vast accumulations of Rabbinic exegesis than that which said, "The law speaks in the tongue of the sons of men." In other words, the Scriptures were written in human language, and all human language must be interpreted with reference to its idioms, limitations, and recognized methods, as well as in its relation to those who use it, and those whom they address, and the purposes which they have in view. Even language which at first sight seems to be perfectly clear, is found to be susceptible of the greatest ambiguities. Nothing is more common than for Christians to tell other Christians who differ from them that they are rejecting the plain words of Christ; forgetting that to their opponents the "plain words of Christ" appear to have an entirely different significance. Hundreds of instances might be quoted in which, by the confession of all Christians alike, the superficial meaning of Scripture is very far from being its real meaning. It is a mark of ignorance and provincialism when a controversialist acts according to the sarcastic advice of Kant: "Go to your Bible—but mind you find there exactly what we find; for if you do not, you are wrong." The evidence of Scripture must be tested by reason, no less than the evidence of the senses. The sun does not go round the world, though it appears to do so, and Scripture in many cases does not signify that which its words seem literally to mean. In the world of Scripture, as in the world of nature, we may be misled by appearances into erroneous conclusions; not because the phenomena are, in either case, intended to mislead, but because, in both spheres, they are left to the interpretation of the trained intellect.

Language is at the very best but an asymptote to thought; it resembles that mathematical line which perpetually approaches to the circumference of a circle but by its very nature can never absolutely touch it. But if this be the case with all language, even that of our most lucid contemporaries, how far more is this the case with language used two thousand years ago—language which we know only by reports transmitted to us in dialects long since dead; language which, if we are not on our guard, may come to us steeped in a thousand alien connotations; language which was necessarily addressed to living hearers in those literary



forms with which alone they were familiar. The Son of God took our nature upon him, but since a man cannot be an "abstract man," it was part of his necessary incarnation that he should come in a certain age, a certain land, a certain nationality; and it was equally inevitable that he should in the first instance address himself to his actual hearers, so that He spake "*ut Judæus, ad Judæos, apud Judæos.*" To fling away the aid of Hebrew idioms and methods of statement in interpreting his words is as absurd as it is to fling away the aid of reason and common sense.

We see then at once that our Lord, like the great Hebrew prophets, and like his own forerunner, constantly used the language of principles and not of details. He stated truths in all their eternal abstract validity, and in all that breadth which made them arrest the imagination and master the conscience of mankind. The very fact that, in their bare literal sense, many of his utterances would sound like divine paradoxes, helped men to see their essential force and inmost meaning. It is only timid, feeble, and self-interested teachers who "steer through the channel of no-meaning between the Scylla and Charybdis of 'yes' and 'no'"; and who "can never state the most obvious proposition without carefully protecting themselves from being supposed to exclude the contradictory." Such was not the method of Christ. His method was that of the Ten Commandments. He laid down the broad, eternal rules, but left to men's ordinary reason the necessary exceptions. God said, "Thou shalt not kill," without interpolating the exception repeatedly enforced in the very same legislation, that malefactors were to be put to death. He said, "Thou shalt keep my Sabbaths," without its being needful to append the exception that Sabbath rules were to be disregarded by ministering priests, and that "there was no sabbatism in the Temple."

It was so with Christ's commandments. For instance, he said, "Give to him that asketh thee." His meaning was perfectly clear. He meant to inculcate the universal duty of charity, of quick generosity, of ready almsgiving. But to what monstrous absurdities do we reduce this divine and lovely precept when we take it literally! Is no request then to be denied? Are we to give to a child or a fool? Are we to give to an oppressor to help



him in hurting the innocent? Are we to give to a drunkard who will at once use our gift to reduce himself to the condition of a beast? Are we, on pretense of this precept, to give to greedy, vicious, and worthless beggars in the streets, and so keep open the plague-sore of a ruinous mendicancy? Is it not a most obvious refutation of that bare literal sense which Christ never intended, if we say that we must give only when by so doing we can further the general good? Christ came to do good; he never intended us to use his actual words as an instrument of doing and perpetuating harm.

Again Christ said, "Ask and ye shall receive." Was there ever any Christian who failed to see that the divine promise, so infinitely true in the spirit, is in the letter falsified by all experience? It was intended as a principle and was never meant to be understood in the letter. No Christian asks for any earthly blessing, however intensely he may desire it, without the two expressed or mental reservations, "if it be good for me," "if it be thy will." Paul prayed thrice that the "stake in the flesh" might be removed from him, and it was not removed, though something else and something better was granted him. Our Lord himself prayed that if it were his Father's will the cup might pass from him. It did not pass, but there appeared an angel from heaven strengthening him.

Our Lord said: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and it shall obey you." There have been some who took this also literally, though such a prayer, as regards an actual mountain, would be a senseless and immoral prayer. Poor John Bunyan, in the early struggles and agonies of his conversion, took it so far literally that he considered it to confer, at any rate, some power of working miracles. He says:

"One day as I was between Elston and Bedford, the temptation was hot upon me to try if I had faith by doing some miracle. I must say to the puddles that were in the horse-pads, 'be dry,' and truly at one time I was agoing to say so indeed. But just as I was about to speak, the thought came into my mind, 'Go under yon hedge first and pray that God would make you able.' But when I had concluded to pray, this came hot upon me, that if I prayed, and came again, and tried to do it, and yet did nothing notwithstanding, then be sure I had no faith, but was a castaway and lost."



Was there no one to tell Bunyan that Christ never dreamed of promising to all who had "faith" a power which might be so awfully abused as that of working literal miracles; and that none of his hearers would so have understood him? "To root up mountains" was a common Jewish phrase for the removal of difficulties, and a great rabbi who solved hard knots of exegesis was called a "rooter-up of mountains." Bunyan's self-torture sprang simply from his inevitable ignorance of the truth that the Bible, being a book in human language, must be interpreted on the same general principles on which all books and all human language must be interpreted. He suffered from the literal misinterpretation of a Hebrew metaphor.

Other instances might be given, but Count Tolstoi will surely admit that in these matters Christ is his own best interpreter. Thus in the Sermon on the Mount, immediately after the words, "Resist not evil," which seem to Count Tolstoi to contain the essence of all Christianity, Christ added, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also." Yet so little did he mean the injunction to be taken literally, when he himself was smitten on the cheek he remonstrated with the offender.\* What he meant was the duty of suppressing resentment—a divine principle enforced by an illustrative detail, which serves as a picture to keep it fresh in the memory of the world.

We may now directly test Tolstoi's special conclusions, and first his palmary rule, "Resist not evil." We maintain that in not regarding this as a precept of universal, literal, and exceptionless application, the Church has not been inventing glosses whereby to avoid a difficult duty, but has on the contrary been giving to Christ's rule the exact meaning which he intended. For in the present state of the world resistance to evil in some forms is a primary duty. If Tolstoi attaches no importance to the wielding of the sword of Michael from the armory of God, and to the Lamb going forth to war, he need not look beyond the limits of the Gospels. Christ's whole ministry was a resistance to evil. He resisted evil with words when he "blighted the Scribes and Pharisees with the flash of a terrible invective"; he resisted it in deeds when he expelled with a scourge of small

\* John xviii. 23.



cards the profaners of the Temple; and he resisted it by plain counsel when he said, "He that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one." It is not in the least the result of cowardice, or of compromise with the world (as Count Tolstoi thinks), that the Church sanctions the resistance to evil in the form of war and of civil justice. It is on the contrary the result of her belief that cleaving to the letter would be a violation of the spirit of Christ's command. Yearly the wretched *fellahîn* of Palestine sow their corn, and yearly the bolder roving Bedawîn reap it. If resistance were possible to them their helplessness would be pusillanimity, not virtue. If war were abjured, every passive nation would speedily be reduced to the condition of the *fellahîn*. The meaning cannot be, as St. Augustine taught us fourteen centuries ago, that destroyers are to trample the world under their feet and the righteous are not to stay them. The Roman dramatist said, "*Homo homini lupus.*" Non-resistance to evil on the part of nations, and by aid of the civil power, would be to give the victory to the mere wolfishness of unregenerate man.

Again, because Christ says, "Swear not at all," Tolstoi holds the Church to be criminal and half-hearted for sanctioning civil oaths. Yet not to mention how often in the Old Testament and in the New God is represented as binding his promise by an oath,\* and not to mention St. Paul's repeated appeals to God,† Christ himself, when adjured by an oath, at once accepted the solemnity of the appeal.‡ The oaths which he forbids are the deceitful and casuistical ones which he has just been condemning; and, while he banishes from every region of life such vain and irreverent adjurations because they "come of evil," there is nothing in his words which forbids the deeply religious act of appealing, for the eliciting of truth and for purposes of justice and righteousness, to the presence and witness of God. He did not say that everything beyond "yea" and "nay" is evil, but only that "it cometh of evil." And so, assuredly, it does, for if falsity were an unknown phenomenon all oaths would be needless. Because it is a too common phenomenon, we call on God, on due and solemn occasions, to attest our

\* Gen. xxii. 16; Num. xiv. 28; Ps. cix. 4.

† Rom. i. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 31; 2 Cor. i. 23; Gal. i. 20.

‡ Matt. xxvi. 64.



sense of his presence as a witness of our words. That which would be needless in a restored Paradise becomes necessary and right in a fallen world.

Again, Tolstoi regards all anger as disloyalty to Christ, and will not admit that there can ever be just cause for it. In so doing he takes a very shallow and one-sided view of human nature, in which the irascible element (τὸ θυμοειδὲς) may, as Plato saw, play a most noble and necessary part. A character in which is left none of the element of burning moral indignation, a character which is not hard as a diamond against vileness and wrong, is a tame and base character. Anger may be a pre-eminently holy passion, and, since Count Tolstoi seems only to care for arguments from the gospels, we must remind him that not only does a holy anger flame through all Christ's awful denunciations of the Pharisees, but "anger" is directly attributed to him by St. Mark \* as well as by St. John.† Christ himself has most clearly saved us from being misled into foolishnesses by the bare letter. When he forbade us to say "*Racha*" or "Thou fool," he was not proscribing mere forms of speech—a prohibition which would be of little value—but was warning us against the sinful spirit of rage and disdain. And therefore he himself used the expression "Oh fools," as the Lord's brother, St. James, uses the word *Racha*,‡ as though expressly to show that the sin is not in the words themselves, but in the vile malignity with which they may be uttered. "Be ye angry," says St. Paul most rightly, "and sin not."§ "*Dilige*," says St. Augustine, "*et fac quod voles*."

And how idle, surely, to regard all law-tribunals as anti-Christian, because of the words, "Judge not." Here too Christ simply laid down the broad general principle that all needless, all unmerciful judgments are sinful. How trivial it is to take the words literally, when only a few verses further on he distinctly bids us to exercise our judgments, though gently and fairly and truly, respecting all men who urge their claims upon us.¶ His meaning of course was the same as that which he lays down elsewhere: "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment."■ Because Christ forbade malice and censori-

\* Mark. iii. 5.

† James ii. 20; ὁ ἀνθρώπος κενός.

‡ Matt. vii. 15-20.

† "The wrath of the Lamb."

§ Eph. iv. 26.

¶ John vii.



ousness, which are eternally evil, is it not a fatal mistake to make him disparage the legal justice which is eternally good?

After all that we have said, it is perhaps needless to follow Count Tolstoi's system any further, or to demonstrate that it is baseless. And let no one yield to the misgiving that the Church is liable to Tolstoi's charge of merely explaining away the Sermon on the Mount and reducing it to commonplace. She claims merely to be explaining it by the limitations which Christ himself intended and implied. His commands are in fact destroyed when they are taken in the letter and not in the spirit; for taken in the letter they would often be harmful, taken in their intended spirit they are divinely beneficent. Taken in the letter they would simply involve certain external actions and abstinences, which might often prove of deadly injury both to individuals and nations. Taken in the spirit they inculcate the perfect spirit of meekness, righteousness, and truth. The literal interpretation, as St. Augustine saw, must not be painfully adhered to; not because it is too good for human practice, not because it inculcates too difficult, too superfine, too unpractical a morality, but for the very different reason that Christ never meant it to be adhered to in the letter. To use the words of Archbishop Trench:

"The commands are to stand fast evermore in all their breadth and fullness; their only limitation is this, that love and the spirit of God are in each case to be their interpreters, to apply them to the emergent necessity. Where this love and this spirit are wanting, the precept *must* be interpreted falsely; if in the letter it will be in a loveless form, or if that be forsaken, then there will be a sinning against the letter and the spirit alike."

*Summum jus, summa injuria.* The true, inmost spirit of Christianity is not to be attained by forcing the phrases of its charter into a *reductio ad absurdum*. We are meant to live in the station in which God places us or to which he calls us. He did not mean us all to be penniless monks or nuns, as St. Hugo of Avallon said, but to be good Christian men and women. The possession of property is therefore perfectly lawful, and the only thing which is unlawful is the wrong use of it. False swearing and blasphemy are forbidden, but the solemn oath of a Christian man before a court of justice is sanctioned by Christ's own example. Anger, on just cause and within righteous limits, is per-



fectly permissible; it is only baseless, cruel, rash, implacable anger which is eternally to be condemned. Resistance to evil is not only pardonable, but it becomes a positive duty when non-resistance would be nothing but a curse to the offender, to society, and to the world. War is lawful, and may be supremely righteous.

“Peace, peace, peace with the vain and silly song  
That we do no ill ourselves when we wink at others' wrong;  
That to turn the second cheek is *the* lesson of the cross,  
To be learnt by calculation of the profit and the loss.  
Go home, you idle teachers, you miserable creatures,  
The cannons are God's preachers when the time is ripe for war!”

It is only ambitious, aggressive, cruel, unjust war that is forbidden. Will any one aver that there was no nobleness, no fine moral enthusiasm, no inspiring force of a righteous motive in the hearts of the Northern soldiers who marched to war singing,

“Christ has died to make men happy,  
We will die to make them free”?

And yet, while we firmly maintain these views, we may still feel that we are all so apt to fall short of the true spiritual meaning of the Sermon on the Mount, that, in an age like this—an age of luxury, of compromise, of intense selfishness, of excess and material profusion—we may be grateful to a man like Tolstoi, and to every sincere man who, even though he be intellectually mistaken, yet, deeming himself called upon to obey Christ's precepts even in the letter, accepts each command as he holds it to be intended, and does not make the great refusal. He shall receive a blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation. Never of him shall it be said by any wanderer to the regions of the condemned:

“*Guardai e vidi l'ombra di colui  
Che fece per villate il gran rifiuto.*

F. W. FARRAR.



## THE PRICE OF LIFE.

IN my last essay I endeavored to present the conditions of life as they must of necessity appear to him or her who earns little more than enough, or barely enough, to support material existence. In those which preceded it I endeavored to define the limit within which life must be sustained, if sustained at all, under the present conditions of production and distribution. The series would be incomplete if in this paper the figures which define the limit were not again presented and worked out more fully and conclusively than they have been elsewhere. In the subsequent computations I shall omit small fractions and shall deal with round figures only.

In 1880 the average family group consisted of five persons; the working group consisted of a fraction under three persons, one of whom sustained two others. The time had not then come, and has not yet come, when the work of women and children for gain or money payment could or can be spared; it will be many long years before the head of every family of five persons can produce enough, or can procure enough by his own exertions, for the support, in comfort and welfare, of four persons dependent upon him. This would be true if we were to consume for mere subsistence everything that we produce. If the total product were divided evenly and consumed, there would not be enough to raise the general level much above what it now is, and the next generation would then suffer want because we had eaten up or worn out that part of the product which ought to have been saved in the form of capital.

In all the computations which existing data enable me to make, I have been obliged to stretch a point and to assume a maximum rather than a minimum estimate of the gross value of the product of the nation, in order to find six hundred dollars' worth of food, fuel, shelter, and clothing as the average product of each person occupied for gain, by which product, whatever it may be, three persons must be subsisted, housed, and clothed.



This is the gross product. Unless ten per cent. of the six hundred dollars' worth be set aside by some one, whether by rich or by poor matters not, to be added to the capital of the nation, the product of future years will be diminished rather than increased, and want will then ensue rather than welfare.

Again, a part of this product must be diverted by taxation to meet the necessary expenditures of the country and of the several States, cities, and towns. The taxes required for cities and towns are assessed upon property in a great measure, nevertheless they must come out of the gross product of the nation; they represent work of some sort, and those who do the work, of whatever kind, contribute to these taxes. A tax cannot be made to stay where it is put; it is distributed no matter where it may be first collected.

All profits, all taxes, all shares of the product represent work of some kind, whether it be mental or mechanical or manual. It may be work in which capital or machinery has saved labor the greater part of the effort, or it may be work in which manual labor does the most and machinery the least. If the capitalist cannot demonstrate his right to the share which falls to him by proving that in the direction, control, and use of the capital which he owns he adds to the gross product more than he takes away for his own consumption and for that of those who depend upon him, then he must hold his capital only by force rather than by recognized service. If taxes cannot be justified in their expenditure, they cannot be justified in their collection.

If the possession of property does not rest upon service rather than upon force, on what pretense can any one set up the right to property? The word "right" cannot cover wrong. Can he who lives on others' work, or who takes from the product even a small part without adding by his own service or that of his capital more than he takes from it, justify his existence or set up a right to the property that he misuses, no matter how legal may be his title?

In 1880, State, city, and town taxes came close upon twenty dollars per head of all who were at work—about six dollars per head of the population. Assuming that sixty dollars' worth of the product, on the average, of each person occupied in gainful work



must be set aside to be added to capital by some one, and twenty dollars' worth must be set aside to sustain States, cities, and towns, in order that society may continue to exist—eighty dollars worth in all out of each six hundred dollars' worth—we then find a net income, on the average, to each working man or woman who is not in the public service or sustained by the taxes, of five hundred and twenty dollars a year; or rather, what five hundred and twenty dollars a year will buy for their own consumption. Computing three hundred working days in the year, this gross sum of \$600 yields a fraction less than one dollar and three-quarters per day—a little less than twelve dollars per week, or fifty dollars per month—and if out of this sum, or of what this sum will buy, after setting aside ten per cent. for the necessary addition to capital and the local taxes, three persons must be subsisted, sheltered, and clothed three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, the measure of the average comfort and welfare is only what forty cents a day will buy and no more. But even this narrow measure of subsistence is again subject to the indirect tax of the nation. The national revenues being chiefly collected by taxing articles of common or necessary use, are paid in proportion to consumption rather than in proportion to income or ability. In 1880 and since then, the national revenue has come to six or seven dollars per capita each year, varying somewhat; or from eighteen to twenty dollars a year upon the earnings of each person occupied for gain; leaving a net revenue of five hundred dollars a year, or only what less than forty cents per day will buy per capita for personal consumption. How much food, fuel, clothing, and shelter can the reader buy for forty cents a day? Would it not be well to answer this question before what may be miscalled “the claims of labor” are wholly ignored?

There is, of course, room for error in this computation; but an error of five cents a day per person now comes to more than eleven hundred million dollars a year, and one may fairly claim that such a gross error could hardly be made by a careful observer or compiler of statistics. In any event I think it may be assumed that our annual product at the present standard of production, when sorted and divided under present methods of distribution, and subject to no greater assessment than is necessary to maintain



the capital of the nation and to meet taxation even when reduced to the lowest possible limit, cannot yield more than fifty to fifty-five cents' worth of the necessities of life per day for the personal consumption of each man, woman, and child of the present population, after allowing for any possible error. It follows of necessity that by so much as some enjoy a larger portion than this must some others have less; yet this is the most productive country in the world in ratio to its population, and great multitudes are flocking to our shores to take part even in this measure of abundance.

Present population, about.....	61,500,000
Share of total product consumed for personal use, at 50 cents per day each.....	\$11,200,000,000
National and State taxes, about.....	700,000,000
Addition to capital, computed at ten per cent., about .....	1,300,000,000
Gross product .....	<u>\$13,200,000,000</u>

This would be about \$630 per head to one in three occupied for gain. In order to increase the average consumption by five cents' worth a day to each person, an additional product of the value of \$1,122,000,000 a year must be made; a market must be found in order that this product may be converted by exchange and distributed in terms of money. Yet we have heard more of over-production in recent years than of any other complaint! Would not under-consumption be a more suitable term?

Now let any reader or observer pass in review or attempt to compute the number of people about whose condition he himself is tolerably well-informed in the community in which he lives, and he will unquestionably find a greater number of men and women who are engaged in getting their own living (to say nothing of children) whose earnings are less than one dollar and three-quarters a day, than he will of those whose earnings are more. What is the aspect of life to this vast body, constituting a majority of the people of this country, who earn less than one dollar and three-quarters per day, and who support themselves and two others on such an income? When this question is brought clearly before the mind the true "labor question" begins to declare itself.

What are you going to do about it? Is it not a question which



demands the attention of rich and poor alike in a democratic country, where the power of legislation rests upon the votes of the majority? What do those to whom it matters little whether they spend twenty-five or fifty cents, or even a dollar a day, per capita, for the food only of themselves and their families, really know about the problem of life as it is presented to him or her whose food costs one-half the entire income or earnings, and who must find not only food but a dwelling place, clothing, and all the necessities of life out of what forty or fifty cents a day will buy at retail prices at the present time? What do people know about these conditions who never lacked sufficient clothing, and who possess more than one good room well-warmed for each member of their families, or perhaps two or three good houses for one family?

If the limit of all that is produced is what I have given, or whatever it may be, whether more or less, it is the source of all wages, earnings, profits, rents, interest, and taxes. There cannot be more than all there is to be distributed, hence it follows of necessity that by so much as some have more of the comforts and luxuries of life, must others have less. Modern society exists by exchange. Few persons take any part in building their own houses or in furnishing them; few do anything more than a small part of the work of making their own clothing; and aside from those who dwell upon farms, hardly any persons produce anything which they consume for food. There are only three methods of distribution yet invented. The first is by exchange; the second is by theft or fraud, sometimes within the forms of law; and the third is by taxation. These three ways take a variety of forms. How can the general welfare be improved except by increasing the product of labor and finding a market for it, or by doing away with every existing method of distribution which is not right or just?

There are certain ethical problems which may come into view to him who seeks to justify his own greater share in the comforts of life. One question which a man may put to himself might be, Does the occupation in which I am engaged add to the mass of products which are needed for general consumption more than is taken away by my own consumption or by those among whom I spend my earnings? Or even a deeper problem may



sometimes arise of an ethical nature: Does the work which each man performs come within the line of useful service? Does it add to the stock of useful products, or does it fall within the line of baneful service and add to the stock of harmful products? Is the demand for which this man provides the supply of a kind which adds to the comfort of the community as a whole, or is it one which tends toward want rather than welfare? By the answer to these questions each man may hereafter be judged in the court which supplements the treatment of economic questions by the study of ethics.

Before we can begin to answer these questions in a satisfactory manner, it is almost a matter of necessity to analyze the occupations of the people of this country as they now are. We are enabled to do this with great confidence in the accuracy of our results, because the same census agents who counted the numbers also asked what every one did for a living. Therefore, under the head of occupations, the people of this country who worked for gain were classified by their own statements under separate titles. The compilations of the census are made under four general titles, to wit:

Occupied in agriculture.....	7,670,493
“ “ professional and personal service .....	4,074,238
“ “ trade and transportation.....	1,810,256
“ “ manufactures, mechanic arts, and mining.	3,837,112
	<hr/> 17,392,099

Thus the proportion of the whole population occupied for gain was substantially one in three of the whole number. This method of sorting is not wholly satisfactory. The writer has therefore made a different compilation under seven titles, as follows:

How occupied.	No. in each 1000.	Computed total number.	
1. In mental work. . . .	40	696,000	{ Clergymen, 64,968; lawyers, 64,137; physicians and surgeons, 85,671; teachers and literary, 227,710; journalists, 12,308; scientists and engineers, 8,126; musicians, 30,477; officers of corporations, banks, railroads, insurance, etc., 202,423.



How occupied.	No. in each 1000.	Computed total number.	
2. Mental and manual.	60	1,044,000	{ Merchants and traders, 481,- 450; hotel keepers, 32,543; clerks, salesmen, commer- cial travelers, brokers, and all others engaged in the purchase and sale of goods, 521,898.
3. Automatic ma- chinery .....	100	1,740,000	{ Collective factory work: tex- tiles, printing, and bleach- ing, 500,000; metals and machinery, 300,000; cloth- ing, 450,000; boots, shoes, and hats, 210,000; all others 280,000.
4. Mechanical: hand and machine tools. }	107	1,861,800	{ Mechanical not collective: carpenters and other work- ers in wood, 500,000; black- smiths, 172,726; painters, 128,556; masons, 102,473; all others, 958,045.
5. Manual.....	131	2,279,400	{ Service: express, railroad, telegraph employes (not laborers), 300,000; domestic servants, 1,075,655; laun- dry, 122,000; waiters, 200,- 000; draymen, hackmen, etc., 180,000; all others, 391,345.
6. Horse and hand tools..... }	250	4,350,000	{ Farmers, herdsmen, stock- breeders, and the like.
7. Chiefly manual....	312	5,420,899	{ Laborers on farms, 3,323,876; laborers not specified, prob- ably in part on farms, 1,- 857,023; miners, 240,000.
	1000	17,392,899	

It requires but little experience or knowledge of the general conditions of men to determine that only a very small part of those listed under each of these titles are or can be men of wealth, or even in possession of such a considerable amount of property as to make their income derived from property the larger part of their annual resources. Moreover, if it be considered that there is a certain general average of income with respect to each class of occupations, one may reach a reasonably close estimate of the relative conditions or proportions of income of those who are listed under each title. For instance, under Title 2 it will be observed that more than half are in the position of the employed rather than of the employer—clerks, salesmen, etc.—who



seldom make large earnings. Under Title 3, those who work upon metals and machinery earn the highest wages. Those occupied in making boots, shoes, and hats probably come next. Skilled labor in the clothing trade is better paid or earns more than skilled labor in the textile factory, while common labor in the clothing trade, even when paid all that it is worth, secures very small earnings. Under Title 4—mechanics—all are substantially well-paid workmen, earning more than the average of those who work in the factories. As we come down in the list, the numbers relatively increase of those who spend nearly all that they earn in getting a living, of whom very few possess more property than a deposit in a savings bank. The farmers to a very large extent work harder than their hired men, and few become rich. Lastly, nearly one-third of the whole number listed could reply to the census taker only that they were laborers. Is this wholly creditable to our system?

If, then, very few come into the possession of any considerable property, while a larger number, but yet a small proportion of the whole, attain an average income of one thousand dollars a year, by far the greater proportion living of necessity on less than \$600 a year to each three persons, what can be done about it?

If from the earnings of every man gaining by his work more than \$1000 a year, the excess were taken and divided equally among those who earn less, the game would not be worth the candle, because the gain to those who received the difference would be but a trifle. The addition to the income of each person occupied for gain would probably not be equal to the price of a daily glass of beer. On the other hand, if this excess of income above \$1000 a year were taken from those who now enjoy it, to be distributed unequally among the working people, then the same disparity of condition would exist as now, or even a greater. What are you going to do about it? may well be the question put to the reformer who in his own judgment can remove all the inequalities and do away with all the hardships of life by acts of either the national or State legislature. The way to meet each and all of the theories of the professional agitators or sentimentalists who propose to change all the conditions of society by statute, is to bring the consideration of the subject within a limit



easily comprehended, say fifty to sixty cents a day, and then to call upon each class of reformers to meet the conditions as they now are, and to prepare an act of legislation by which better general conditions may be assured. This they may find a somewhat difficult matter. In subsequent articles their theories will be subjected to this test.

The days of dynasties and of privileged classes are numbered; emperors and kings, dukes and lords, have become superfluous; feudal rights, which could perhaps have been justified in the past, have become the feudal wrongs of the present time. Democracy cares nothing for inherited rank and may call upon every man to justify his present condition by his service, under the coming democratic rule, not only in this but in many other countries. The Chinese practice of granting titles of nobility to the ancestors of him who now serves his country well may be approved; but no title gained in the past, unless sustained by its representative in the present day by corresponding service, will long be tolerated as one either of privilege, honor, or credit to him who bears it. Gunpowder equalized the force of the seignior and the serf; Vanderbilt became the great communist of the time when he reduced the cost of moving a year's supply of food a thousand miles to the measure of a day's wages of an ordinary mechanic. Yet more remains to be done before the mass of the people even in the United States can be said to live well. What are you going to do about it?

In this series of articles in the FORUM, and in articles elsewhere published dealing with the same facts and statistics, the writer has proved, by arguments which no one has yet been able to refute or to gainsay, that in this country, which is no longer subject to the inherited wrong of slavery, in which birth gives no privilege, and in which all have or may have equal opportunity to attain material welfare, the working men and women who perform that part of the work of production which is either manual or mechanical, are steadily securing to their own use and enjoyment an increasing share of an increasing product; while on the other hand, both the material capital which has been saved in a concrete form, and also the element which is yet more necessary to material abundance, the capital which is immaterial, *i.e.*,



the mental factor in all productions, are being placed at the service of those who do the primary work at a lessening rate of compensation or profit. Nevertheless, when all Europe is a prey to fears of anarchy, nihilism, socialism, and communism, and when it seems to be as impossible for the standing armies and national debts of the continent to be sustained as for the armies to be disbanded or the debts repudiated without violent revolution, may it not be well for us to take an inventory of our resources and to review our present methods of distribution, lest we also should perhaps be called upon, again and again, to apply force in sustaining rights of property both in land and capital, which need no force for their defense when fully comprehended and justified by the service to humanity which their possession makes their owners capable of rendering in ever-increasing measure. May not the harmony of interest between labor and capital be disclosed by the statistics of the nation to every one who can read what underlies the columns and is written between the lines? May it not therefore be well for all to give their attention to what are indefinitely termed the "claims of labor," lest for want of thought, that which is right should be misconstrued and assumed to be a wrong by those whose narrow or monotonous conditions of life limit the scope of their thought and may possibly lead them to misdirect their acts.

The conclusion of the whole matter may perhaps be brought within the mental conception of any one who believes that there is order in the universe, and that there is an over-ruling power that makes for righteousness. The lesson which we learn is this: not only does enlightened self-interest coincide with or lead toward moral and material welfare, but even unenlightened self-interest, as represented by the mere money-getter, the mere capitalist, or by the man who has himself no knowledge of his own function, yet works of necessity in promoting an increased product and a reduction in the cost of all the necessaries of life, under which conditions the great mass of the community cannot fail to attain better conditions of welfare. Great inventions, which were first applied within a century, tended to the concentration of great masses of people under adverse conditions in the cities, and also to the diffusion of other great masses of people, occupied in farm-



ing, over wide areas, under isolated conditions which were not conducive to the best kind of welfare. The application of steam, of water power, and of gas led to concentration of the factory population. The introduction of the railway led to wide diffusion of the farming population and to "extensive" methods of agriculture. These applications of science are now being met by other great inventions, the tendency of which is in the reverse of what has occurred during the present century. The application of electricity to the production of speech and light, to the development of power, and to the operation of elevated or other railways by which very rapid transit may be secured, and many other modern methods of distribution, are tending to diffuse many arts heretofore confined to the centers and crowded parts of great cities, throughout the suburbs and adjoining towns, where broad, low, well-lighted, and well-ventilated factories may occupy a larger area of ground, and where the factory operatives may live under very much better conditions. On the other hand, the adoption of the silo, and what are called the "intensive" methods of cultivation, are leading to the breaking up of large farms and bringing the people who are engaged in agriculture into closer communication with one another. All these new forces are now in accord with the gregarious habit of men, and without overcrowding, will bring about more favorable conditions of life, while promoting an increase of product at a much less cost of labor than ever before, with correlative high wages and low prices. Yet the motive which sets all these new forces in action is the self-interest both of the capitalist and of the workman, each striving to attain personal welfare only, but yet promoting the public welfare, whether conscious or unconscious of their true functions in society.

It was said by the prophet of olden time that "The Lord maketh the wrath of man to praise him." It might be said by the prophet of the present, that the Lord maketh the selfishness of man to work for the material welfare of his kind.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## A POSSIBLE REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE.

MORE than two hundred years ago (1675), Leeuwenhoek discovered what he called little animals, or animalcules, in "rain, well, sea, and snow water; as also in water wherein pepper had lain infused." These were microscopic, but of large size as compared with the objects now generally known as bacteria. The organisms seen by Leeuwenhoek were animalcules; the bacteria are vegetable growths. The rude and imperfect lenses used by Leeuwenhoek restricted his observations within very narrow limits, which were gradually extended as optical art advanced, following the construction of achromatic lenses, in the middle of the eighteenth century. The recent construction of homogeneous oil-immersion lenses, and the use of achromatic condensers, particularly those known as the Abbe condensers, have rendered possible the successful study of the more delicate forms of micro-organisms. Comparing recent discoveries in bacteriology, by means of perfected microscopical apparatus, with discoveries in astronomy by the use of the great telescopes, it seems that the small has the advantage over the great, at least so far as advances in knowledge have influenced the happiness and welfare of the human race. The science and practice of medicine and surgery are undergoing a revolution of such magnitude and importance that its limits can hardly be conceived. Looking into the future in the light of recent discoveries, it does not seem impossible that a time may come when the cause of every infectious disease will be known; when all such diseases will be preventable or easily curable; when protection can be afforded against all diseases, such as scarlet fever, measles, yellow fever, whooping cough, etc., in which one attack secures immunity from subsequent contagion; when, in short, no constitutional disease will be incurable and such scourges as epidemics will be unknown. These results, indeed, may be but a small part of what will follow discoveries in bacteriology. The higher the plane of actual knowledge, the more



extended is the horizon—“*Plus on s'élève, plus l'horizon s'étend.*” What has been accomplished within the past ten years, as regards knowledge of the causes, prevention, and treatment of disease, far transcends what would have been regarded a quarter of a century ago as the wildest and most impossible speculation.

What, one may well inquire, has occurred within the past few years to justify expressions apparently so extravagant? Simply an unusually rapid evolution of knowledge from researches which at the time seemed of comparatively little pathological importance, such as Pasteur's experiments on the fermentations. Pasteur's discovery of the microbe which produces a peculiar disease in silkworms, and especially the isolation of the microbe of the carbuncular disease of sheep, which sometimes attacks man, gave a powerful impulse to the study of bacteriology. It became evident that a complete separation of different forms of bacteria was a condition essential to their accurate study. It was also necessary to ascertain the mode of multiplication of different bacteria. In the forms of micro-organisms that produce disease, called pathogenic, the characteristic disease is coincident with their presence in immense numbers in the body. The methods of investigation by which successful modern observations have been made were brought practically to their present degree of perfection by Koch. It seems to me that a brief description of these methods can hardly fail to be of general interest. In what is to follow, the disease-producing organisms will be called bacteria, microbes, or micro-organisms. These names, however, which will be used synonymously, embrace many forms that are not pathogenic.

In modern bacteriology, the first condition to secure is absolute sterilization of all the media and apparatus employed. This simply means destruction of all microbes present. The test-tubes and other glasses and instruments are heated to a temperature which will kill any germs that may be attached to them, and are carefully protected as they are allowed to become cool. The water used is sterilized by prolonged boiling. The nutrient substances in which the bacteria are to be cultivated are sterilized in a similar manner, but not by prolonged boiling, which would prevent the solidification of gelatiniform substances. The hands are not allowed to touch anything which it is necessary to keep



free from contamination with extraneous bacteria. Finally, the air admitted to the cultures is filtered through sterilized cotton or some substance which will arrest any floating germs.

The next step is to prepare a medium in which the micro-organism which it is desired to cultivate will readily multiply. While this is easy, other micro-organisms will multiply as well; and the most difficult problem in bacteriology has been to separate the different microbes from one another and to obtain what are known as pure cultures. A pure culture is a so-called colony of a single form of bacteria. If proper precautions have been taken, no extraneous micro-organisms are present in the apparatus used or in the culture-media; but in cultivating any one form of microbe, such as the bacteria of Asiatic cholera, other organisms invariably exist in the material from which the special form is to be obtained or isolated. An account of the attempts that have been made to isolate different forms of microbes, from the early experiments of Pasteur to the more successful efforts of Koch, would make a long chapter in the history of bacteriology and would be out of place here; but the results of recent labors have laid the foundation of accurate knowledge of the relations of bacteria to certain diseases.

Koch prepared a gelatine, called "nutrient gelatine," possessing the properties of solidity and transparency. If a drop of fluid containing a number of different bacteria be diffused through this while the culture-medium is liquid, and the mixture be then solidified by cooling, each different microbe becomes isolated by a surrounding layer of gelatine, and from each one, by its multiplication, a colony is produced within a few hours, which can be recognized by means of a low magnifying power. From any one of these colonies microbes may be taken on a sterilized platinum wire, and "inoculated" upon a fresh culture-medium. A new colony will then be formed, and this process may be repeated. In this way an absolutely pure culture may be obtained. Nutrient gelatine is by no means the only culture-medium employed in bacteriological research. With some forms of bacteria, agar-agar (a substance resembling isinglass), prepared blood serum, etc., present peculiarly favorable conditions for growth. The process of multiplication of bacteria is either by transverse division or by



spores, which latter are much more difficult to destroy than bacteria themselves.

Having obtained pure cultures of different bacteria from the blood or from altered anatomical structures in any special disease, it is necessary to fix upon one form which is invariably present in that disease, and, if possible, to show that the disease may be produced by inoculation of a healthy animal with the isolated micro-organism. It has not been possible, up to this time, to obtain this absolute proof of the causative relation of certain bacteria to diseases. For example, no inferior animal has been found to be susceptible to typhoid fever; but a micro-organism, called the typhoid bacillus, is constantly found in the intestines in cases of typhoid fever and in no other disease; and this is true of many other diseases due undoubtedly to bacteria. On the other hand, however, tuberculosis, relapsing fever, glanders, erysipelas, and certain diseases of the inferior animals have been produced by inoculation with pure cultures of bacteria found in these diseases and characteristic of them.

The excessively minute size of many bacteria, and the lines and shadows produced by the refraction of light as it passes through them, render it difficult, and in many instances impossible, to recognize them even under the most perfect illumination and with the best modern lenses. The old forms of dry objectives are almost useless in bacteriological investigations; but the homogeneous oil-immersion lenses, with the object illuminated by means of the Abbe condenser, suffice for the recognition of all known forms of bacteria after they have been treated with staining preparations. The perfection of the staining processes, which for some time had been used in anatomical research, is largely due to Koch. Without entering into a full description of the use of staining agents in bacteriology, it is sufficient to state that bacteria are distinguished from normal anatomical structures, first, by the greater resistance which the former present to the action of acids and alkalies; and secondly, by the certainty and rapidity with which bacteria take up some of the aniline dyes. The resistance of bacteria to acids and alkalies renders it possible to decolorize other structures contained in microscopical preparations, leaving the stained bacteria practically



intact. Thus, the staining of bacteria enables the observer to recognize them as bacteria; but different forms of micro-organisms behave differently in the presence of the same or different staining reagents. However, the aniline dyes enable one to distinguish all forms of bacteria from minute bodies with which unstained bacteria might be confounded.

From this summary account the reader can form an idea of what bacteria are and how they have been investigated. It is now almost universally admitted that they are vegetable and not animal organisms. The different forms are distinguishable from one another by their appearance under the microscope, their behavior in the presence of staining reagents, their modes of multiplication, the time and manner of production of colonies from single germs placed in culture-media, and other characters which need not be enumerated. Within the few years that bacteria have been closely studied, immense numbers of micro-organisms have been discovered; but the larger proportion of these embraces organisms that are innocuous, and comparatively few have been recognized as pathogenic, or disease-producing.

It is probable that future investigations into the physiology of digestion will show that bacteria play an important part in this function. Pasteur has recently isolated no less than seventeen different micro-organisms in the mouth, which were not destroyed by the gastric juice. Some of these dissolved albumen, gluten, and caseine, and some transformed starch into sugar. Bacteria normally exist in great number and variety in the intestines, although the part which they take in intestinal digestion has not been accurately determined. It has been ascertained, however, that the intestinal micro-organisms produce certain substances which have been regarded as putrefactive, and that the action of these products is to kill the micro-organisms and thus to limit the putrefactive processes.

In the practice of medicine, recent discoveries in bacteriology have brought about changes which amount almost to a revolution. In certain diseases, among which are tuberculosis, pneumonia, erysipelas, carbuncle, diphtheria, typhoid fever, yellow fever, relapsing fever, the malarial fevers, certain catarrhs, tetanus, nearly all contagious diseases, a great number of skin affections, etc., the



causative action of bacteria can no longer be doubted. The conditions necessary to the development of these diseases seem to be a susceptibility on the part of the individual, and the lodgment and multiplication of special bacteria in the system. Some persons are insusceptible to certain infections in the ordinary way, while others present a peculiar susceptibility to certain diseases, which in some instances is inherited. It is probable that a person with an inherited tendency to consumption would never develop the disease if he could be absolutely protected against infection with the tubercle bacillus; but once infected, the bacteria multiply and produce the characteristic signs and symptoms. In other persons the bacillus tuberculosis with difficulty finds a lodgment and multiplies imperfectly. Many of the lower animals are susceptible to tuberculosis, and the disease has often been produced by direct inoculation with a pure culture of the tubercle bacillus. In the light of modern discoveries, consumption can no longer be regarded as an incurable disease. In certain cases the bacteria, if confined to the lungs, may be destroyed, and it has been observed that as the characteristic micro-organisms disappear from the *sputum*, the characteristic symptoms pass away and patients gain in weight and strength. The problem in the treatment of diseases due to the action of pathogenic bacteria is to destroy the bacteria or their products without destroying the patient. It is by no means impossible that such measures will be discovered applicable to all diseases that are dependent upon known forms of bacteria.

In certain diseases, such as the eruptive fevers, the time of reception of the contagion may be accurately determined. These diseases have a known period of incubation, or hatching, which resembles the incubation of bacteria when inoculated upon a culture-medium. During this period, when there are no symptoms, the bacteria are slowly multiplying, but are still confined to certain localities. They soon become so abundant, however, that they are distributed generally in the system, and the characteristic symptoms of the disease make their appearance; but after a certain time the organisms are destroyed and the disease disappears. In many such diseases the individual affected becomes afterward insusceptible to contagion. Is it not reasonable to hope



that methods of treatment may be discovered by which the germs may be destroyed during the period of incubation, or the disease cut short even after it has become fully developed? It is not known why a person who has passed through a certain disease is protected against a recurrence of the contagion, but this is the fact. It is not beyond the range of probability that the immunity acquired by passing through the disease may be produced by other means. It is assumed that all diseases produced by micro-organisms are infectious. If the cause of every infectious disease were discovered, it would not be too much to expect to find eventually means for its cure, its prevention during incubation, or protection against its attacks.

It is probable that all the virulent diseases, such as rabies, are due to the direct inoculation of bacteria. In all of these there is a period of incubation in which, probably, bacteria are multiplying at the site of the wound. When the colonies of micro-organisms are so large that the bacteria or their products find their way into the circulation, the disease is developed; but even a considerable time after the inoculation, the germs may be removed by excision or destroyed by local applications, and the disease prevented. It is probable that bacteria, although they produce infection, are not actually the poisonous agents which give rise to the characteristic phenomena of infectious diseases. In some way the pathogenic bacteria produce substances similar to alkaloids, which are poisonous. These products are called "ptomaines." They have not been obtained from many of the pathogenic bacteria, and, indeed, the study of these toxic agents is still in its infancy; but the production of a ptomaine from pure cultures of the cholera bacillus, which, it is said, gives rise to choleraic symptoms when injected into the body of certain of the lower animals, the production of tetanine from cultures of the tetanus bacillus, and other recent researches, render it probable that each form of pathogenic bacteria produces a peculiar, toxic ptomaine.

A rational treatment of disease, based upon a knowledge of the mechanism of infection, is not a thing entirely of the future. Fermentive indigestions are successfully treated with what are now known as disinfectants; in many instances the bacteria of



consumption may be destroyed; various skin diseases are cured by killing the organisms which produce them; diphtheria is sometimes cut short by attacking the germs on the mucous membranes; and such examples might be multiplied.

An account of the relations of bacteria to disease, however brief, should include the remarkable results which have followed the introduction by Lister, about 1860, of antiseptics in surgery. Nine or more different forms of bacteria have been distinguished in pus. Some of these, as well as other forms which produce pyæmia, hospital gangrene, septicæmia, and other conditions which sometimes follow surgical operations, are developed from germs floating in the atmosphere or attached to surgical instruments, sponges, dressings, etc. Lister was the first to perform surgical operations under conditions which precluded the possibility of infection of wounds by micro-organisms; but his early methods were cumbrous and difficult. The *technique* of surgical operations at the present day is simple enough, but is absolutely antiseptic. Every instrument used is kept in a tray filled with a solution containing carbolic acid in the proportion of one part to about forty of water. The sponges are thoroughly cleaned and disinfected. The ligatures, after having been boiled in an antiseptic fluid, are kept in this fluid until used. All bandages and other dressings are made thoroughly antiseptic. The hands of the operator and of his assistants are thoroughly disinfected, and are dipped from time to time in a carbolic-acid solution. The part to be operated upon is shaved, and then scrubbed with soap and washed with an antiseptic solution. It is also isolated from the rest of the body by cloths wrung out in an antiseptic fluid, so that only this part is exposed. An assistant follows the knife of the surgeon with a stream of antiseptic liquid. When the operation has been completed, the wounds are closed and thoroughly protected by antiseptic dressings. Antiseptic drainage-tubes are introduced, when necessary, to carry off discharges. The general result of these precautions, which are now taken in all well-appointed hospitals, and are employed, when practicable, by all good surgeons, are an absolute protection of wounds against purulent and other infections, and an elimination of nearly every danger that may attend surgical operations, except shock. The elimina-



tion of these dangers, by thorough antisepsis, has enabled surgeons successfully to perform operations of a magnitude that would have appalled an operator of the olden time. Indeed, the revolution in surgery since 1860 has been more complete even than in practical medicine.

This brief sketch of the progress in medical and surgical methods due to bacteriological studies was not written for the professional reader, and its subject has been treated from the stand-point of a practical physician only. I venture to say that few persons who have not closely followed the work of modern pathologists, have any definite ideas with regard to bacteria, what they are, how they are developed, and what their importance is in nature. Bacteria are everywhere. They abound in the earth, in water, in nearly all kinds of food, and in many of the animal fluids; their germs exist even in the atmosphere; but it must be remembered that of the immense number and variety of these micro-organisms, only very few are toxic or are capable of producing toxic substances. If what is known of the relations of bacteria to disease can justify even a small part of the speculations with regard to the possible results of future investigations, our present knowledge of the relations of micro-organisms to digestion, to the growth of plants, to the changes of matter involved in putrefaction, and to all kinds of fermentation, opens a field for the imagination that seems truly illimitable.

AUSTIN FLINT.



## THE NEW SYSTEM OF NAVAL WARFARE.

THERE is now approaching completion for the United States government a vessel which, it is predicted, will exercise as potent an influence in revolutionizing naval warfare as did the famous "Monitor." Unlike the "Monitor," however, which taught the world a new lesson in the art of defense, this craft is to mark a new departure in the art of offense; and again differing from Ericsson's ship, which in her build presented features of entire novelty, the so-called "dynamite cruiser" "Vesuvius" owes her importance to the weapons which she carries, and to their capability for the projection of aërial torpedoes charged with enormously powerful explosives. And to this end is her construction adapted and subordinated. Criticism of the vessel herself, therefore, is to an extent disarmed. The defects of the "Monitor" resulted in her loss at sea, but the principles which she was first instrumental in demonstrating were none the less firmly established. Experience remedied the salient faults in the "Monitor's" construction. If the practical use of the "Vesuvius" proves kindred difficulties to exist, it is safe to assume that recognition of them will be followed by timely abatement.

The great public importance of the new vessel is predicated upon two considerations, the first of temporary, the second of lasting moment. The inadequacy of the defenses of our principal seaports against a sudden attack from the highly developed war vessels of foreign nations is recognized. The knowledge that considerable time must be expended in order to make ships fit to cope with modern ironclads, to establish the plants necessary for the manufacture of the great guns of to-day, and to build fortifications, has engendered a feeling of insecurity as to what may happen during the period intervening. If, as is claimed, a single shell from one of the guns of the dynamite ship is capable of sending to the bottom the stoutest ironclad afloat, it is obvious that she offers an immediate safeguard. The fact of



her existence may well cause the most aggressive nation to hesitate in placing "a fleet before New York on the heels of a declaration of war."

The protection of a seaport is, however, rather a defensive than an offensive use of the aerial torpedo. It is the latter employment which is destined perhaps most materially to modify the future maritime conflicts of the world.

In an action between two modern war ships fairly equal in armament and speed, it may be assumed that that vessel will be the victor which first plants an effective projectile in a vital part of her adversary. In order to do this, it must be possible not merely so to control one vessel as practically to out-maneuver the other, but to cause a projectile to get to this vital part and not elsewhere. Whatever may be the undemonstrated possibilities of long-range guns, past experience has shown that the obstacles which one vessel may oppose to the attack of the other—as by rapid and skillful handling, an effective and demoralizing return fire, the location of all vital parts below the water-line, and so on—render fifteen hundred yards almost a conventional fighting distance. No naval action has ever been fought over a greater interval. It is the range ordinarily chosen for drill at target practice, and this although there is no lack of guns capable of carrying many times as far.

The fact, however, that in every navy unceasing drill goes on, is sufficient to show that even at this short range accuracy largely depends upon the acquired skill of those who lay and fire the guns—upon their personal equation, so to speak. This because the errors due to the guns being mounted on the constantly moving deck are far more potent than those arising from variation in the character of the propelling substance, the mechanical faults of the weapons, or the disturbing influences affecting the shot during its flight.

In order that a projectile driven from a powder gun may do damage to a modern man-of-war, it must not only hit but penetrate. The shell even of a 100-ton gun, bursting in close proximity to the armor of an ironclad, may cause little or no material injury. Not only must the projectile be correctly directed upon the desired point, and be impelled by a force sufficient to enable it to



overcome any intervening obstacle that marine construction can offer, but it must be made strong enough in itself to resist both the shock incident to the sudden application of the impelling energy, and also that due to its own impact against the target.

The new system of naval warfare has for its underlying principle the projection of high explosives in large masses, and with accuracy. Up to the present time, the ranges over which the aërial torpedo is thrown, while far less than those attainable by the powder-burning gun, exceed the conventional fighting distance previously noted. How the projectile is to be impelled, whether by powder or by compressed air, or even (to go back to the beginning of the century and Jacob Perkins) by steam, is not a matter of principle, but only of judicious selection and application of one means or another. It is an open issue whether it is better to employ an explosive capable of safe handling and of withstanding the shock in the gun, or to avail ourselves of well-known commercial agents too unstable to resist the detonating effect of the impelling charge, and therefore to reduce the energy of the latter. The first is the course adopted by European nations; as to its success we have no certain or definite information. The second is that which has been followed in this country, with results satisfactory so far as they extend, and at all events sufficiently so to warrant the building and equipping of the "Vesuvius" as a substantial exponent of the new system. It will be apparent, however, that the foregoing applies to only a part of the problem, namely, the use of high-explosive projectiles as compared with those charged with gunpowder, for example. The instant we add the essential requirement that not merely high explosives, but high explosives in large masses are to be employed, then the matter broadens and takes a different aspect.

The impelling pressure of the gases due to the explosion of gunpowder in a modern rifled gun amounts to about 17 tons per square inch. In order to meet the immense shock of the blow directed upon it, and also to retain its capability of piercing armor without breaking to pieces, the shell must be made in so large proportion of solid metal that but very little space within it can be afforded for the bursting charge. The shell from the 100-ton gun weighs itself about a ton, and yet has a bursting charge of



but 25 pounds of powder. Even if penetration were not a vital and necessary object, it certainly cannot be said that the existing shell can be made with materially increased holding capacity, and yet be strong enough to resist the impelling blow.

The projectile of the 15-inch pneumatic gun, on the other hand, weighs 960 pounds, and of that weight 600 pounds is explosive gelatine (nitro-glycerine and soluble gun-cotton), and it is fired with an air pressure of about 1,000 pounds to the square inch at the maximum. Consequently, the sensitive explosive does not stand in danger of premature detonation, and the enclosing case can be made of thin metal. It is believed that a shell charged with 600 pounds of explosive gelatine would, on striking a ship, break through any armor afloat; while one containing but one-sixth the quantity would crush in the decks and lighter parts of the structure. In fact, there is no difficulty apparent in increasing the amount of explosive projected up to any extent necessary to compass the desired destruction on striking the object. But it is not necessary that the projectile should strike the ship. Its explosion fifty feet horizontally distant under water would destroy the hull.

The equipment of a modern war vessel involves much complicated mechanism, not merely for her own propulsion at high speed, but for the handling of her guns and other heavy weights. Her driving machinery is made lighter than that of a merchant vessel having engines of corresponding horse power, for space and carrying capacity must be economized to provide for guns and armor. To disarrange this machinery it is not necessary to knock a hole in the bottom of the ship. The detonation of a great body of high explosive, at a distance perhaps twice as great as would be necessary to cause an actual breaking-in of the side, could easily throw the bearings of engines out of line, or dislocate the shaft, or jam neatly-fitted parts, so that the maneuvering power of the ship would be gone, and she might well become a helpless target. So also the energy of an explosion incompetent to disarrange the structure at the immediate point of impact, will travel along the members, and displace or fracture them wherever it finds a weak spot.

Still another serious danger to the attacked ship is the possibil-



ity of her own high explosives being detonated by the concussion of the transmitted shock or by actual impact. It is true that this is by no means certain under all circumstances, but if the explosive has undergone chemical change, as it may after long keeping, or if the nitro-glycerine has separated from its absorbing substance, then the chance exists. Nor is this all. There is still the peril of detonation of the stored explosives within the ship through "sympathy" with the explosion occurring outside, although this danger is less with some explosives than with others. And thus for the risk which every war vessel runs of being blown up, by a chance spark in her own magazine, is substituted the possibility of self-destruction through a purely exterior influence.

The terribly disastrous effect of an immense mass of explosive detonating in proximity to the crew of the ship is also to be considered. During our late war, men within the turrets of the monitors were repeatedly placed *hors du combat* by the shock of shot striking, yet not penetrating the armor; and it has been reported that very recently, during the firing of heavy guns on board English iron clads, the concussion within the enclosures caused so much suffering to the crew that the men abandoned their stations and refused to return to them. The experiments with a powder ship before the walls of Fort Fisher, and with the huge mine in the fortifications of Petersburg, Va., though not successful, at least indicate that great explosions have already been regarded as offensive means.

The capacity possessed by the low-pressure gun of throwing comparatively light substances in large masses, suggests also the practicability of substituting for the explosives materials which in another way may prove destructive to life or to human energy; such, for instance, as nitrite of amyl, the vapor of which when inhaled produces intense cerebral congestion and unconsciousness. This, profusely scattered over a ship and floating on the surface of the water about her, might render her crew incapable of resistance.

It is not difficult to conceive that a hostile vessel approaching our coasts and encountering the dynamite cruiser may find herself in a very disagreeable situation. True, she may open fire at a range much greater than that over which the dynamite shells can be



projected, but the low raft-like craft coming bow-on toward her, at the rate of twenty-three miles an hour, and showing a breadth of but  $26\frac{1}{2}$  feet, offers a target exceedingly difficult to hit. If the deck of the dynamite ship be protected by a curved turtle-back shield of steel five inches in thickness, as is contemplated in future construction, shot and shell fired at sharp angles may easily glance from it. To reach the hull with a movable submarine torpedo of the Whitehead type is even more difficult still. The range of such a torpedo is only about 300 yards, so that the dynamite ship would come within easy firing distance and be enabled to throw her projectiles long before the torpedo could be effective. Besides, the dynamite ship could gain a measure of protection against small torpedoes by extreme cellular division of the structure, and by packing a double bottom below the water line with cocoa fiber cellulose, which, when wet, swells sufficiently to close up in a few moments a hole made by a ten-inch shell.

If the enemy's ironclad awaits the attack motionless, she will necessarily have but a few minutes, after sighting her opponent, to do a fatal injury; if she advances, this period will necessarily be shorter still. The moment the "Vesuvius" finds herself within 1500 yards of her mark, she can launch eighteen hundred pounds of nitro-gelatine, the explosive energy of which equals that of about 3400 pounds of dynamite, or more than ten tons of gunpowder, and this can be repeated every two minutes; or if the guns be discharged singly, a six hundred pound shell can be fired every forty seconds. It is not at all improbable that after a few of these projectiles had exploded in her immediate vicinity, there would be no ironclad.

The foregoing represents the capacity of the particular weapons of the "Vesuvius" for projecting the large amounts of explosive noted. Shells containing smaller quantities can be thrown over much greater distances, the range of a projectile containing 200 lbs. of nitro-gelatine being a mile and a half, and that of one containing 100 lbs. of the same substance, two miles. The rapidity of fire depends upon the construction of the gun, which is practically a huge revolver. By increasing the number of chambers in the rotating breech mechanism, it is possible to fire even the heaviest shell three times per minute.



While the objection to the shortness of the range of the low-pressure gun afloat is in a measure met by the fact that the usual fighting distance is, as we have said, shorter, a more serious difficulty, which arises from short range, is that of accurately placing the projectile.

A high-power powder gun can throw its shot with a flat trajectory for a long distance approximately parallel to the earth's surface. Consequently, when the vertical side of a vessel is the target, an error in elevation may have no worse result than to cause the missile to strike the latter higher or lower than was intended; or even if the shot fall short and meet the water, its ricochet may possibly carry it to the object. Where, however, the projecting energy is weak, the distance over which the projectile can be thrown in a horizontal line is greatly reduced, and in order to send it over the desired range, the gun must be laid at a high angle. The difficulties are then considerably enhanced, for the shot is, so to speak, dropped upon the target. The rolling or pitching of the ship, rapidly changing the angle of the gun, then becomes more than ever a source of inaccuracy, and even in firing from a stationary platform, the lack of exact knowledge of the range is a serious factor of uncertainty. This leads us to consider the last qualification needed to complete this statement of the principle of the new system; namely, the accurate throwing of large masses of high explosives, and the exceedingly ingenious devices contrived for the purpose.

The range of the projectile is, of course, dependent (other things being equal) upon the energy imparted to it in the gun. If with a given air pressure a shot will travel a certain distance, with a certain reduced pressure it will traverse a certain less distance. Hence there is provided in the dynamite gun a balanced valve, which, at a mere touch of the operator, causes any desired loss of pressure in the air admitted from the reservoir; so that, without altering the elevation of the gun, the range can be varied. Supplementing this is a throttle valve, which controls with marvelous nicety the amount of air entering the gun in a given time. The effect, therefore, is that with the vessel at rest, and without altering the angle of her guns, she can throw her projectiles over regularly increasing or decreasing intervals of



range; or if she be advancing or retreating at full speed, and herself rapidly altering her distance from a fixed object, for example, she can, nevertheless, continue placing them directly at this stationary point. Or if she be pursuing, or is herself pursued by another vessel, still she can maintain a hail of huge shells upon that vessel's decks.

While the difficulties of hitting the object are increased by high-elevation firing, they are, on the other hand, in effect lessened by the practically enlarged size of the target, due to the fact that a shell exploding anywhere within a certain danger radius outside the vessel, even if it does not strike her, will, as already explained, do great and possibly fatal damage. "A miss" is here by no means "as good as a mile." Still, so long as the distance of the object is unknown, no matter how accurately the gun may be capable of adjustment to throw its projectile over some definite range, the result of its fire is uncertain; and up to the present time no apparatus has been found reliable as a means of accurately and rapidly determining the unknown distance of a far-off object.

Recently, however, Lieutenant Bradley A. Fiske, of the navy, has devised an instrument which, under the test of experiment, has solved this very difficult problem, and which adds one more to those curious and even wonderful applications of electricity which are constantly appearing. Concerning this, expediency forbids any mention of details, and it can be spoken of only in the most general way. On the deck of the dynamite ship are stationed two observers, who by suitable instruments simply direct their gaze upon the enemy. Meanwhile the officer in charge of the valve-regulating mechanism between decks stands receiving a signal, with his hand on a pointer which he moves over a graduated scale at will. This he does until the signal ceases. The scale mark which the pointer indicates at that moment shows the range. The act of adjusting the pointer sets the valve so as to allow just the proper amount of air into the gun to throw the shell over that range. It certainly savors a little of the marvelous to say that a person down in the hold of a vessel, and who cannot possibly see the object aimed at, should be able to direct a gun so as to throw



its projectile with accuracy, apparently merely because two other people on the deck look at the target.

Lieutenant Fiske has, however, gone a step further than this, and set electricity to work to prevent the effects of the ship's motion upon the gun. In a seaway the deck is in constant movement, and the angle of the gun is hence always rapidly changing. It is an exceedingly difficult thing, even when nothing but the pressure of the finger on a button is necessary to fire the gun, to snatch exactly the right instant for performing that simple act; for if done a moment too soon or too late, the shot may fall far short of, or fly far over the object. But the electric current and the attraction of gravitation, which Lieut. Fiske harnesses together, are neither of them subject to human failings. If it is desired that the gun should fire when at a certain angle, and hence at a certain instant during its movement, these two forces cause it to fire at that instant and at that angle, and none other, entirely regardless of whatever influence the wayward waves may exercise in the matter. Therefore, having adjusted his gun for the proper range, the gunner leaves the two least known forces of nature to do the rest.

The possibility of controlling the range of the projectile with nicety, renders it probable that the dynamite ship will play an entirely novel rôle in an attack upon a harbor protected by fixed submarine torpedoes; that is, she may destroy torpedoes by torpedoes. One hundred pounds of nitro-gelatine exploding under water will, it is said, destroy torpedo cases and blow up torpedoes existing anywhere within a radius of fifty feet. The ship, on arriving off a harbor entrance known to be studded with explosive mines, would anchor herself, and proceed to drop shells at regular distances of 100 feet apart in longitudinal and lateral directions. It is claimed that in this manner she could clear of torpedoes a channel three hundred feet wide at the rate of a mile an hour, and advancing into the passage as fast as she renders it safe to do so, could soon blast her way to a position from which her shells could be thrown directly into the city or fortifications. Not only can the dynamite vessel thus make a channel for herself, but she can throw empty shells which, after automatically anchoring themselves, will rise to the surface of the water and



constitute buoys; so that after doing her work under cover of the night, the coming of daylight will show her the path of safety marked out.

In order to cause the projectiles to explode under water so as to crush in the sides of an enemy's hull, or to blow up or destroy sunken torpedoes, another ingenious application of electricity is made. A galvanic battery is arranged in every projectile, so constructed that it operates to deliver its current when it becomes wet. The current then ignites a time train, which in turn explodes a detonating cap, and this fires the charge. The time train can be arranged so as to lengthen or shorten the interval before the detonation of the cap, and thus it becomes possible to delay the explosion until the projectile shall have descended to any desired depth.

As all the world knows, the pneumatic dynamite gun owes its present development to the indefatigable work of Captain E. L. Zalinski of the army—work which has called not only for the patience and skill of the original investigator and the genius of the inventor, but for the cool bravery of the soldier; for again and again in the course of his experiments with these terrible explosive agents he has placed his life in imminent peril. There is among the members of every learned profession a strong conservative tendency, which seeks to bring new ideas and new achievements into harmony with the conventions of the past, rather than to modify the latter in accordance with the progress of the time. Evidence of the extent to which Captain Zalinski has had to contend with this characteristic is shown in the published opinions of many eminent military and naval critics. One distinguished officer of the navy is unable to assign any place to the pneumatic gun in maritime conflicts, but is apparently not unwilling to concede that it has value in land defenses. An equally distinguished officer of the army finds difficulty in perceiving the effective part which such a weapon could play in the protection of harbors, but is not averse to its naval employment. The majority of criticisms at hand debate the relative merits of powder and air as means of impelling high-explosive projectiles; and there is much discussion over details which are certainly of less importance than the determination of the broad question,



whether or not the projecting of these great masses of fearfully explosive material is or is not likely to impress upon our possible adversaries the advantages of circumspection in letting loose "the dogs of war" upon our much-maligned navy, or the richer quarry of our seaports.

The point is not whether we can fire a shell charged with ten pounds of dynamite or nitro-gelatine as conveniently as we can throw one charged with ten pounds of gunpowder, and so gain simply the benefit due to the effect of the more powerful explosive; but whether or not we shall be able to pitch upon the decks of foreign ironclads dynamite by the ton. It is not a question whether or not the shells from our own guns will disturb our elaborate networks of sunken mines, if fired at a hostile vessel venturing in their neighborhood—although why the mines themselves should remain pacific in the circumstance is not apparent—but whether or not, repeating Farragut's famous "Damn the torpedoes," we shall force our way past the submarine magazines in foreign harbors, if not with his magnificent audacity, at least with no vessels sharing the terrible but glorious fate of the "Tecumseh."

A distinguished Rear Admiral finds himself unable "to perceive any place to which can be assigned the pneumatic gun for naval purposes at sea"; yet with all due respect it may be suggested that Nelson, maneuvering the "Victory" for the weather gauge, might have been equally at a loss to assign a place to the screw propeller. In fact, the history of past invention, while it undoubtedly proves the importance of prompt condemnation of misguided efforts to accomplish the impossible, teaches, with even greater emphasis, the need of caution in asserting that any discovery, which does not fly in the face of nature's laws, is impracticable or useless. Equally it demonstrates that the products of new thought do not necessarily drop into pre-determined places. The locomotive did not take a place in the system of mail coaches, although the British Parliamentary Committee, solicitous for the safety of cows, evidently had a notion that it was so destined. The electric telegraph, pronounced at first impracticable by a distinguished scientist, Dr. Peter Barlow, did not become co-ordinated with the semaphores which the Franklin Institute of Phila-



delphia wanted the government to establish between New York and Washington, long after Joseph Henry had completed his invention, and had proved its efficacy at Princeton. There was supposed to be no place for the art of stereotyping, and William Ged died persecuted, friendless, and poor; no place for the stocking loom, and William Lee met a like end. The mob smashed Kay's flying shuttle, and rioted over the spinning jenny. "The loud laugh," writes Fulton, "often rose at my expense; the dry jest, the wise calculation of losses and expenditures; the dull, but endless repetition of 'the Fulton folly.'" What place was there, it was asked, for the fire boat "Clermont," when the river abounded in safe sailing packets? It is needless to multiply instances. No new invention or discovery ever was made for which the over-cautious could find a place in the existing order; such things make their own places.

We have evolved a new element in the art of naval warfare, which, whether it does or does not leave our present "mortal engines whose rude throats the immortal Jove's dread clamors counterfeit" with their "occupation gone," is at least eminently calculated to inspire in the doughty commanders of their various Majesties' ships a renewed and lively sympathy for the fate of Casabianca.

PARK BENJAMIN.



## TEACHING THE MECHANICAL ARTS.

"A curse on these stupid letters. All learned men are beggars . . . I swear by God's body, I'd rather that my son should hang than study letters. For it becomes the sons of gentlemen to blow the horn nicely, to hunt skillfully, and elegantly carry and train a hawk. But the study of letters should be left to the sons of rustics." \*

SUCH in the reign of Henry VII. was the ordinary English gentleman's notion of scholarship, of a literary education. It looks very childish to us now, and we should despise the gentleman of the old ideal, as not only a rustic but an uncultivated boor. But any self-congratulation in which we might be inclined to indulge at our own advance in educational notions, will be apt to receive a check when we come to ask whether these notions of ours are, after all, so rational; whether our ideas of gentlemen and gentlemanly education have any other foundation than convention and prejudice. English gentlemen of four hundred years ago considered the pursuit of literature, art, and science unworthy of any of their class, which was expected to live solely for sport. American gentlemen (and this includes all Americans) hold the same opinion with regard to all mechanical pursuits. The prevailing feeling among our people might be expressed thus: "A curse on these stupid handicrafts! All mechanics are beggars. I swear by the Almighty Dollar, I'd rather that my son should live by charity, politics, or gambling than be a mechanic. For it becomes Americans to blow their own trumpets properly, to speculate smartly, and elegantly to carry a cane in soft, clean hands. But handicrafts should be left to foreigners." And so, to a very large extent, they are.

Are such notions a whit less childish than those of four hundred years ago? I think they are even more so; for a man may very well be a gentleman without scholarship, but he cannot be one without being able to earn his living by his own labor. The

\* Introduction to Pace's "*De Fructu*," published in 1500.



truth is, while we flatter our vanity with the notion that we are an enlightened people, on the ground that we have a form of government and certain mechanical contrivances which our forefathers had not, we are sunk in barbarism as regards all ideas of human worth. For well-nigh two thousand years Christianity has taught that character, and not position or possession, gives value to men. We act and think for the most part as if such teaching had never existed. We teach our young men and women how to seek for place and comfort, and only incidentally how to be noble and pious.

Of all the dangers that threaten our country there is none greater than that which has its source in the prevailing dislike to manual labor, and contempt for it, as undignified and servile. So long as our human conditions require that the majority of men and women shall labor with their hands, such dislike and contempt, when developed into a national characteristic, can have but one of two results. It will either force the majority of our citizens into a position which they know to be despised, or it will leave all mechanical labor to be performed by foreigners. We shall have the bulk of our own people hating the institutions under which they live and seeking to overturn them, or we shall have a mass of foreigners, occupying the position of a servile class, and seeking their own interest at the expense of the whole people. Indeed, both these results are already, in part, actual. In either case we shall have the inhabitants of our country divided into two classes, with clashing interests and hostile feelings, and this division will not only keep us in perpetual, wasteful unrest, but must in the end prove fatal to our free institutions. Republicanism cannot continue when any large class of the people is dissatisfied. Under these circumstances, it is of the utmost importance that we should investigate the causes of the present contempt for, and aversion to, manual labor, in order that, if possible, we may remove them before their effects have worked irremediable evil.

As to the facts themselves there can be no question. They are attested wherever inquiry has been made into the nationality of mechanics in America. For example, in the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for 1886,



there is ample testimony from prominent employers of many kinds of labor, to the effect that nearly all their workmen are foreigners, and that they "cannot get American boys in any trade." One employer says: "My impression of American young men is that they do not prefer trades at all, but that they prefer to be gentlemen," thus drawing and countenancing the very distinction that in part accounts for the unfortunate fact. A writer in a commercial paper, quoted in the same report, says:

"We have frequently had occasion to note the growing and very manifest disinclination on the part of American youth to learn a trade, or, in other words, to perfect themselves in some department of skilled labor by which they may render themselves as nearly independent as it falls to the lot of men ever to become in this world."

The chief causes of this state of things are not difficult to enumerate. First and most fundamental is the natural repugnance of human nature to all forms of exertion which are not either amusing or else exhibitiv of strength or skill. When men exert themselves for the sake of gain, they seek to obtain the greatest possible amount of this for the smallest possible amount of exertion, and, since manual labor seems to involve most labor for least result, it follows that such labor is avoided and despised, in comparison with less taxing and more productive forms. Two things have, in the past, contributed to strengthen this view of manual labor: (1) the notion, derived from the sacred books of the Hebrews, that such labor is a curse and a convict's punishment; and (2) the fact that the old orthodox political economy erected unregenerate man's tendency to avoid labor and seek enjoyment into an irresistible law of nature, and, in fact, made it the basis of their whole science. Indeed, it was only in this way that they could exclude from it all ethical elements, and reduce it to a natural science, as they aimed to do.

In the case of Americans, this natural aversion to steady exertion is intensified by a peculiar impatience and restlessness of character. Into the causes of these dispositions we need not stop to inquire. Among them are our nerve-exciting climate, our general youthfulness, our eagerness for wealth as a means of juvenile ostentation, our boundless-seeming opportunities, our undisguised approval of "smartness," and our lack of early dis-



cipline in the art of self-restraint and persistence. Whatever the causes may be, the fact is indubitable. More than any other civilized people, Americans lack the patience and the interest necessary for proficiency in anything. Their aim is showy results. They want royal roads to everything, and are easily duped by the most mendacious finger-posts. This is true of them in all departments of acquisition, and not merely in the manual arts. They aspire to speak German without studying the grammar, and to acquire "French in six lessons without a master." That they rarely learn any trade thoroughly, is the almost uniform testimony of employers. We need not wonder, therefore, if these prefer proficient foreign workmen to native "botches," and if nearly all positions demanding skill and commanding high pay are occupied by foreigners, only the inferior and poorly paid ones being left for natives. The number of these native "botches" whom necessity forces into trade is great enough to make competition among them sharp, and consequently their wages low. This induces greedy employers, and, ultimately, in self-defense, employers who are not greedy, to hire their cheap services, and, as far as possible to dispense with high-priced skilled labor, a result which has a most injurious effect, not only upon the character of the work done, but also upon the interests of all good workmen. That this condition of things should intensify the American's natural aversion to learning a trade is intelligible enough. He can hardly be expected to enter a calling in which he is likely to be always a mere assistant, under the control and direction of foreigners. Consequently, whenever he can, he makes his escape from the workshop, and tries to live by his wits, thus re-enforcing that undisciplined and hostile army of social harpies and vampires which we maintain within our own borders, in the shape of pot-house politicians and their tools, labor-demagogues, dive-agents, loafers, tramps, blackmailers, gamblers, and thieves.

The second of the leading causes of the current aversion to manual labor is one already alluded to—the feeling that it is ungentlemanly. This cause has its origin in the first. Labor being despised as an evil, those who could live without it not only came to be regarded with envy, which is one form of respect, but were soon able to place the toilers in a position of



servitude, and to establish the momentous social distinction between bondmen and freemen, which again easily passes into a moral distinction. Everywhere the words for toiler have come to mean clown or knave, and those for comfortable idler to mean gentleman or nobleman. "*Eorlas and ceorlas*" (gentle and simple) has become earls and churls, and there is no more disastrous confusion in thought and speech than that which has long prevailed between the social and moral senses of the words "gentleman" and "nobleman." Manual labor having thus, from time immemorial, been connected with servility and baseness, and idleness with mastership and nobility, it is no wonder that Americans of all classes, being freed from those restrictions which elsewhere seek to crystallize social distinctions, and repudiating the blasphemous doctrine that, in however low a condition a man is born, therein Providence means him to remain and be content, should seek to avoid manual labor with all its social and moral implications. No man can be blamed for insisting upon being a gentleman, and upon being regarded as one, and if public sentiment decides that a tradesman cannot be a gentleman, he is right in refusing to be a tradesman.

But, in defense of the American workman, it must be admitted that, even had he the patience to learn a trade thoroughly, he would find it difficult to do so. Apprenticeship, which has hitherto been the only recognized means of learning trades, has died out, and no other institution has taken its place. There does not, therefore, really exist in this country any opportunity for youths to become skilled workmen. This is the third and last of the main reasons why Americans avoid mechanical pursuits, whenever they can.

In the report from which I have already quoted we read:

"Nowadays, it is impossible for a boy to acquire anything like a fair knowledge of a trade. Besides the principal causes, machinery and the great subdivision of labor, there are several minor ones, among which is the fact that it does not seem to be the duty of any competent person to instruct the boy. The foreman is frequently a poor mechanic, not hired for his proficiency in his calling, but simply for his capacity for driving men. Great evil befalls the apprentice, because he unconsciously learns to skimp his work in his attempt to please the rushing foreman. The employer, too, in many cases knows little or nothing about the trade, and consequently



cannot teach it. . . . The ancient practice was for the apprentice to work under the master's eye, and be taught by the master, who was responsible, both legally and socially, for the apprentice's advancement. . . . It is difficult to call to mind a modern trade, however, unless it be a small tailor or dressmaker, in which the principal stands or sits at the side of the apprentice. The 'learners,' who are not so poor as to begin by running around or cleaning up the workrooms, are usually turned over to the foreman or forewoman, to do such task work as they seem fitted for, with such instruction, verbal or technical, as the patience or conscientiousness of the chief worker and director may suggest. In factories or large establishments the junior hands only see the chiefs of the establishment as they walk to and fro, and there is seldom a word of inquiry, called out by some special incident, either for praise or blame. A printing-office that takes juniors is an illustration of this *laissez-faire* system. The boy runs errands, cleans the forms, fetches and carries, until some one in authority discovers that he is willing and has brains. Then he is allowed to pick up and sort type, or do some work for the office which is not good enough for the practical printer, and thus he works his way slowly until he is allowed to set type for himself, and little by little learn the trade. Much depends on the employer's interest in his shop and his people, much on the foreman, much on the men, but most of all on the lad himself. He learns his trade somehow, it can scarcely be said that it has been taught him. Such was not the old-time idea, nor is it the true meaning of the word 'apprentice.'"

It will perhaps be a surprise to many persons to learn that the apprenticeship system is defunct; but such is the case. It is true that apprenticeship laws still appear on our statute books, and that in some workshops there are youths calling themselves apprentices; but the former are a dead letter, and the latter are misnamed, not being indentured, but free to walk out when they choose. And over the decay of apprenticeship no one seems to mourn. On the contrary, it is everywhere acknowledged to be utterly unsuited to the conditions of modern industry and the spirit of modern times. It had its proper place in the old days of settled conditions, authority, slight competition, craft-guilds, small businesses, and hand labor, when the master was himself a skilled workman, who made his apprentice a member of his family, cared for him in sickness and in health, gave him personal instruction, and took pride in him when he turned out to be a skilled journeyman. These days have passed away, never to return, and with them have gone the institutions born of them and suited to them. We could not restore the apprenticeship system now, if we would, and American young men are guided



by a correct instinct, and not merely by impatience, when they refuse to bind themselves as apprentices.

Let us recapitulate: A whole important field of lucrative activity, that of mechanical labor, is gradually passing into the possession of foreigners, and natives are either abandoning it, or if they remain, do so only as hewers of wood and drawers of water. This leads to several most undesirable results. First, the working class is forming itself into combinations animated by foreign notions, in many cases hostile to the principles of our free institutions. Secondly, a whole range of occupations in which an honest livelihood might be earned, and for which, more than for any other, a large number of our citizens are suited, is being withdrawn from them, leaving them either to pick up a precarious livelihood by degrading means or through a questionable "smartness," or else forcing them to overcrowd professions for which they are unsuited, to the great detriment both of these professions and of the persons who are fitted to enter them. Thirdly, labor troubles, with all their attendant miseries and dangers, physical, moral, and political, are growing up on every side and destroying the peace and harmony of the nation. All this is due to the fact that American youths, for the most part, either refuse to learn trades at all, or, if they are forced to learn them, do so in such a slipshod way that they cannot hold their own against foreign workmen, are forced into inferior positions, in which they respect neither themselves nor their work, and become chronically discontented and rebellious. The causes of this refusal on their part to learn trades are chiefly three: (1) the natural human aversion to continuous, undiverting labor, intensified by American restlessness and impatience for immediate results; (2) a feeling that manual labor is ungentlemanly and servile; and (3) the want of proper opportunity to learn trades, a want due to the decay of the obsolete apprenticeship system and our failure to replace it by anything suited to actual conditions and the modern spirit.

Such is the present situation, and it plainly requires to be changed. The question is: How shall we change it and reopen the fruitful field of mechanical labor to the youth of our country? How shall we make young men willing to submit to the sustained



and earnest exertion involved in the learning of a trade, and to curb their native restlessness? How shall we convince them that all honest labor is gentlemanly, and only idleness and dependence are ungentlemanly? How shall we give them a chance to learn trades thoroughly, supposing they are willing to do so? I answer without hesitation: By making manual training an integral part of common and high-school education, and by establishing public technical schools on the same footing as the schools of natural science, medicine, law, and the fine arts. By so doing, we should, I think, meet nearly all the difficulties of the case. First, we should of course make it possible for any young man who chose to learn any trade thoroughly, without becoming an apprentice and exposing himself to all the dangers, delays, uncertainties, and indignities which apprenticeship in its decrepitude involves. Secondly, by placing the mechanical arts on a level with the so-called liberal arts, and upon a scientific basis, we should raise them to the dignity of professions. Thirdly, we should in this way supply a portion of the stimulus necessary to induce our young men to overcome their natural inertia and impatience. I say "a portion," because I am well aware that only a moral stimulus is, or can be, a complete one. No set of circumstances that does not include a perfect enthusiasm of the soul for universal good, can ever enable men to overcome the slothfulness of their animal nature and do their human best.

Many will incline to doubt whether the placing of the manual arts on a level with the liberal arts, as branches of education, would alter the general feeling with regard to them and make them seem fit occupations for gentlemen. One thing, however, is certain, that unless it does, nothing will, and a condition of things must continue which is hostile to our institutions. Unless our democracy is a sham, the spirit of it demands that no social distinction shall be made between man and man, or class and class, on the ground of difference of occupations, so long as these are useful and honest; but that all shall be based upon worth, that is, the fidelity with which a man plays his part in life, whatever that may be. This spirit, by confining the term "gentleman" to its moral signification, and utterly dissociating it from wealth, idleness, soft hands, and supercilious manners, must give



us the new, democratic type of gentleness. But, if we may judge from past experience, the raising of the mechanical arts to the level of the liberal arts, as branches of education, will have the effect I have indicated. We have seen how the literary education which we now consider so essential was regarded in old England. It is not so long since the physician or leech was, as Hallam says, "an inexhaustible theme of popular ridicule;" witness Molière's "*L'amour médecin*," "*Le médecin malgré lui*," "*Le malade imaginaire*," etc. The barber's pole, so common in our streets, recalls a time, not so long past, when the barber practiced blood-letting and other medical arts. It is within our own memory that the dentist stood on a level with the barber; indeed, the two were often the same person. How is it that all this is changed, that literature, medicine, and dentistry have become gentlemanly occupations? Simply, I think, because they are now taught scientifically, and institutions have been established for that purpose. It may be laid down as a general rule, that whatever is taught in school will soon become respectable and gentlemanly, while that which is picked up in the home or the workshop will always be regarded as menial.

That the public manual-training school and technical institute are what must replace the old private, family apprenticeship, is the opinion of nearly all persons who have studied the subject with care. Nor is this opinion a mere theory. It is based upon the experience of other countries in which such schools and institutes have been established—of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, etc. A mass of testimony to this effect may be found in the "Report of the British Royal Commissioners on Technical Instruction" (5 vols. 8vo.), a report admirably summarized in one of the "Circulars of Information" of the Washington Bureau of Education (No. 3—1885).

My conclusion is, that unless we wish to keep manual labor in a position of degradation, to close an important field of activity against our own citizens, and to belie our democratic principles, we must elevate mechanical art to the level of the liberal arts, by establishing in every city and town in the United States schools for the imparting of manual training to every boy and girl, and technical schools for thorough instruction in all the industrial arts.

I am well aware that such a proposition savors of socialism;



but what of it? Our entire system of public education, of which we are so proud, is as socialistic as any Lassalle or Marx could desire. As a nation we are committed to socialistic education, and only public utility can draw the line at which that education should stop. If it is for the good of our nation, or any large portion of it, that public technical schools should be everywhere established, then it is the plain duty of the state to establish them. In doing so it will introduce no new principle. If there is anything for which the workmen of to-day, through all their organizations, ought to agitate, it is for the establishment of technical schools, to replace the old wearisome, wasteful apprenticeship, and to elevate the whole mechanical profession; schools in which intellectual and practical instruction shall go hand in hand. By doing so they will be consulting not only for their own good, but also for the good of the whole nation.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.



## A SIMPLER SOUTHERN QUESTION.

I. To bring any public question fairly into the open field of literary debate is always a long step toward its final adjustment. It is across that field that the question must go to be so purged of its irrelevancies, misinterpretations, and misuses, personal, partisan, or illogical, and so clarified and simplified, as to make it easy for the popular mind to take practical and final action on it and settle it once for all by settling it right.

It is in this field that the Negro problem still forces itself to the front as a living and urgent national question. Such distinguished and honored men as Messrs. Hampton, Chandler, Colquitt, Foraker, Halstead, Edmunds, and Watterson are engaged in its debate, and in the October number of the *FORUM* Senator Eustis writes that "this Negro question is still a running sore in our body politic," and that among the problems of this country it "promises to be the most serious of all," and "is still far from being solved."

Now, it is only fair to assume that each and all the writers who have turned aside from the more effective partisan media of the daily newspaper, legislative halls, the public platform, and the "stump," to the pages of the magazines and reviews, have done so in the desire to help the question along toward its final solution by aiding to make it in each case clearer and simpler than it was before. If so, then we may assume also that writers, editors, and readers will not repel an effort, if it be intelligent and sincere, to gather from several of these writers' utterances some conclusive replies to questions whose answer and removal from the debate will greatly reduce the intricacies of the problem.

II. Can the Southern question be solved? There are men, in North and South, who say no, and, without being at all able to tell what they mean by the phrase, think it must be "left to solve itself." But careful thinkers, on either side of the question, never so reply. Their admission, whether tacit or expressed, is that



"can be" is out of the debate; it *must be* solved. It is a running, not a self-healing sore; one of those great problems "whose solution," as Mr. Eustis says, "strains the bonds of society and taxes the wisest statesmanship"; that kind of problems with some one of which "every nation must deal." We must solve it.

Is it being solved? We look in vain for any one's direct yes or no. Gov. Colquitt seems to come nearest to the distinct affirmation when he says: "A sense of moral and religious responsibility is restraining and directing us in our State polity and practice; and . . . I think we have had more than an average success in discharging the obligations imposed upon us." Among these he includes pointedly the assuring of the Negro in the full enjoyment of his political rights. But setting out to speak for the South, he speaks in fact only for Georgia, and makes no plain claim that, even so, the Negro question in Georgia is really being pushed toward its settlement. On the other hand, when Senator Chandler says: "The political control of the United States is now in the hands of a Southern oligarchy as persistent and relentless as was that which plunged the nation into the slaveholders' rebellion;" and when Senator Eustis falls short only by a slender "if" of the blunt assertion that "the Negro problem still exists in its original relations," these gentlemen surely are not to be understood as implying that the question has made or is making no advance toward solution. Both of them yield a recognition of facts which make it unreasonable so to construe their meaning. In truth, it is indisputable facts that we need from which to draw our final answer to this important query, rather than any person's or any multitude of persons' general assurances or ever so profound beliefs. And for some such facts we are indebted to these gentlemen as well as to others.

III. The Negro question is three-quarters of a century old. Within that period a vast majority of the nation have totally changed their convictions as to what are the Negro's public rights. Within that period the sentiment of every community and the laws of every State in the Union as well as of the federal government, have been radically altered concerning him. In their dimensions, in their scope, in their character, the problem's original relations have passed through a great and often radical change.



So far from the problem still existing in its original relations, only two or three of those original relations any longer exist. Within the memory of men still in active life there was not a foot of soil under the American flag where a Negro detected fleeing from slavery was safe from violence. Now, it is several months since it was asserted in the *FORUM*\* that the Negro in the United States "has enjoyed for at least twenty years a larger share of private, public, religious, and political liberty than falls to the lot of any but a few people—the freest in the world," and thus far no writer, black or white, has challenged the statement. And the vast changes that have been effected—not by time, mark it, but by men, sometimes at peril, sometimes at cost, of their lives, in Northern States as well as in Southern—have been very uniformly in the direction of the great problem's simplification and solution. The problem is being solved; slowly, through the years, it is true; in pain, in sweat, in blood, with many a mistake, many a discouragement, many an enemy, and, saddest of all, many a neutral friend in North and South; yet it is being solved, and it is only by misconceiving the motive of those who have effected these changes that Mr. Eustis, for instance, can call the long, fruitful, and still persistent and determined effort an "unsuccessful experiment." For it is not, and never has been an effort "to balance or equalize the condition of the white and Negro races in this country," but only to balance or equalize their enjoyment of their public and political rights, to establish a common and uniform public justice and equity, and trust the untrammelled selections of private society and "the laws of nature and nature's God" still to maintain all proper equalities and inequalities of race and condition. The fact must be admitted by all fair minds to be established and removed from debate, that in some aspects, at least, the Negro problem's "original relations" are altered, when men like Governor Colquitt, men in the front ranks of political life, their political fortunes largely dependent on what they say, eagerly choose to deny with indignation that either they or their constituents, in States where once it was against the law to teach a colored child to read, now either practice or believe in the entire or partial suppression of the Negro's vote, and as eagerly

\* "What shall the Negro Do?" *The FORUM*, August, 1888.



boast—with statistical figures to back them—that their public schools are educating twice as many thousands of colored youth now as they were educating hundreds fifteen years ago. True, there are men in the South who talk very differently. Aye, and in the North, too. When there are none such left in the Southern States they will be far ahead, at least of where the Northern are now, toward the whole question's final solution.

IV. One of the most conclusive proofs that the changes that have been made in the Negro's *status* have been generally in the direction of true progress, is that wherever and whenever these changes have been made complete and operative, opposition to them has disappeared and they have dropped out of the main problem, leaving it by so much the lighter and simpler. The most notable instance, of course, is the abolition of slavery; but there are many lesser examples in the history of both Northern and Southern States: the teaching of Negroes in private schools; their admission into public schools; their sitting on juries; their acceptance as court witnesses; their riding in street cars; their enlistment in the militia; their appointment on the police, etc. It is a fact worthy of more consideration than it gets from the debaters on either side of the Negro question, that such changes as these, which nobody finds any reason for undoing in any place where they have been fully established, were, until they were made, as fiercely opposed and esteemed as dishonorable, humiliating, unjust, and unsafe to white men and women, as those changes which, in many regions of our country, not all of them Southern, still remain to be made before the Negro question will let itself be dismissed. This fact no one will dispute. Yet thousands shut their eyes and ears, or let others shut them, to the equal though not as salient truth of this fact's corollary, to wit: that every step toward the perfecting of one common public liberty for all American citizens is opposed and postponed only where it never has been fairly tried.

Even the various public liberties intended to be secured to all men alike by the Civil Rights Bill have rarely if ever, in any place, been actually secured and made operative and afterward withdrawn and lost. Only where they have been merely legalized and not practically established, but bitterly fought and successfully



nullified throughout reconstruction days, have they since been un-legalized, condemned, and falsely proclaimed to have been fairly tried and found wanting. The infamous Glenn bill, in the Georgia legislature, may be thrust before us by debaters of the passionate sort on either side as a glaring exception; but its fate, its final suffocation, makes it more an example than an exception, even though this was effected by a compromise which will hardly be brought forward as evidence of "a sensibility of honor that would 'feel a stain like a wound.' " \*

V. But the Negro vote. Surely, many will say, that was abundantly tried, and earned its own condemnation in the corruptions and disasters of the reconstruction period. Now this would be a fair statement only if the ultimate purpose of the reconstruction scheme had been simply to secure the Negro in his right to vote. We shall see that it was not. Much less was it to establish, to use Senator Hampton's phrase, "the political supremacy of the Negro," or, as Mr. Watterson charges, to erect "a black oligarchy at the South," or, as Governor Colquitt puts it, "to Africanize the States of the South." These definitions belong—to borrow again Mr. Watterson's thought—to the hysterics of the question. That fervid writer more than half refutes the charge when he follows it closely with the assertion that "the scheme was preposterous in its failure to recognize the simplest operation of human nature upon human affairs, and in its total lack of foresight." But surely, whatever may be said of Sumner, Stevens, and the men who gathered around them, they were not a herd of perfect fools with a "total lack of foresight." Not the scheme was, but the charge that this was the scheme is, "preposterous." The scheme included the establishment of the Negro in his right to vote; but its greater design was, as we have stated in an earlier paper,† "to put race rule of all sorts under foot, and set up the common rule of all," or rather "the consent of all to the rule of a minority the choice of the majority, frequently appealed to without respect of persons." As to the Negro in particular, the design, even at its extreme, was to enable him—and here we are indebted to Mr. Eustis for a phrase—"to share with the white man the political

\* Governor Colquitt, in the *FORTUNE*, November, 1887.

† The London "Contemporary Review," March, 1888.



responsibility of governing"; or, more exactly, the political responsibility of choosing governors. This scheme was never allowed a fair trial in any of the once seceding States. Every effort to give it such was powerfully opposed by one great national political party throughout the whole union, "while"—to quote again from the same earlier paper—"the greater part of the wealth and intelligence of the region directly involved held out sincerely, steadfastly, and desperately against it and for the preservation of unequal public privileges and class domination." "We thought we saw," says Governor Colquitt, speaking for that Southern wealth and intelligence for which he has so large a right to speak, "a determined effort so completely to Africanize," etc. But Senator Eustis, who also has his right to speak for them, treats that thought as an absurdity worthy only the utterance of "that foul bird of prey, the carpet-bagger," who, he writes, "encouraged the *deluded Negro* to believe that the federal government intended that he should govern the white race in the South." The thought *was* an absurdity; an absurdity so palpable that an intelligent people must have rejected it but for the conviction behind it that, whatever might be the experiment's design, "Negro supremacy" would be the result. And here Messrs. Eustis, Colquitt, Hampton, and the rest seem to agree. This seems to be the potential conviction of all who speak or write on that side of the debate; and we dwell upon the fact because it furnishes such weighty evidence of the entire truth of our earlier statement that this conviction, this fear, is the whole tap-root of the Negro question to-day. Man elsewhere may hold some conjectural belief in "race antagonisms," or even in their divine appointment. Nowhere in the world do the laws forbid a man this belief. In every land, be it Massachusetts, Martinique, or Sierra Leone, he may indulge it to his heart's content in every private relation. It is only where a people are moved by the fear of "Negro supremacy" that the simple *belief* in a divinely ordered race antagonism is used to justify the withholding of impersonal public rights which belong to every man because he is a man, and with which race and its real or imagined antagonisms have nothing whatever to do. It is only under that fear that men stand up before the intelligent and moral world saying, "If this



instinct does not exist it is necessary to invent it." \* There is a Negro question which belongs to private society and morals and to the individual conscience: the question what to do to and with the Negro within that realm of our own private choice where public law does not and dare not come. But the Negro question which appeals to the nation, to the laws, and to legislation, is only, and is bound to be only, the question of public—civil and political—rights. Mr. Eustis says truly, "Our plain duty should be not to make its solution more difficult"; but when he occupies eleven pages of the FORUM with a recriminative entanglement of these two matters, one entirely within, the other entirely beyond, the province of legislation, he is wasting his own and his readers' time and impeding the solution of the *public* question; and we here challenge him, or any writer of his way of thinking, to show from the pen of any Negro of national reputation, Douglass, Lynch, Bruce, Downing, Williams, Grimke, Matthews, Fortune, or any other, anything but their repudiation of this—blind, let us believe, rather than wilful—attempt to make a "Siamese union," as Mr. Gladstone would say, between these two distinct issues. As far as it is or of right can be a municipal, State, inter-State, or national problem at all, the question to-day, pruned of all its dead wood, is this: Shall the Negro, individually, enjoy equally, and only equally, with the white man individually, that full measure of an American citizen's public rights, civil and political, decreed to him both as his and as an essential to the preservation of equal rights between the States; or shall he be compelled to abandon these inalienable human rights to the custody of Mr. Eustis's exclusively "white man's government," and "rely implicitly upon the magnanimity of his white fellow citizens of the South to treat him with the justice and generosity due to his unfortunate condition"? Shall or shall not this second choice be forced upon him for fear that otherwise these seven (million) black and lean kine may, so to speak, devour the twelve (million) white, fat kine, and "the torches of Caucasian civilization be extinguished" in the South, despite the "race antagonism" of the most powerful fifty-three million whites on earth? Is it not

\* See "Century Magazine," April, 1885, page 911, "In Plain Black and White."



almost time for a really intrepid people to be getting ashamed of such a fear? But that this fear is the main root of the whole Southern problem is further proved by the fact that no speaker or writer on that side of the debate, North or South, ever denies it. And neither does any attempt to prove that it is well grounded. Like Senator Hampton, all these debaters content themselves with the absurd assumption that the peaceable enjoyment, by the white man and the Negro, of an equal and common civil and political citizenship was fairly tried in the reconstruction period, and that "a large class at the North" have believed in and still want "Negro supremacy" wherever the Negro is in the majority. Challenged to actual argument, they are silent, until some one asks some subordinate question: Is the Negro contented and prosperous? Is he allowed to vote? Is his vote fairly counted? Has he all his civil rights? Are outbreaks due to political causes? Then their answers are abundant again; and as final proof that not these, but the earlier question, is truly the main issue, now there are scarcely any two who do not contradict themselves and one another.

VI. The least discordance of statement on these minor points is on that of "race antagonism." And for the obvious reason that, attributed to the Negro, who always denies it, it excuses the bald assumption that no matter what he says, he must want to establish a "black oligarchy"; while, attributed to the white race, it excuses the theory that the white man cannot even by way of experiment give the black man white men's rights, because natural instinct will not let him. "But you must!" says conscience. "But I can't!" says fear. Yet even on this point there is not full concord. Mr. Eustis "believes"—he counts it quite enough to "believe" and needless to prove—that this instinctive antagonism justifies the subjection of the Negro, forcible if need be, to a "white man's government"; while, as far back as 1867, General Hampton "recognized that in a republic such as ours no citizen ought to be excluded from any of the rights of citizenship because of his color or of any other arbitrary distinction." Where was and where is the gentleman's instinctive race antagonism? It is not in his list of necessities. He believed "a large class" was bent on establishing "race supremacy," and if



there was to be "race supremacy" then, of course, and naturally enough, it must be the supremacy of the white race, instinct or no instinct; while Mr. Eustis regarded the race-supremacy scheme as a carpet-bagger's lie, and could justify the subjugation of the Negro mainly on the *belief* that to protest against it is "an insolent demand for the revision of the laws of nature." But under neither philosophy does the Negro get a white man's public rights.

We find still wider variances on some other points. "Is the Negro vote suppressed?" Messrs. Foraker, Edmunds, Chandler, and Halstead still roundly make the charge. But they are all of one party and are human; what is the reply of the other side? Human, too, of course; but it is also what Mr. Silas Wegg might call "human various." Says Governor Colquitt: "We therefore will not suffer the charge . . . of defrauding the Negro out of his vote to go unchallenged. We deny, as roundly as our enemies make the charge, that the Negro is denied a right to vote."

He speaks for the whole South. He addresses himself to the "alleged suppression of the negro vote in the South," just as Mr. Watterson addresses himself to "a claim . . . that the negro vote is suppressed . . . by the white people of the South." True, Governor Colquitt speaks especially for Georgia, but he distinctly offers Georgia as a fair sample of all the Southern States, and claims for the men on "the roll of members elect from Georgia to the next Congress, and in fact that from any other Southern State," "a love of truth and honesty that would cause them to refuse the presidency if it had to be won by fraud on any one, black or white." And Governor Colquitt ought to know. But who ought to know better than Mr. Watterson? And Mr. Watterson, not some time before, but six months later, writes: "I should be entitled to no respect or credit if I pretended that there is either a fair poll or count of the vast overflow of black votes in States where there is a negro majority, or that in the nature of things present there can be." Now, the worst about these flat contradictions, in a matter confessedly involving the right to the nation's "respect and credit," and to a reputation for "love of truth and honesty," is that they will remain amicably unsettled. Each respondent will sincerely believe what he has



stated, and the whole circle of party managers on their side of the issue will go on playing "thimble, thimble" with the tormented question.

Other secondary questions fare no better. Are outbreaks between the two races in the South frequently due to political causes? For twenty years we have heard that they are and that they are not. What says Senator Eustis? He has a divinely ordered race antagonism to assert, and so tells us that, this being the cause, almost anything may be the occasion. "Some sudden unforeseen incident, political, religious, educational, social, or what not, may at any moment arouse the passions of race hatred and convulse society by the outbreak of race conflicts." To him the real cause of amazement is "that these conflicts are not more frequent and more bloody." Exactly; the race antagonism theory does not half work. What says Governor Colquitt? "Friendly relations habitually exist between our white and black citizens, and are never disturbed except on those occasions when the exigencies of party politics call for an agitation of race prejudices."

VII. Such discrepancies are broad; but they shrink to narrowness when compared with Senator Eustis's contradictions of himself. Is the Negro contented and prospering? There are actually millions of citizens wanting to know. Let Mr. Eustis answer: 1. "His [the Negro's] craving for federal tutorship is still unsatisfied. The white man's patience is to-day taxed as ever by the unending complaints of the Negro and his friends. . . . He still yearns for this fruitless agitation touching his right and his *status*." 2. "This total want of possible assimilation produces antipathy, *quasi* hostility, between the two races, North as well as South," whose manifestations "both races regard as the incidents of a struggle for supremacy and domination." 3. "If this [race antagonism] were not the case the Negro would have the right to appeal to the enlightened judgment and to the sense of justice of the American people, to protect him against the unfeeling arrogance and relentless proscription which he has so long endured as the result of the white man's intolerance." 4. "In the South to-day he is happy, contented and satisfied"! Mr. Eustis is almost as violently out of tune with himself as to the Negro's accept-



ance of his private social *status*, but we shall not quote; the question of the Negro's entrance into private white society, we again protest, is entirely outside the circle of his civil rights. No intelligent advocate of a common enjoyment of all civil rights by both races has argued to the contrary, and the present writer has never written a line in favor of it. As a moral and personal question it admits, no doubt, of public discussion, but as to its connection with any problem of political or civil rights between the two races, all that needs recognition is that it is completely out of that question.

Such is the conflict of testimony from the choicest witnesses on one side of the case. It is a common saying on that side, that communities at a distance cannot understand this Negro problem. The fact is quite overlooked that a large majority of these communities no great while back held the very same views about it that are still held so largely in the South; and the very feminine argument that opposing debaters "cannot understand" because of "profound ignorance," etc., is only an unconscious way of admitting that one's own side cannot agree upon one full and clear explanation.

Fortunately we need not insist upon uniform answers to these questions. They are secondary. Let us only push on to the problem's main citadel. Whenever it falls all really dependent questions must surrender. And many others; as, for instance, Must the average mental and moral caliber of the whole Negro race in America equal that of the white race, before *any* Negro in a Southern State is entitled to the civil and political standing decreed to all citizens of the United States except the criminal and insane? Or this: Does the Negro throughout the domain of civil rights enjoy impersonal but individual consideration, or is he subjected to a merely class treatment? The nation is tired of contradictory answers to these questions. We can waive them, if only such chosen witnesses as these Southern writers in the FORUM will answer this: Do you, with any large part of the white citizens of your State, include, in your definition of public or civil rights, all, and only, the rights that go with one's simple membership in the community and do not depend on his personal identity; and are you and they in favor of giving all citizens of



your State one common enjoyment of civil and political rights as thus defined? This is not a national party question. The Democratic Party is answering both yea and nay to this in various parts of the Union. The national party question is, whether the federal government may compel the people of a State to answer yea against their will. We waive that question. Will you, gentlemen, answer the question we ask?

Or if you can show good reason why you should not, will you answer a yet simpler one: If a free ballot and a fair count—not “a fair ballot and a free count,” as a governor of Alabama once said with beaming irony when he thought all at table were of one stripe—if a free ballot and a fair count should seem about to decide that neither the Negro nor the white man may enjoy the exclusive power to fix or hold the opposite race in a separate *status* as to political and civil rights as above defined, would you or any large part of the white citizens of your State allow and protect that free ballot and fair count and stand by its decision? Look at this question closely. It is not one upon which American political parties can honestly divide. It is the question whether the American government shall or shall not be a government “of the people, by the people, for the people,” according to the Constitution’s definition of who the people are. We beg to be believed that every word here written is uttered in a spirit of kindness and civil fraternity. We believe that to these two questions a true American loyalty can in calm reflection give but one answer. But we as sincerely believe that these gentlemen on the other side are as honorable and loyal in their intentions and are as sincere lovers of their States’ and the nation’s common welfare as they certainly are courteous in debate. We trust that loyalty and courtesy for an answer.

G. W. CABLE.



## THE SOUTH AS A FIELD FOR FICTION.

MORE than twenty years ago the writer ventured the prediction that the short but eventful lifetime of the Southern Confederacy, the downfall of slavery, and the resulting conditions of Southern life would furnish to the future American novelist his richest and most striking material. At that time he was entirely unknown as a writer of fiction, and it is probable that he is now generally supposed to have turned his attention in this direction more from political bias than from any literary or artistic attraction which it offered. The exact converse was in fact true; the romantic possibility of the situation appealed to him even more vividly than its political difficulty, though, as is always the case in great national crises, the one was unavoidably colored by the other. Slavery as a condition of society has not yet become separable, in the minds of our people, North or South, from slavery as a political idea, a factor of partisan strife. They do not realize that two centuries of bondage left an ineradicable impress on master and slave alike, or that the line of separation between the races, being marked by the fact of color, is as impassable since emancipation as it was before, and perhaps even more portentous. They esteem slavery as simply a dead, unpleasant fact of which they wish to hear nothing more, and regard any disparaging allusion to its results as an attempt to revive a defunct political sentiment.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the literary men of the North should have looked upon such a forecast with contempt and impatience. It seemed to them to be not only absurd, but inspired by a malicious desire to keep alive the memory of an epoch which it was the duty of every one to help bury in impenetrable oblivion. That was a foolish notion. A nation can never bury its past. A country's history may perish with it, but it can never outlive its history. Yet such was the force of the determination in the Northern mind to taboo all allusion to that social condi-



tion which had been the occasion of strife, that the editor of a leading magazine felt called upon to make emphatic protest against the obnoxious prediction. "However much of pathos there may have been in the slave's life," he said, with the positiveness of infallibility, "its relations can never constitute the groundwork of enjoyable fiction. The colored race themselves can never regard the estate of bondage as a romantic epoch, or desire to perpetuate its memories. Slavery and rebellion, therefore," he concludes, "with the conditions attendant upon and resulting from them, can never constitute a popular field for American fiction." Time is not always prompt in its refutation of bad logic, but in this case he is not chargeable with unnecessary delay. In obedience to a pronounced and undeniable popular demand, that very magazine has given a complete reversal of its own emphatic dictum, by publishing in a recent number a dialect story of Southern life written by one of the enslaved race.

Under such circumstances, however, it is hardly surprising that the writer's farther prediction should have been regarded as too absurd for refutation. He himself is almost startled, as he looks at the dingy pages, to find himself averring, in the very glare of expiring conflict, that "within thirty years after the close of the war of rebellion popular sympathy will be with those who upheld the Confederate cause rather than with those by whom it was overthrown; our popular heroes will be Confederate leaders; our fiction will be Southern in its prevailing types and distinctively Southern in its character." There are yet seven years to elapse before the prescribed limit is reached, but the prediction is already almost literally fulfilled. Not only is the epoch of the war the favorite field of American fiction to-day, but the Confederate soldier is the popular hero. Our literature has become not only Southern in type, but distinctly Confederate in sympathy. The federal or Union soldier is not exactly depreciated, but subordinated; the Northern type is not decried, but the Southern is preferred. This is not because of any essential superiority of the one or lack of heroic attributes in the other, but because sentiment does not always follow the lead of conviction, and romantic sympathy is scarcely at all dependent upon merit. The writer makes no pretension to having foreseen the events that have oc-



curred in the interval that has elapsed. Even the results he but imperfectly comprehended, having no clear anticipation of the peculiar forms which Southern fiction would assume. The one thing he did perceive, and the causes of which he clearly outlined, was the almost unparalleled richness of Southern life of that period as a field for fictitious narrative.

But whatever the cause may be, it cannot be denied that American fiction of to-day, whatever may be its origin, is predominantly Southern in type and character. The East and the West had already been in turn the seat of romantic empire. American genius has traced with care each step in the mysterious process by which the "dude" was evolved from the Puritan and the "cow-boy" from the pioneer. From Cooper to Hawthorne, the colonial and Revolutionary life of the East was the favorite ground of the novelist. The slavery agitation gave a glimpse of one phase of Southern life. As soon as the war was over, as if to distract attention from that unpleasant fact, we were invited to contrast American crudeness with English culture. Then the Western type came boldly to the front and the world studied the assimilations of our early occidental life; its product has not yet been portrayed. For a time each of these overshadowed in American fiction all the others. Each was in turn worked out. The public relish for that particular diet palled, and popular taste, which is the tyrant of the realm of literature, demanded something else. To-day the South has unquestionably the preference. Hardly a novelist of prominence, except Mr. Howells and Mr. James, but has found it necessary to yield to the prevailing demand and identify himself with Southern types. Southern life does not lend itself readily to the methods of the former. It is earnest, intense, full of action, and careless to a remarkable degree of the trivialities which both these authors esteem the most important features of real life. Its types neither subsist upon soliloquy nor practice irrelevancy as a fine art; they are not affected by a chronic self-distrust nor devoted to anti-climax. Yet despite these imperfections the public appetite seems to crave their delineation.

A foreigner studying our current literature, without knowledge of our history, and judging our civilization by our fiction,



would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America, and the African the chief romantic element of our population. As an evidence of this, it may be noted that a few months ago every one of our great popular monthlies presented a "Southern story" as one of its most prominent features; and during the past year nearly two-thirds of the stories and sketches furnished to newspapers by various syndicates have been of this character.

To the Northern man, whose belief in averages is so profound, this flood of Southern fiction seems quite unaccountable. He recurs at once to the statistics of illiteracy, with an unfaltering belief that novels, poems, and all forms of literature are a natural and spontaneous product of the common-school system. He sees that twenty-eight out of every hundred of the white people of the South cannot read or write, and at once concludes that in literary production as well as in mechanical and financial achievement the North must of necessity excel, in about the same proportion that it does in capacity to assimilate the literary product.

Yet the fact ought not to surprise any one. One of the compensations of war is a swift ensuing excitation of the mental faculties, which almost always yields remarkable results. This is especially true when fortune turns against a spirited and ambitious people. The War of Rebellion was a far more terrible experience to the people of the South than to those of the North. The humiliation resulting from defeat was intense and universal. They had and can have no tide of immigration and no rush of business life greatly to lessen the force of these impressions, while the presence of the Negro in numbers almost equal to the whites prevents the possibility of forgetting the past. The generation which has grown up since the war not only has the birthmark of the hour of defeat upon it, but has been shaped and molded quite as much by regret for the old conditions as by the difficulties of the new. To the Southern man or woman, therefore, the past, present, and future of Southern life is the most interesting and important matter about which they can possibly concern themselves. It is their world. Their hopes and aspirations are bounded by its destiny, and their thought is not diluted by cosmopolitan ideas. Whether self-absorption is an essential



requisite of literary production or not, it is unquestionably true that almost all the noted writers of fiction have been singularly enthusiastic lovers of the national life of which they have been a part. In this respect the Southern novelist has a vast advantage over his Northern contemporary. He has never any doubt. He loves the life he portrays and sincerely believes in its superlative excellence. He does not study it as a curiosity, but knows it by intuition. He never sneers at its imperfections, but worships even its defects.

The Southern writer, too, has a curiously varied life from which he may select his types, and this life is absolutely *terra incognita* to the Northern mind. The "Tyrant of Broomsedge Cove" may have a parallel on every hillside; Mrs. Burnett's miraculously transformed "poor-white" Cinderellas may still use the springs for pier-glasses; Joel Chandler Harris's quaintness, Chestnut's curious realism, or the dreamy idealism that still paints the master and the slave as complements of a remembered millennial state: any of these may be a true picture of this life so far as the Northern man's knowledge or conception is concerned. He has a conventional "Southern man," a conventional "poor white," with a female counterpart of each already fitted out in his fancy; and as long as the author does not seriously disturb these preconceptions, the Northern reader likes the Southern story because it is full of life and fire and real feeling. And it is no wonder that he does, for it is getting to be quite a luxury to the novel reader to find a story in which the characters have any feeling beyond a self-conscious sensibility which seems to give them a deal of trouble without ever ripening into motive or resulting in achievement.

It is noteworthy in this revival that the Negro and the poor white are taking rank as by far the more interesting elements of Southern life. True, the dashing Confederate cavalier holds his place pretty well. It is rather odd that he was always a "cavalier"; but, so far as our fiction is concerned, there does not appear to have been any Confederate infantry. Still, even the "cavalier" has come to need a foil, just as Dives required a Lazarus, and with like result—the beggar has overshadowed his patron. In literature as well as in politics, the poor white is having the



best of the Southern *renaissance*. The sons of schoolmasters and overseers and even "crappers" have come to the fore in the "New South," and the poor white is exalted not only in his offspring but in literature. There are infinite possibilities in the poor white of either sex; and as the supply is limited to the South, there seems to be no reason why he should not during the next half century become to the fiction of the United States what the Highlander is to Scottish literature—the only "interesting" white character in it.

But the Negro has of late developed a capacity as a stock character of fiction which no one ever dreamed that he possessed in the good old days when he was a merchantable commodity. It must be admitted, too, that the Southern writers are "working him for all he is worth," as a foil to the aristocratic types of the land of heroic possibilities. The Northern man, no matter what his prejudices, is apt to think of the Negro as having an individuality of his own. To the Southern mind, he is only a shadow—an incident of another's life. As such he is invariably assigned one of two roles. In one he figures as the devoted slave who serves and sacrifices for his master and mistress, and is content to live or die, do good or evil, for those to whom he feels himself under infinite obligation for the privilege of living and serving. There were such miracles no doubt, but they were so rare as never to have lost the miraculous character. The other favorite aspect of the Negro character from the point of view of the Southern fictionist, is that of the poor "nigger" to whom liberty has brought only misfortune, and who is relieved by the disinterested friendship of some white man whose property he once was. There are such cases, too, but they are not so numerous as to destroy the charm of novelty. About the Negro as a man, with hopes, fears, and aspirations like other men, our literature is very nearly silent. Much has been written of the slave and something of the freedman, but thus far no one has been found able to weld the new life to the old.

This indeed is the great difficulty to be overcome. As soon as the American Negro seeks to rise above the level of the former time, he finds himself confronted with the past of his race and the woes of his kindred. It is to him not only a record of sub-



jection but of injustice and oppression. The "twice-told tales" of *his* childhood are animate with rankling memories of wrongs. Slavery colored not only the lives but the traditions of his race. With the father's and the mother's blood is transmitted the story, not merely of their individual wrongs but of a race's woe, which the impenetrable oblivion of the past makes even more terrible and which the sense of color will not permit him to forget. The white man traces his ancestry back for generations, knows whence they came, where they lived, and guesses what they did. To the American Negro the past is only darkness replete with unimaginable horrors. Ancestors he has none. Until within a quarter of a century he had no record of his kindred. He was simply one number of an infinite "no name series." He had no father, no mother; only a sire and dam. Being bred for market, he had no name, only a distinguishing appellation, like that of a horse or a dog. Even in comparison with these animals he was at a disadvantage; there was no "herdbook" of slaves. A well-bred horse may be traced back in his descent for a thousand years, and may show a hundred strains of noble blood; but even this poor consolation is denied the eight millions of slave-descended men and women in our country.

The remembrance of this condition is not pleasant and can never become so. It is exasperating, galling, degrading. Every freedman's life is colored by this shadow. The farther he gets away from slavery, the more bitter and terrible will be his memory of it. The wrong that was done to his forebears is a continuing and self-magnifying evil. This is the inevitable consequence of the conditions of the past; no kindness can undo it; no success can blot it out. It is the sole inheritance the bondman left his issue, and it must grow heavier rather than lighter until the very suggestion of inequality has disappeared—if indeed such a time shall ever come.

The life of the Negro as a slave, freedman, and racial outcast offers undoubtedly the richest mine of romantic material that has opened to the English-speaking novelist since the Wizard of the North discovered and depicted the common life of Scotland. The Negro as a man has an immense advantage over the Negro as a servant, being an altogether new character in fiction. The



slave's devotion to the master was trite in the remote antiquity of letters; but the slave as a man, with his hopes, his fears, his faith, has been touched, and only touched, by the pen of the novelist. The traditions of the freedman's fireside are richer and far more tragic than the folk-lore which genius has recently put into his quaint vernacular. The freedman as a man—not as a "brother in black," with the curse of Cain yet upon him, but a man with hopes and aspirations, quick to suffer, patient to endure, full of hot passion, fervid imagination, desirous of being equal to the best—is sure to be a character of enduring interest.

The mere fact of having suffered or enjoyed does not imply the power to portray; but the Negro race in America has other attributes besides mere imagination. It has absorbed the best blood of the South, and it is quite within the possibilities that it may itself become a power in literature, of which even the descendants of the old regime shall be as proud as they now are of the dwellers in "Broomsedge Cove" and on the "Great Smoky."

Pathos lies at the bottom of all enduring fiction. Agony is the key of immortality. The ills of fate, irreparable misfortune, untoward but unavoidable destiny: these are the things that make for enduring fame. The "realists" profess to be truth-tellers, but are in fact the worst of falsifiers, since they tell only the weakest and meanest part of the grand truth which makes up the continued story of every life. As a rule, humanity is in serious earnest, and loves to have its sympathy moved with woes that are heavy enough to leave an impress of actuality on the heart. Sweetmeats may afford greater scope for the skill of the *chef*, but it is "the roast beef of old England" that "sticks to the ribs" and nourishes a race of giants. Dainties—peacocks' tongues and sparrows' brains—may bring delight to the epicure who loves to close his eyes and dream that he detects the hint of a flavor; but the strong man despises neutral things and a vigorous people demand a vigorous literature.

It is the poet of action whose clutch on the human soul is eternal, not the professor of analytics or the hierophant of doubt and uncertainty. In sincerity of passion and aspiration, as well as in the woefulness and humiliation that attended its downfall, the history of the Confederacy stands pre-eminent in human epochs.



Everything about it was on a grand scale. Everything was real and sincere. The soldier fought in defense of his home, in vindication of what he deemed his right. There was a proud assumption of superiority, a regal contempt of their foe, which, like Hector's boastfulness, added wonderfully to the pathos of the result. Then, too, a civilization fell with it—a civilization full of wonderful contrasts, horrible beyond the power of imagination to conceive in its injustice, cruelty, and barbarous debasement of a subject race, yet exquisitely charming in its assumption of pastoral purity and immaculate excellence. It believed that the slave loved his chains and was all the better physically and morally for wearing them.

But then came the catastrophe, and all was changed. The man who fights and wins is only common in human esteem. The downfall of empire is always the epoch of romance. The brave but unfortunate reap always the richest measure of immortality. The roundheads are accounted base and common realities, but the cavaliers are glorified by disaster. In all history, no cause had so many of the elements of pathos as that which failed at Appomattox, and no people ever presented to the novelist such a marvelous array of curiously contrasted lives. Added to the various elements of the white race are those other exceptional and unparalleled conditions of this epoch, springing from "race, color, and previous condition of servitude." The dominant class itself presents the accumulated pathos of a million abdications. "We are all poor whites now," is the touching phrase in which the results of the conflict are expressed with instinctive accuracy by those to whom it meant social as well as political disaster. It is a truth as yet but half appreciated. The level of Caucasian life at the South must hereafter be run from the bench-line of the poor white, and there cannot be any leveling upward. The distance between its upper and lower strata cannot be maintained; indeed it is rapidly disappearing. To the woefulness of the conquered is added the pathos of a myriad of deposed sovereigns. Around them will cluster the halo of romantic glory, and the epoch of their overthrow will live again in American literature.

It matters not whence the great names of the literary epoch which is soon to dawn may derive their origin. No doubt there



is something of truth in Herbert Spencer's suggestion, that the poets and novelists as well as the rulers of the future will come from the great plains and dwell in the shadows of the stern and silent mountains of the West. Greatness is rarely born where humanity swarms. Individual power is the product of a wide horizon. Inspiration visits men in solitude, and the Infinite comes nearer as the finite recedes from the mental vision; only solitude must not be filled with self. No solitary, self-imprisoned for his own salvation, ever sang an immortal strain; but he that taketh the woes of a people into the desert with him, sees God in the burning bush. Method is but half of art—its meaner half. Inspiration gives the better part of immortality. Homer's heroes made his song undying, not his sonorous measures; and the glow of English manfulness spreads its glamour over Shakespeare's lines, and makes him for all ages the poet from whom brave men will draw renewed strength and the unfortunate get unfailing consolation. Scott's loving faith in a chivalry which perhaps never existed, not only made his work imperishable, but inspires with healthful aspiration every reader of his shining pages.

Because of these things it is that the South is destined to be the Hesperides Garden of American literature. We cannot foretell the form its product will wear or even guess its character. It may be sorrowful, exultant, aspiring, or perhaps terrible, but it will certainly be great—greater than we have hitherto known, because its causative forces are mightier than those which have shaped the productive energy of the past. That its period of highest excellence will soon be attained there is little room to doubt. The history of literature shows that it is those who were cradled amid the smoke of battle, the sons and daughters of heroes yet red with slaughter, the inheritors of national woe or racial degradation, who have given utterance to the loftiest strains of genius. Because of the exceeding woefulness of a not too recent past, therefore, and the abiding horror of unavoidable conditions which are the sad inheritance of the present, we may confidently look for the children of soldiers and of slaves to advance American literature to the very front rank of that immortal procession whose song is the eternal refrain of remembered agony, before the birth-hour of the twentieth century shall strike.

ALBION W. TOURGÉE.



## PRISON LABOR COMPETITION.

THE sudden collapse, early in August, of prison industries in New York, in consequence of the passage of the prison bill in the extraordinary legislative session in July, is likely to precipitate throughout the country a crisis of prison labor agitation. The bugbear of prison labor competition has always occasioned some uneasiness among timid manufacturers and mechanics; and this feeling partisan politicians have for their own purposes encouraged, while sincere philanthropists and those who make a profession of philanthropy have also contributed to the agitation. As early as 1775, when Howard first visited the prison at Ghent, in Belgium, then newly erected, its features of task work, complete separation of the prisoners at night, and concession to them of a share in the earnings, drew from him the exclamation that it was "a noble institution." But in 1783 that prison was in a miserable condition of demoralization, because the Emperor Joseph had, at the solicitation of a few manufacturers, decreed that all productive work should cease. In America and in some European countries a more indirect method of destruction has been pursued. Whatever system of industry happens to be in use in the prisons is attacked and discredited, and another system substituted, till the public grows weary of the battledore and shuttlecock game between the state account and the contract systems. Then the real purpose is revealed, and the open attack is made to destroy all productive prison industries. New York succumbs in this "presidential year," and other States are expected to follow the example. Will they follow? Will even New York continue to maintain her criminals in idleness?

It never was otherwise than cruel, demoralizing, and dangerous to keep prisoners in idleness; the mischief of such a course would be incomparably greater now than ever before. The narrow, corridorred rooms or cells of most penitentiaries, four to five feet wide by seven feet long and high, intended to be little more



than lodging-places for the night, cannot long confine men without producing physical and psychical degeneracy—the now recognized source of anti-social or criminal conduct and of moral corruption. The cruelty of constant confinement in the cells cannot be endured by either the prisoner or the public sense; the haggard pallor of prisoners so confined shocks the beholder and excites his sympathies. Such confinement will create in society a pariah class. It will increase the volume and the cost of crime. The released criminals will carry everywhere the contagion of a moral pestilence, ultimately endangering the public peace, because the dissemination of such an evil is by geometrical rather than by arithmetical progression. To obviate such consequences various impracticable schemes have been proposed and tried, such as penal labor, the tread-wheel, the crank, the shot drill, transportation to penal colonies, employment upon government works, roads, etc.; and the latest novelty, that of the prison bill of the New York legislature, employing the 8,000 or more convicts in the prisons, reformatories, and penitentiaries exclusively in the production, without machinery, of domestic utensils and common supplies for the penal and charitable institutions of the State. Penal labor has been practically abandoned throughout the prisons of all countries; it has proved to be not deterrent in its effects, and the brutalizing, pernicious influences of it vastly outweigh its supposed advantages. The introduction into the prisons of penal labor in place of productive industries was confessedly a blunder. In England the transportation of criminals has been abandoned. The work accomplished by the transported convicts in building roads, reclaiming wild lands, constructing bridges, wharves, and buildings was accompanied with great monetary cost, demoralization of the convicts themselves, damage to the social condition of the colonies, and injury to the home country, transportation becoming, it is said, a strong inducement to crime. We are told, also, that the condition of things in the French convict colony of New Caledonia is most unsatisfactory, and that the French system of transportation for crime cannot be allowed to continue. Thus the experience of older countries is altogether against trying the transportation experiment in America; besides, it is shirking duty to send away out



of sight the troublesome members of a community, there to revel in their abominations. The natural and proper action of civilized society toward the criminal is to tighten its grasp rather than relax it. Transportation never has solved, nor can it solve, the prison labor question, for transportation is wrong in principle; the duty to regulate and restrain the vicious cannot be thus avoided by the state.

Convict gangs are also objectionable, and for similar reasons. There is no true economy in them, for the work the prisoners do in convict gangs could be done as cheaply by citizens, if account be taken of the cost of transporting the prisoners and supplies, the greatly increased expense for officers and guards, and the comparatively small amount of labor accomplished. Even if a saving were effected, the moral corruption inseparable from convict camps and emanating from them would interpose an insuperable objection to the system. There is abundance of official and private authentic information to substantiate this statement as to the convict gangs in some of the Southern States and on English public works. If yellow fever patients may properly be quarantined to prevent infection, much more should the vices and crimes of convicted criminals from the slums of society be quarantined within the inclosure of prison establishments until a cure is effected. The fever patients are permitted to go forth only when they have procured a bill of health, but it is proposed to send abroad through the agricultural districts and among a peaceful people an army of metropolitan criminals, upon a judicial certificate of unhealthiness, carrying a contagion that neither guards nor doctors can control. But the strongest objection to penal labor, transportation, and convict gangs is that they do not prepare the prisoner for peaceful pursuits on his release from custody; on the contrary, they contribute to unfit him for citizenship, thus increasing instead of diminishing the danger from his liberation.

The impracticability of employing the prisoners of the country upon "such articles as are commonly needed and used in the public institutions for clothing and other necessary supplies," is demonstrated in the State of New York, where the convicts remain practically idle notwithstanding the requirement of the



statute that prisoners shall be so employed, and that no article shall be purchased by the institutions unless the same cannot be furnished by the Superintendent of Prisons. The prisons usually, and the charitable institutions frequently, provide, as far as possible, their own supplies by the labor of prisoners and inmates. Only a small number of them, however, are occupied in this way, so that few requisitions are made and no additional employment or but little is provided. I have estimated that not more than five per cent. of the articles needed for the maintenance of the State institutions can be supplied from prison-made goods, and this estimate is confirmed by one published in the "International Record" for August. To limit, then, the employment of prisoners to furnishing institution supplies would confine the output of all prison labor for a year to the trifling aggregate of, say, \$30,000 for Wisconsin, \$50,000 for Illinois, \$100,000 for New York. Now, inasmuch as supplies for each institution are already provided, as far as is practicable, by the labor of its own inmates, this scheme leaves the convicts still unoccupied.

Handicraft work without machinery is a proposal that finds favor with some amateur penologists, especially with foreigners from countries where the American factory system does not prevail; and the advocates of cellular confinement of criminals, as in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, defend handicraft work presumably because the use of manufacturing machinery is incompatible with the cellular system. The Commissioner of Labor Statistics at Washington has fallen into the error of recommending exclusion of machinery from prisons; Massachusetts has adopted this view and incorporated it in her laws; and New York, in the prison bill of 1888, enacts that "No motive power machinery for manufacturing purposes shall be placed or used in any of the penal institutions of the State." Why exclude machinery from the prisons? Is it to diminish the productiveness of labor and increase proportionately the cost to the consumer, of articles of utility? If so, then for whose benefit? Is not that the true public policy which seeks ever to reduce the necessary cost of living? and shall private or class interests be allowed to fatten at the cost of the public welfare? Are the poor to be required to pay more for shirts, shoes, coats, furniture, and domestic utensils,



and besides pay their share for maintaining prisoners in idleness, that somebody or some class may profit by it? Will legislatures knowingly impose such a burden upon the poor, who are least able to bear it? If it is replied that prison labor with machinery does not actually cheapen the market value of useful articles, then, it may reasonably be asked, what is the reason of the outcry against the alleged injurious competition and of the demand to exclude machinery? It has been said that machinery should be excluded in order that prisoners may be more thoroughly instructed in trades. But this is inconsistent, for additional tradesmen must also increase the production. Besides, of what value can handicraft trades be to released criminals in this country, seeing that they must work in competition with machinery? Only products of the highest grade, made in comparatively small quantities, and requiring exceptional skill, can, when made by hand, yield a fair livelihood. No; not handicraft work for prisoners generally. If they are to earn their living by honest work after their release, they must work as others do who are not criminals; the methods, the daily output per man, the reward to the worker, must be substantially the same within the prisons for prisoners as without the prisons for free labor; that is to say, if prison labor is to rehabilitate the prisoner. Moreover, the products must touch an actual market; this for tests and to stimulate the operatives.

When the community shall come to have a better appreciation of the enormous injury which crime occasions to society, and a clearer understanding of the true place of industry in the treatment of criminals, then factitious opposition must cease, and the matter of competition, whether more or less, will be esteemed as of only trifling importance. Comprehensively viewed, the competition of convicts employed in manufacturing has never been, in any country, a real public evil. The output of prison manufactures has never anywhere exceeded one-fifth of one per cent. of the mechanical products of free labor; and the isolated instances of alleged injury to private interests are usually exaggerated, and often but a figment of the imagination. Dr. Falkner tells of a German town, Würzburg, where the brushmakers held a public meeting, denounced the prison brushmaking, and peti-



tioned the authorities to abolish it in the local prison, alleging that their business was ruined by the prison competition; whereas in fact not a brush had been made in the prison for five years previous, so that they could not have suffered any injury at all. It is a mistaken notion that prison products are usually sold in market at reduced price, because of cheap labor applied to them; on the contrary, prison goods ordinarily bring the full market price of similar goods of equal quality produced by free labor. The writer, in marketing products of prison labor for over thirty years past, has always found difficulty to meet the low prices of free-made wares. Any discoverable effect upon market prices resulting from the sale of prison goods will be found to arise from the additional supply. And is not the reduced price of necessities caused by increased production always a public benefit?

An additional factory in any locality is uniformly recognized as a desirable acquisition, and the benefits it confers are not, or need not, be neutralized by the fact that the factory is a prison. In the city below is a shoe factory employing a hundred hands. The citizens would subscribe handsomely rather than have it removed out of the place. Suppose on a given day every operative of the factory commits a felony and awaits sentence. Why not inclose the factory, place government officers in charge, and let the work and the business continue? Make it the prison; who would say that it is better to stop the manufacturing and support the prisoners in idleness at the public expense? So, too, it would be good policy to continue as a producer, whether in the factory prison in the city or in the State prison on the hill, any one of the hundred who may have fallen into crime; and a still greater public benefit, proportionately, is gained when one not a worker but a thief, living by what he steals from his neighbors, is forced and taught to live by earning rather than by robbing.

The penitentiary system of treating crime cannot exist without prison employment more or less productive. The very purpose of it, namely, to protect society against crime by rescuing criminals from their crimes, so that they may be restored to society sooner or later as serviceable citizens, supporting themselves by their own labor, must utterly fail unless they are trained to industry for the sake of industry. It remains, however, yet to



organize the labor of prisoners so as best to promote its highest value for the purpose intended, and at the same time to avoid actual or possible injurious competition. Only when this has been done can the agitation be stayed which has well-nigh ruined the great penitentiaries of New York, and which menaces the penitentiary system throughout the country.

Three several specific objects are included in any proper prison labor system organized for the public welfare. First of all, the prisoner must be prepared, in his capabilities and his disposition, to subsist by honest effort in legitimate pursuits. Secondly, his labor in prison must contribute considerably toward his support. Thirdly, the products of his labor must be so marketed as to minimize the effects of competition. To attain these ends, three general conditions are required, namely: centralized control of the industrial prisons in each State, aided by mutual agreement between several States, for the control and conduct of prison labor; classification of the prisoners in each State into at least two classes, the corrigible and the incorrigible; and the employment of prisoners, mainly within the penitentiaries, at mechanical work, solely under direction of the State, without the intervention of agents commonly termed contractors.

Almost any experienced warden can, from his personal knowledge of them, easily draw up two accurate lists of his prisoners; one of such as cannot probably be now reclaimed to honesty, the other of those whom it is possible to reclaim. The incorrigibles must work for production alone, simply to pay their way, and may be employed in certain large, coarse industries which shall be monopolized by the State. If by such monopolization of an industry private interests are invaded, let the State properly compensate therefor, at the beginning, when injury can clearly be shown. The State condemns to the use of chartered railroad corporations private property, and provides the means of determining the amount of compensation due owners. Why then should not the State, when it desires itself to appropriate an industry for the general public good as concerned in the efficient management of its prisons, provide compensation for actual monetary losses thereby occasioned to individuals? It is believed that the payments, to be made on a proper showing of real damages, would be, or might be, inconsiderable



in amount; but whether these would be large or small, the plan seems equitable, and would remove every semblance of argument against prison labor for this class of prisoners—the incorrigibles. Let the confirmed criminals, who cannot or will not be persuaded to live industriously and properly when at liberty, be compelled to contribute, by their labor, while imprisoned for crimes, toward their own support. Who will object, since nobody in particular is injured and everybody is more or less benefited? The particular labor system for these incorrigibles becomes now a matter of trifling concern; the tax payer alone is interested.

For the remainder of the criminals, the corrigible class, estimated to comprise about two-thirds of the prisoners in any State, quite different arrangements must be made with regard to employment. The purpose now is not merely profit, but rather rehabilitation. Society requires that corrigible criminals shall be fitted for freedom in the shortest time, and returned to be absorbed in the orderly and provident population. If a prisoner of this selected class proves to be incorrigible he should be relegated to his proper division, to be employed in State-absorbed industries, solely for production, always provided, of course, that apparently incorrigible criminals, on giving evidence of a capacity for improvement, may be assigned to the higher classification, there to receive preparation, in industries and otherwise, for their safe return to liberty. Prisoners of the corrigible class should be trained to habits of industry in the particular branches wherein they should and naturally would have been engaged, if, instead of becoming criminals, they had remained good citizens.

For this class of prisoners, in the more populous States, unremitting, systematic, mechanical employment is indispensable; a great diversity of occupations is required, with the same machinery and the same methods which prevail in free shops or factories; in quality of workmanship and in the daily output per man, the work of the prisoners must equal that of free laborers of like ability and experience engaged upon similar work outside of prisons; the wages paid the prisoners should also be the same, the prisoner, like the citizen, paying fairly out of his honestly earned wages for everything supplied him; and the merchandise thus produced, of equal quality and at equal cost, must be mar-



keted as other merchandise is marketed. Then the corrigible prisoner may be allowed, and should be restricted, to the minimum volume of expenditure properly and probably required by him in his station after release; and he should also be required, out of his earnings, to contribute his proportion to maintain the indigent of his prison community, as frugal citizens contribute to the support of the dependent among them.

The importance of industry in the reclamation of corrigible criminals is imperfectly known, and is therefore under-estimated; hence we have indifference and apathy about it. It needs to be known that among causes of crime the proximate one is very often lack of ability to earn. Most prisoners are youthful and improvident; not one in one hundred has ever given a thought to providing properly for future needs. The Secretary of State of New York reports for 1887, that of the 3,191 persons convicted of felony that year 60.6 per cent. were men under thirty years of age, and that 73.8 per cent. had no trade or skilled occupation. It is probable the 26.2 per cent., certified as belonging to the class of more skilled competency, were in no sense well qualified workmen. The proportion of first offenders was 69.1 per cent.; and of 84,531 persons convicted of misdemeanors, 69.3 per cent. were first offenders or unknown to have been previously convicted.

The need of industrial training and the amenability of prisoners to reclamation by this means are further suggested by the reports of the Sing Sing and Auburn State Prisons. Of the 2,536 convicts in October, 1887, 64.0 per cent. were under thirty years of age, 71.4 per cent. were first offenders, and 62.5 per cent. were without trades or skilled employments. If the felons between sixteen and thirty years of age diverted from the State Prisons to the Elmira Reformatory (numbering 747) be added to those in those prisons, to aid a just calculation for States having no reformatory for adults, the percentages are increased as follows: 72 per cent. are under thirty years of age, 71 per cent. are first offenders, and 66 per cent. are without trades or occupations requiring skill. Assuming that the statistics of Clinton Prison are substantially like those of the other prisons, we have in the four felon prisons of New York, including the Reformatory, over twenty-five hundred prisoners, first offenders without the expe-



rience or training needed in order to earn a proper subsistence. What egregious folly, what inexcusable public damage, to confirm these prisoners in their inaptitudes and in their unfitness for society, through their imprisonment in idleness or under factitious industrial conditions! Indeed, the associations inevitable in a prison where no systematic employment is provided will, when added to the stigma of State Prison confinement, serve to render the prisoner when he is discharged more deeply incriminated than when first committed to prison.

It is now easy to avoid such disasters by putting prison labor on its true basis of reformatory use, production for maintenance, with normalized competition. In most of the States no new legislation at all is required, or only a few simple enactments. New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts will need to restore to prison governors the powers of which they have been stripped by recent laws; then, possibly, a mandatory statute is required, but scarcely any other legislation. The classification of the prisoners of any prison, or of a State, and the selection, organizing, and conduct of industries, as proposed, may be quickly accomplished, without any considerable expense or diminution of earnings, and without injurious disturbance to any system of prison discipline; and the change will take the prison labor question out of politics. It has also the advantages of insuring to the State that the prisoner shall earn properly for maintenance; it affords the best possible labor preparation of prisoners for release, and at the same time supplies the most effective test of their fitness for liberty. It also has another advantage, one that appeals to all who know the sad story of families deprived of their wage-earner by his crimes and imprisonment: it affords opportunity to permit or compel, as may be required, the corrigible class at least to contribute, by their earnings and economies during imprisonment, to the support of those dependent upon them.

Z. R. BROCKWAY.



## A REIGN OF LAW IN SPELLING.

WE are slaves to the printers. Write as we may, they spell for us when we print, and their spelling is the worst in the world. As long as spelling was mere fashion, and variations in it were fancies and whims, the reign of the printing office was tolerable. But science has at last reached the English language, worked over its history, pointed out its laws, brought it under the authority of scholarly conscience. There is now a known right and wrong in it, in its idioms, its forms, its spelling. And the time has come, therefore, for those who have scholarly conscience and see the right and wrong, to put in a plea for liberty.

This plea may well be addressed to the editors of our periodicals. The greater part of the thoughts of our best thinkers and ripest scholars appears first in our magazines and newspapers. The editors receive the manuscripts, read the proof-sheets, and decide what spelling shall be used. To them we submit our plea for liberty. We call upon them to act as judges, interpreters, and administrators of law and reason, not as mere arbiters of fashion, or autocrats who know no law but their own caprices. There are editors and editors. There are some, certainly, who heartily sympathize with the spirit of this plea, but who are troubled about the laws which they are asked to recognize. They see the Germans improving their spelling year by year, under the direction of the department of education. It orders all the school books to be printed in corrected spelling, and the thing is done. Our editors wish that we could have our improvements in language established in some such way. They wish that Congress would pass laws about spelling, or that amended words might be adopted, like amendments of the Constitution, three-fourths of the States voting for them. But as it is, they recognize the dictionary as sovereign in this realm, *de facto* if not *de jure*, and take its dicta for the only laws.

It is true that a dictionary ought to be a *corpus juris ortho-*



*graphici*, and scientific dictionaries are fast becoming such. But the science of language is only a few years old. A scientific dictionary is grounded on a study of all the classic authors, and is the work of generations. The old dictionaries are mainly aggregations of sundries, and some of them the work of collectors with no scientific convolutions in their brains. English used to be thought no true language, but a barbarous mixture of dialects, most of them unknown dialects; German was little known, and Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Celtic were far-off rumors. Greek, Latin, and French had their laws, but the rest were jargon. There are dictionaries now popular which hold this pre-scientific view. Stormonth says that the phonetic changes in English cannot be exhibited as they are in French. He knows nothing of the work of Sweet, and Nichol, and Murray, and other scientific students of English, and his etymologies are wonderful. But "Webster's Unabridged" is a different kind of work, and so is Worcester; and there is Skeat; and the Oxford "Historical Dictionary" of Dr. Murray and our Century dictionary are in progress. The next generation will have English dictionaries of the right sort, but no scholar now can take any dictionary for a fetich.

This plea shall begin with the most moderate claim. Let the editor accept the authority of Webster and Worcester. There is still a large number of words with variant spellings which are admitted into the dictionaries used by authors and familiar to printers. Between these the editor must make his choice. The plea is that he make it on grounds of reason, not of this year's fashion among his neighbors, or his English exchanges.

An editor is obliged to choose from "Shakespeare," "Shakspeare," "Shakspeare," and the rest. Those who mean to follow the most common spelling in general literature, print "Shakspeare." The students of old editions, the old English Shakespeare Society, and the German Shakespeare Society print "Shakespeare," and the New Shakspeare Society is good authority for "Shakspeare." So too an editor has to make choice between "ian" and "can" in "Shakespearian" and "Shakespearean," or "Shakspearian" and "Shakspearean." Both forms are current and approved, and will appear in his proof-sheets day by day. These are speci-



mens of a host. The Grecians have brought almost the whole of the Greek proper names into doubt. Will the editor let "Sokrates" be printed as it stands in the manuscript of the eminent professor whom he has persuaded to send him an article? or "Epikouros," or "Aischylos"? Will he print "Celt," "Celtic," or "Kelt," "Keltic;" "Tartar" or "Tatar"?

A good editor, even of the simplest news sheet, ought to have his reasons. With proper names, indeed, it is an accepted principle to let persons decide the spelling of their own names, and that opens the gate to whim and fancy. The "Cyclopædia of American Biography" tells us that a son of the stout old presbyterian, Dr. Cox, who is now an episcopalian bishop, has adopted the spelling "Coxe." And there are "Smiths" who spell themselves "Smythes." Our great poet, too, who down in Stratford signed his will "Shakspeare," as the folk there called his family, up in London, when he printed his dedications to Southampton, and applied for a coat of arms for his father, magnified himself into "Shakespeare." Such fancies an editor may accept. But in general he should be governed by principles, and his principles should be laws of language. It was for a long time the prevailing rule to decide the forms of all words by authority, the ultimate appeal being to kings and lords, or great authors or orators or actors, whose word was law.

Possibly Noah Webster may have been the first to insist that the decision is not with any rank or class, but with the whole people who speak the language, and that their verdict is embodied in the laws of language, so that the proper spelling is that which conforms to these laws. This is good democratic doctrine, and good scientific doctrine. Webster lived, to be sure, before the rise of the modern science of language, before the days of Bopp and Grimm; but he was an able man, fairly comparable with Dr. Franklin, who was one of the great men of the world, in a certain commanding attitude of common sense.

The two spellings "controller" and "comptroller," are common and approved by authority; "comptroller" is perhaps more common in New York and "controller" elsewhere. A New York editor who cares for nothing but the usage of his neighbors may well enough print "comptroller," but he will not do so if he



recognizes himself a debtor to his mother tongue and cultivates a scholarly conscience. "Compt" is no way to spell "cont"; it is misleading as to the sound, and wasteful of time and space; it is also deceptive as to etymology. It is imagined to be derived from "compute" instead of from "*contra*," and seems to tell us that this officer is a computer of rolls, instead of one who keeps a counter or check roll. Every editor has to choose between "program" and "programme." "Program" is the spelling of the printing offices of the country districts and the free West. The "patent insides" are apt to betray their metropolitan origin by their "programmes." "Program" is a good dictionary word, and has been since the time of old Bailey. "Programme" is the French form of the same original. The final "me" modifies the sound in French, but in English is a meaningless superfluity.

There are many words like these in which two spellings are in familiar use. There are others which an editor with awakened conscience would class with them, though they are not so familiar; for example, "tho" and "though." "Tho'" is familiar, to be sure, to every reader of English poetry, but the word stands without the apostrophe in Worcester's dictionary, as it does in many classic pages. When our first great American epic, "The Columbiad," shall become a household book for our editors, it will make "tho" the household spelling, and save the printer half his types and the children many a mistake.

Do our editors know that they have free choice between "iland" and "island"? Worcester's dictionary tells us in the last edition that "iland" is the correct spelling, and it stands as such in its proper place in the new vocabulary. And well it may. There is no "s" in the Anglo-Saxon word, which means "land in water," and has no connection with "isle," from the Latin *insula*. In middle English it never has "s," if we may trust Stratmann's dictionary. "Island" there means land of ice, and in modern English it is rare and late. Looking at the translations of the Bible, those inestimable treasures of the worker in words, one finds when he looks in the concordance for "island," that the article upon it is not in its proper alphabetic place, but in the alphabetic place of "iland." That may lead him to suspect the fact, which is that there is no "island" in the New Testament



of Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, or in the Geneva, Rheims, or King James, except once in the latter—Rev. vi. 14.

The first folio of Shakespeare begins with "iland," but "island" is pretty frequent. In Milton's "Paradise Lost" "island" appears but once, possibly an oversight, though the blind bard was very careful of his spelling, and has added a page of errata to the first edition. It seems plain that a scholar's dictionary, grounding, as it should, upon an induction from classic usage and the laws and history of the speech, ought to give the form "iland" the preference, as Worcester does, and that a scholarly editor ought to use it. So if a poet or a scholar prefers to write "soveran," as Milton did, instead of the modern blunder, "sovereign," why should not a scholarly editor or proof-reader let it be printed? For that also the new Worcester stands as popular authority. The printers of the Shakespeare folio spell "soueraigne," bloated French, which gave rise to the false English.

Besides words given in the dictionaries, an editor will now-a-days often be called upon to accept or reject words in the manuscript of scholars which are frequent in classic books, but have not been taken up by the lexicographers. No complete study of the forms of English words in classic books has yet been made. The spelling in the dictionaries has been the record in great part of the guesses or whims of the lexicographers. We may be sure that Dr. Johnson, who fixed the standard spelling of so large a part of our language, would have fixed it differently in many words if he had known the history of the words and the laws of the language. The compilers of the Oxford "Historical Dictionary" are making a thorough study of the whole field for the first time, and it shows us that there are many well-approved forms of words heretofore unknown to the lexicons. The past tense and perfect participle of regular verbs ending with a surd sound are pronounced as though they ended in "t," and in the early classic books are spelled with "t": "leapt," "whipt," "prest," "dropt." In the dictionaries all these words are spelled, or spelt, with "ed": "leaped," "whipped," "pressed," and the like; some have the form in "t" also given. But many scholars use it with all. Our illustrious scholar, poet, diplomatist, statesman, whom the general suffrage of English-speaking men would rank as high



as any one living as an authority for usage of the English language, is seen in his latest book of poems to be one of these. In "Heartease and Rue" the classic form is regularly used: "missed" is "mist," and so with other like words. Another is Mr. Furnivall, director of the Early English Text Society, the Chaucer, the New Shakspeare, and the Browning Societies. Why should any scholarly editor refuse to a humbler poet or essayist the liberty of spelling which is given to Lowell and Furnivall?

Professor F. W. Newman, of University College, London, has lately printed what many regard as a great work—"Christianity in its Cradle." He drops final "e" in all words in which it is "not only superfluous but misleading." It is usually so when it is silent after a short vowel. "Ine," for example, ought to rhyme with "vine," "wine," "line," "pine." "Genuine," therefore, is misleading, it should be "genuin;" so "engin," "imagin," "doctrin," "definit," "infinet," "motiv," "talkativ," and many other words. The mute "e's" in English average four per cent. of all the letters on every printed page. Many of them were once pronounced, but after these became silent, others were written. In the old manuscripts they came to be used as freely as penman's flourishes, like the long-tailed "y's" which stand for "i's." In the early printed books they were used to space with, slipped in or slipped out to make even lines. We need them no longer. If there were good dictionary authority for dropping them they would soon disappear. There are no dictionaries good enough yet, but if an editor or publisher has the scholarly conscience, and seeks the support of scientific authority in favor of progress, there is authority for him far higher than that of any dictionary. It is found in the joint action of the Philological Society in England and the American Philological Association. The American Association's committee on spelling reform, consisting of professors of language in Yale, Harvard, Lafayette, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Wisconsin have made reports since 1875. In 1880 the Philological Society of England took up the matter, and in 1881 issued a pamphlet of "Partial Corrections of English Spelling." After two years of discussion and correspondence between the societies, "a joint scheme was put forth under the authority of



the two chief philological bodies of the English-speaking world." An alphabetic list of words amended according to this scheme was published in the "Transactions" of the American Philological Association for 1886. The corrections are made in the interest of etymological and historical truth, and are confined to words which the changes do not much disguise for general readers. These amended words are recommended for immediate use. The list has been reprinted by the Spelling Reform Association, and they wish to put it in every printing house and every editor's office. The English Society is the one which has prepared the material for the great "Historical Dictionary," and is fully equal to the French Academy's dictionary workers in linguistic authority. Our American professors are authorities too. Whitney, Trumbull, Child, and Haldeman are honored names wherever the study of language is pursued. Lounsbury, Allen, and Price are good names too. Let our scholarly editors show cause why liberty of spelling should not be given through all the words included in this joint recommendation of the philologists. Why not let our great librarians—Cutter, Dewey, and the rest—use "catalog" in the popular journals, as they do in their own publications. It will throw the old petrified printing into disorder, but chaos is here the condition for the coming cosmos.

In many other countries spelling reform is a matter of constant interest. In Germany, besides government action, societies of radical reformers are active, and spread their branches wherever there are Germans. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Norwegians, are all reforming both by official action and voluntary societies. In Portugal also there is movement, and in France. There has been for twenty-five years a society in Switzerland for the reform of French spelling, but it is only since 1886 that a society has existed in France. Leading linguists—Prof. G. Paris, Prof. A. Darmesteter, and others—are trying to introduce partial corrections into the general press, and a great teachers' congress has lately declared in favor of reform. The English Spelling Reform Association is officered by leading university professors and educators, and includes among its members many of the eminent authors and scientists best known in America: Tennyson, Darwin, J. H. Gladstone, Max Müller, Sayce, Skeat, Ellis, Morris,



Murray, Sweet, and the like. They press the reform in the interest of education. Dr. Gladstone has made elaborate investigations in the schools of England and other countries to ascertain the time devoted to teaching spelling. His book, giving the statistics, has been published by Macmillan & Co., in successive editions. He finds that 720 hours at least are lost to each scholar, and that an Italian child of nine years will read and spell as correctly as English children at thirteen, though the Italian begin his lessons two years later. The Germans and Swedes have a like advantage. This extra time is given to civics and useful sciences. The illiteracy of English-speaking nations is startling. There were 5,658,144 persons of ten years and over who reported themselves illiterate at our census of 1870, and 6,239,958 at the census of 1880. The nearly illiterate are probably as many more. England is worse off than we are. But the other Protestant countries of Europe have almost no illiterates. One of the causes of this excessive illiteracy among English-speaking peoples is the badness of English spelling. The reform of spelling is a patriotic and philanthropic reform.

Two works have just been published by Alexander Melville Bell, upon "World-English, the Universal Language." They are well fitted to attract attention. Mr. Bell is perhaps the most eminent of all the scientists who have applied themselves to the study of speech on the physiological side. His "Visible Speech" has modified the thought of all students of phonetics. A certain air of practical power and wisdom surrounds his name in the popular mind, from association with the invention of the telephone by his son, and with all the wealth he has won from it. He should give the world something worth while in the place of Volapük. But Bell's universal language is simply standard English phonetically spelled.

F. A. MARCH.



## TO MARRY OR NOT TO MARRY?

THE subject of marriage, which seems to be of inexhaustible interest, is just now undergoing one of its periodic discussions on both sides of the sea. While it is obviously impossible to say anything new or original on so threadbare a topic, anybody's actual observation or experience of the thing itself may be, at this time, a not unwelcome contribution to the illimitable literature of the ever-recurring theme. Most persons are, it must be admitted, so prejudiced either in favor of or against marriage as to be incapable of a strictly impartial view. Advocacy of or antagonism to the institution might almost be pre-determined by sex; for, while men disagree radically thereon, women, with very few exceptions, ardently support it both in the abstract and the concrete. They justly regard it as their best protection, knowing by instinct, if not otherwise, the general wantonness and ferocity of masculine passion. They appear to be unconscious that the burdens of wedlock bear far more heavily on them than on men, who may lawfully and conventionally escape them in a hundred ways which women cannot follow. Moreover, they are wont to idealize marriage, and continue to idealize it even after experience should have taught them better. They are so irrecoverably biased in its behalf that many of them have been heard to say that a bad marriage is not so bad as none—a monstrous averment, indicative of some degree of mental unsoundness.

To the question, "Is marriage a failure?" recently put forward in England, and to which such a multiplicity of replies has been made and are still making, here no less than there, yes and no may well be answered. It depends entirely on how it is considered. If ideally, it is as a rule a downright and disastrous failure, as everything else is, and must be. If actually, it may or may not be a success, the result hanging on many circumstances independent of the condition. That matrimony is very



often a venomous disappointment, a cruel revelation, a mockery of faith, is palpably true. That it causes more misery than happiness, as has been frequently asserted, is, in all probability, incorrect. But even if correct, it would not be so much the fault of matrimony as of those who undertake it. Considering their qualifications and the intemperate zeal and suddenness with which they enter the state of matrimony, the wonder is, not that there are so many dissatisfied, positively wretched wives and husbands, but that there are not many more. It is a common though mistaken idea that all men and women are fitted for wedlock, and that they cannot embrace it too soon after arriving at maturity. The error is most mischievous, and has ruined the lives of thousands, who, with proper enlightenment on the subject, might have been as little discontented as are average mortals. Many men are so selfish, so sensual, so brutal, and some women are so vain, so empty, so frivolous, that they should not allow themselves to be beguiled into marriage, to which they can never be adjusted. But these are apt to think themselves the connubially elect. When you hear a person of either sex doubt his or her adaptation to matrimony, it is a sign of suitability therefor. They who never reflect on that or any other topic, and entertain no self-skepticism, are the surest to wed and the surest to suffer from their wedding. And it is they who are likely to be quickest to discover marriage a failure, when the failure is only in themselves.

Many and valid as are the arguments that may be brought against wedlock, the defects in it are undoubtedly much fewer than in the parties thereto. The disharmony of a large part of them might be foretold by any one intimately acquainted with their single lives. The man who habitually disagrees with his associates is no more apt to agree with his wife than a remarkably vain, silly, fickle woman is to keep the love and confidence of her husband. Marriage is a singularly severe test of human nature—far more severe than celibates imagine—under the most auspicious circumstances. The old adage, “There must be unity before union,” applies particularly to the conjugal state. And how rare is unity among the multitude! It is impossible for any one, whatever his experience or insight, to anticipate the consequences of



his marriage. How often men and women who have been close friends for years, have separated two or three months after their nuptials. They who are charming of themselves may be detestable, united. Can a man and woman ever really know each other before they have been married? Perhaps there is no absolute truth outside of positive science and permanent wedlock. If ordinary life is a theorem, with any number of corollaries, wedded life is a problem that each man must solve for himself.

One great reason, doubtless, why marriage has produced so much disappointment and unhappiness, why the reaction from it has been so strong, is its undue praise and overestimation. Hyperbole has been spent upon it for ages. It has been called a divine institution; theologians have pronounced it a sacrament and invested it with an ecclesiastic symbolism. Orthodox poets have declared it to be the only bliss that has survived the fall—Milton, particularly, who had three wives, and was, from all accounts, a most exacting and disagreeable husband. It has been described as a remedy for every woe, a healer of every wound, a conjunction of earth and heaven. Nearly every rhapsodist has tried his hand upon it, and rendered it at once magnificent and preposterous. No marvel that imaginative minds who have entered into it, and been gratified and recompensed with what it yielded, have, nevertheless, felt that they had been in some way cheated. Between the real and the ideal they could not help but see that there was a vast distance, and years may have been needed to reconcile them to the sober, though comfortable, reality.

When matrimony is presented as it is, when it is stripped of extravagance and rhetoric frippery, it is not so liable to frustration. There is nothing divine in or about it; it is supremely human. It is, in fact, a social partnership, a sort of co-operative housekeeping, a dual arrangement for mutual affection, sustenance, amelioration, and advantage. It may not bring happiness in any strict sense—is there anything that does?—but it may bring increased contentment, reciprocal incitement and esteem, with the sweetness and strength of lasting association. Much of the wild dream of love with which young persons begin their conjugal journey is subject to banishment as the months go on. Love, as painted, seldom lasts; it is too intense and flaming



for continuity, and is fortunately succeeded by a more rational, but not less welcome, condition. Having a physical basis, its superstructure is beautiful and fascinating. From the fever of the blood and the universal affinity of sex are deduced sympathy, devotion, chivalry, self-sacrifice, the fine things that lend the chief charm to existence; compensating man for the prose, the toil, the pangs inseparable from his lot. Love is so likely to be confounded with sensuous passion, which, when allayed, dispels many illusions, as to cause a deal of mischief. Evidently there can be no love without passion; but there is an incalculable sum of passion without love, and this is as productive of as it is inimical to marriage. At least half of its failures may be ascribed to that source. The passion is so intense, so extravagant, so absorbing as to exclude reason and all the flinty, inevitable facts of life. Its sway is an intoxication of the senses, a blindness of the brain, a temporary dementia which makes whatever is desired probable and turns the incredible into the actual. If they who wed could only allow beforehand for passion, there would be a great decline in matrimony; but it would rest on a far sounder basis. Unfortunately for them, the detection of the devil in their blood occurs too late.

Even more temperate lovers are prone to overcharge their emotions: they see each other through a glamour which impels them to hasten their nuptials and to believe that they shall never change. They feel sure that they were destined for one another; that they cannot live apart; that all they want or ever shall want is to be together. A little time dissipates this witchery; and, if they truly sympathize, they look back with a mingled feeling of curiosity and diversion at their early transports. A solid substitute comes for their faded phrensy. They find that they are not separated, but nearer, by the absence of the erotic tumult in their veins. All harmonious couples learn, in due season, that such tumult cannot be kept up; that it is better that it should not be; and the lesson is one of the most valuable in the serio-comic involved book of marriage. The residuum after the effervescence of love is common sense, which is the groundwork of well-regulated matrimony. When lovers vow that they are all-sufficient for one another, that a cabin with solitude is enough for them, they



utter only truth, as divulged to the spell of their senses. But Nature, by indulgence, removes the spell, and sober humanity reasserts itself. When will the world learn that love, and its consequence, wedlock, are simply the result of contiguity? All talk of souls predestined for each other, of meeting one's fate, of sudden spiritual apocalypse, is the rubbish of sentimentalism. Male and female tend to one another throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms: it is the universal and unvarying law. Put a hundred young men and women in proximity, and in a given time the number of marriages will be proportioned to their opportunities for love-making. Among them will be correspondences and discords, and these will in all likelihood exceed those according to the rule of inferior averages.

Marriage diminishes with the age and growth of a community. It is far less common in Europe, for example, than in the United States, particularly among the privileged and prosperous classes. But even here, notably in the great cities of the East, it is slowly but steadily decreasing. In the West and South, where the population is comparatively sparse; in small towns, and in the agricultural regions, there are few celibates. The reason is that men find it more convenient and advantageous to wed, while women, popularly supposed to be always connubially willing, are even readier than at social centres to accept offers. In a big city, notably in New York, men's matrimonial discouragements and bachelor compensations are many. They can have any number of comforts and pleasures outside of wedlock; more, indeed, than they would or should allow themselves within it. Their moral nature is far lower than woman's: they are differently judged by society. What would ruin her does not, it is to be regretted, hurt them conventionally. They seem sometimes to be almost chartered libertines, so lax is public sentiment respecting them. If they were to be tried by the same standard that she is, they would undergo complete revolution. If they should live as they demand that the women they esteem should live, there would be precious few who would not seek to be husbands. They would be more eager to marry than they think women are, who have other and finer motives for altering their condition.

American women are, probably, less influenced by their senses



than any other women in civilization. They have been accused of an unhealthful deficiency in this respect, and perhaps with reason. There certainly would seem to be reason when we compare them with their European sisters. They are intense; but their intensity is of the brain, not of the blood; and their nerves, thanks to climate and social and political conditions, dominate them to an unwholesome degree. They have, at best, a hard part to play. They are continually twitted for their alleged anxiety to marry, and ridiculed if they remain single. The fear of being an old maid, as it is tauntingly put, has indubitably impelled thousands to enter matrimony against their better judgment. They have taken a husband to show that they can get one; as if anybody with any knowledge of the world had doubt of their ability to do so. Any woman, speaking generally, may wed if she likes. It is never suspected that a man remains single for want of opportunity to be otherwise. Why should it be suspected of a woman? Because she must wait, as is commonly thought, to be chosen? She has so many ways of evincing her preference, she is so very adroit in what are termed affairs of the heart, that she may be trusted to perform her share of the wooing. In this she is altogether man's superior. But if she, or he, should have an ideal of a partner—and he is likely to have before she is in connubial danger—and should insist on its realization, there would be an extraordinary decline in matrimony. However, when it comes to the point, both are pretty sure to compromise ignobly with their previous conception, though they may not own it to themselves. She is so irrepressibly idealistic, in truth, that she idealizes wedlock after her husband has unidealized himself.

In these days more than ever, bachelors, whether young or middle-aged, are exposed to criticism and censure for being such. It seems to be taken for granted that they have neglected their duty to society. They are everlastingly told that they have made a serious mistake in adopting celibacy, and that they should remedy it as soon as possible. Is not this gratuitous impertinence? Is it not fair to presume that they should know better than those busy-bodies whether they ought to marry or not? If they say that they are not adapted to matrimony; that they have never met a woman they wanted for a wife; that they disbelieve



in the institution; that they have not money enough; or give any other excellent reason, they are apt to be told that their words are nonsense. Not improbably, if the adviser be a man, he replies that he used to hold similar opinions, but that, since becoming a husband, he has found them hollow. It is noticeable, by the by, that many of the most active counsellors are very poor examples of what they preach; suggesting, spontaneously, the fox in the fable that had lost his tail.

Lack of money is generally decried in this country as a miserable excuse for not marrying. But it is not. A certain amount of capital or income is almost indispensable. Many a union has proved disastrous, which, if the couple had not been very poor, might have gone on smoothly to the end. Ample means is a great saver of friction and preventer of conjugal woe. Wealth, even in moderation, is superfluous; but straitened circumstances, long continued, may tax patience and mutual affection beyond endurance. Penury is prone to undermine wedded love, like the loss of esteem; and he who incurs the solemn responsibility pecuniarily unprepared is rash in excess. The fact that hundreds get on who begin with nothing, scarcely justifies the experiment, particularly in a big city. It is wiser to delay until prospects have been assured than to assume that the desirable will happen. Love, if it be half genuine, can wait, as creditors will not. To marry is not an obligation, as might be thought from current talk; it is purely optional. He who refrains from wedlock and fatherhood cannot, in the overcrowded state of the globe, be charged with violation of duty to his fellows. To intimate that a man should take a wife, when he has not found a woman who wishes him to take her, is akin to inviting the blind to a spectacle or a cripple to enter for a race. And yet such intimations are incessant.

When a young couple believe that they love one another, they seldom consult prudence or perceive obstacles. They will marry first and reckon consequences afterward. Matrimony is, at present, the sole mode of escape from the dilemma of mutual infatuation. The man who tells a woman that he loves her, but is unwilling to make her his wife, tells her, unless there be insurmountable obstacles to the union, a shameful falsehood. He may



be principled against wedlock, but he will make an exception of such a case. Even if she were willing and glad to be his on any terms, he would not permit her to be other than his wife, knowing the feeling of public enlightenment on the subject. Love means esteem for and pride in the object loved, and a sincere lover will not, if he can help it, expose a woman to condemnation and social ostracism. Whatever may be thought of marriage abstractly, it is, under existing circumstances, at least, a concession that should be made to society, and will be made by every man of honor. It may be scoffed at as a compulsory *liaison*, a conventional intrigue, a legal interference with the affections: gibes can not harm it, cannot change its intrinsic character or its beneficent and binding force.

No topic has been, perhaps, so much derided, and none, perhaps, yields itself so readily to derision. It must have wonderful vitality, otherwise it would have been slain ages ago, even in the house of its friends. They who have been the most satirical at its expense, as well as those who have denounced it most violently, have lived long enough to be married themselves, and have often proved patterns of conjugality. The fiercest anti-matrimonial philosophers are usually considered predestined husbands. Balzac, by his "*Physiologie du Mariage*," is said to have made matrimony ridiculous. Nevertheless, he afterward wedded, under the most romantic conditions, at forty-nine, a charming widow whom he had passionately and devotedly loved for fourteen years. Even the warmest vindicators of wedlock will confess that there is something grotesque and laughable in the frequent contrast between its assumptions and its outcome. The best-satisfied pairs are disposed, unless innocent of humor, to crack jokes at the price of what they so thoroughly enjoy. They feel that what alone constitutes home, and is the basis of all civilization, cannot be imperiled by any amount of jesting.

The evolution of marriage has been amazing. Our early ancestors conducted themselves toward women like the savages they were. In barbarous countries the men still do their courting with clubs, and by hideous cruelty. In the most polite states of Europe matrimony is managed in a way that repels us Americans, who show more consideration and courtesy, more true



chivalry to woman, than has been dreamed of in the Old World. Even in England, our motherland, there are reasons for asking, Is marriage a failure? which do not exist here. The English, the best of them, think that we defer to and coddle the other sex overmuch; and so we do, from their stand-point. We esteem and honor them sincerely, though we may as a nation have less external polish and gallantry than the French are so fond of boasting. We are connubially romantic to a degree that evokes the jeers of continental Europe. We carry our romance to excess, believing, as a rule, that money should not be mentioned where the heart is concerned. The Republic has such resources, and our energies are so limitless, that the idea of dowry, or any financial provision for the future, seems sordid. We are plainly wrong in this; but our extreme is far preferable to the other. Mercenary matches, albeit not infrequent at the social centers, are repugnant to our convictions and our tastes. We hold that husbands should bring the money, and that wives should bear the children, if they be so inclined. Most of us, assuredly the best of us, are persuaded that the question of maternity should rest with, and be decided by, the woman, who is in every respect an equal partner in the business of matrimony.

When couples discover that they are mismatched, as must frequently and unavoidably occur, without the fault of either, ample facilities are afforded for their release. The divorce laws of some States are narrow and inadequate, but they are broad enough in other States to reach any and every case of discord. Many worthy persons esteem divorce a great evil, but it is hard to understand why the law should compel a man and woman to live together when they want to go apart. The married are surely the best judges of what they suffer, and of their irremediable incongruity. Can anything be more demoralizing than the enforced union of a pair who have ceased to love, or even respect, one another? In Prussia, one of the most enlightened of the European states, divorce is granted, where there are no children, on the simple ground of deliberate mutual consent.

We are apt to be severe on hasty or unpromising matings that have had unfortunate issue. But we should try to be charitable: nothing merits charity more than marriage. It can-



not be weighed too long or too seriously. It is more solemn than death, since, as a misogynist might say, with death our troubles end; with marriage they truly begin. Many who wed seem to think more lightly of it than they who steadily exercise their wit against it. The recklessness with which matrimony is often perpetrated is a sharper satire upon it than aught that professional jesters can invent. But under all circumstances it is uncertain, even hazardous. Very few realize, or can realize, what a terrible strain upon patience, discipline, character, and humanity it is for two persons to be in the closest relation, year after year; to understand how custom may dull the finest sentiments, the tenderest emotions, the sacredest feelings. The sole way to judge fairly and completely of marriage is by actual experience. A thousand examples will teach nothing. What appears the worst at the outset may prove the best; what appears the best may prove the worst. Wedlock defies augury; it is continually an exception to itself. One may blunder dreadfully in taking or not taking a wife; which is the fatal step, each man must determine for himself, and for himself alone.

Marriage is generally spoken of as if woman were the chief gainer thereby. She is naturally more inclined to it than man, because she is more visionary, more hopeful, more innocent; because she sees in it anchorage and safety. But she has lately ceased here, as she long ago ceased in Europe, to think of it as the sole fulfillment of her destiny, as a source of support, as the best means of securing a home. She has now learned by observation that marriage, for the sake of marriage, is every way worse than the dreariest celibacy; that homes so gained are such in name alone. Wedlock is with her no longer an end: she discards the idea of it from her consciousness until it presents itself with a fervor and force that demand recognition. She does not wait for suitors: she spurns the notion of exchanging herself for material maintenance. For this she depends on herself, and is sincerer, stronger, nobler for the dependence. Thousands of the finest and best of her sex, in every large American city, are now bravely and healthfully at work. The words, "old maid," have recently been shorn of their terrifying power; they are revered in contrast with the words, "unhappy



wife." Independence, while it makes her superior to marriage, fits her to be the truest of conjugal companions. She or he is, perhaps, best suited to wedlock who can live without it.

She is, by the law of her sex, not only monogamous but monerotic, while he is polygamous and polyerotic. As a wife she increases her freedom, though he as a husband, if he be all that he should, reduces his. But he is so seldom a marital model that he is little restricted. With pecuniary provision, he is apt to think his domestic duties discharged. Her duties are innumerable and endless. When he is unencumbered, she may be overborne. Few of the disadvantages of wedlock fall to his share. She has ten times more motive than he to avoid matrimony, which may be the cause of her zealous prejudice in its favor. The majority of women are wholly married; the majority of men but partially. Many wives are unworthy; but they are few compared with unworthy husbands, who are largely responsible for their defects. Marriages are generally divided into harmonious and inharmonious ones, though these comprise a boundless variety. In a measure, each marriage must stand for itself, since no two are exactly alike. The relation is so sacredly intimate that many of its secrets are secrets still. Despite daily disclosures, all its weal and all its woe has never been unveiled. Sometimes the ideal is nearly attained; but such cases are likely to be hallowed by silence, while the real, the representative, is subject to advertisement.

Almost everything countenances marriage in the United States. If it be a failure here, it must be principally owing to the marriers. Albeit far from perfect, like everything else, it is the latest and best form evolved for sexual affinity. And with us most of the Old World limitations and restraints have been removed. If we wed unfortunately or unwisely, as any one of us may, ample means are provided for our retreat. Is marriage a failure? If it be, such a host of men and women are failures themselves, can they, with any show of reason, expect, by adding failure to failure, to insure a success?

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.



## THE ROLE OF CHEMISTRY IN CIVILIZATION.

WHAT is civilization? We use the term glibly enough, without always caring to attach to it any exact meaning. Strangely enough, even the eminent authors who have traced the progress of civilization seem reluctant to tell us wherein this great social phenomenon consists. Guizot, in his "History of European Civilization," says that he takes the word in its general popular meaning, as deduced from its etymology. He regards civilization as the "perfecting of civil life, the development of society or of the relations of men among themselves." The progress of science as a factor in this development of society he totally ignores. If we accept his definition the role of chemistry in civilization may be summed up in a line. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England," nowhere lays down in so many words a definition of civilization. But had he done so, it is evident that he would not have left the physical sciences out of consideration.

S. T. Coleridge, in his "Treatise on Method," prefixed as an introduction to the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," draws not merely a distinction but a contradistinction between "true cultivation" and "civilization." He tells us that "the vicious among mankind receded from true cultivation as they hurried toward civilization." He tells us that the just sought primarily "to cultivate the moral sense," while the vicious "determined to shape their convictions and deduce their knowledge from without, by exclusive observation of outward things as the only realities; hence, they became rapidly *civilized*." Whilst utterly repudiating Coleridge's alleged facts, as well as the spirit shown in this passage, we must admit that he conceives of civilization in a manner much more consonant with popular use and with the truth than does Guizot. Civilization, we shall be told by the common sense of the world, is the sum total of the attributes which differentiate the people of Western Europe and of certain parts of America, from the Fuegians, the aborigines of Australia,



or the Bushmen of South Africa. Or, if we put what is here conveyed in a generalized form, we may define civilization as the sovereignty of man on the earth. Our advance in civilization is an ever increasing insight into, and comprehension of, all that we can recognize on or in the earth, ourselves included. With this progress—a progress of science in the strict sense of the term—there is intertwined a corresponding development of power, constructive and destructive, or, in other words, of industrial art, commonly styled “applied science.” In this double movement, speculative and practical, chemistry plays a most important part, perhaps the most important.

There are certain notions which the minds of our race must acquire as essential to a comprehension of the universe. The first is that of matter as incapable, within our power and our experience, either of creation or of destruction. This is distinctly a chemical lesson. The common sense of mankind, which is so seldom to be trusted, ran away with the impression that the growing tree created a part of its own substance out of nothing, the unseen and unapparent being set down as non-existent. But chemical research has proved that every minutest particle of the tree has come from the soil, the air, and the water—from pre-existing matter. There is here transformation, but not creation. And when the tree was cut down, cut up into billets, and cast into the fire, it was supposed that the wood was destroyed, annihilated. The chemist had to prove that the component matter of the tree reappeared, to the thousandth part of a grain, in the identical forms which it had before being assimilated by the tree. Here, again, there is transformation, but by no means destruction. By such operations, repeated, multiplied, and varied as they are and constantly have been, we have learnt the permanence of matter. Whether matter is essentially eternal we know not, but we may safely say that by no finite power can it be either created or annihilated.

Closely connected with this primary lesson is the second, that of the possible existence of matter in the gaseous state, invisible, and scarcely palpable. True, the existence of air must have been always and universally recognized, but down to a comparatively recent date it was as universally misunderstood. To our fore-



fathers air was not the common instance of a condition into which all matter could be reduced, but a something very closely bordering upon nothing. Chemical research took air to pieces, and resolved it into a number of components possessing properties markedly different, but all, like air itself, invisible. Along with this discovery was that of other bodies, not normally present in air, but, with one exception, sharing its attribute of invisibility.

The lessons now multiply. From an insight into the composition of the atmosphere mankind was led, still by chemical research, to an understanding of the *rationale* of combustion. Combustion, though essentially a mere process (differing mainly from life in that it can be originated without antecedent combustion, whilst life, perhaps fortunately, springs only from previous life) was regarded as an "element" or form of matter, in short, as a substantive entity. But with the discovery of oxygen, of carbonic acid, and of the composition of water, mankind learned that combustion was merely rapid oxidation; that when a lump of coal burns, its carbon and its hydrogen merely combine with oxygen to form respectively carbonic acid and watery vapor. Combustion being thus identified with rapid oxidation, it was not hard to see that the rusting of metals and a variety of analogous changes were merely slow combustion; oxygen disappearing in each case whilst an oxide resulted, from which, in many cases, oxygen could again easily be set free.

The next step was a recognition of the facts of composition and decomposition. The question had early been raised whether all matter was in its essence one or infinitely varied; but chemists found that certain bodies, however treated, underwent no changes. Thus the world came to the recognition of elementary or simple bodies, and of such as were not elementary. It must here be kept steadily in view that the boundary between simple bodies and other substances is dependent merely on the extent of man's power. The elements of to-day may yet prove to be compounds. Still, in the present condition of things, and for the extent of our resources, they stand forth as first principles, and their recognition as such is of vast importance. With the detection of these elements, and with the recognition of their behavior, mankind obtained the notions of composition and decomposition.



Two simple bodies, coming together under suitable circumstances, ceased to exist as such, a new body appearing in their stead, in which the properties of the two were more or less completely masked; while compound bodies, under appropriate treatment, were seen to be resolved into their elements.

The next great lesson learned was that of combination in definite proportions. It was recognized that, on analyzing any compound, or, in other words, taking it to pieces, its components were present in unvarying proportions. Water consisting of hydrogen and oxygen, it was found that the weight of the former was eight times that of the latter. Conversely, in putting together water from its constituent elements, if the operator made use of more of either component than the quantity needed, the excess did not enter into combination. It is difficult to appreciate the vast importance of this truth. It told the manufacturer how much product he could and should obtain from a given weight of materials; anything more being impossible, and anything less proving that there was some defect, whether avoidable or not, in the process or in the manner of working. It rendered possible the construction of chemical equations, in which the substances brought into mutual reaction are shown on one side, and on the other the substances into which they are transformed. If these two sides do not exactly balance, we have proof that something has escaped our observation, or even that our interpretation of the changes which have taken place is incorrect.

One of the more recent, and, at the same time, one of the more important, lessons taught by chemical research, is the overthrow of the supposed absolute distinction between organic and inorganic matter. When Wöhler formed urea artificially, this distinction was annulled; and chemists now consider the artificial production of any organic compound whatever, independent of the aid of living plants or animals, a mere question of time and skill. The value of this step in the intellectual education of mankind is so enormous that any exaggeration is the more dangerous. We have not, in the first place, been able as yet to take oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen as they occur in the air and in water, and to generate from them sugar, starch, glycerine, fatty acids, organic bases, etc. This we may ultimately succeed



in doing. But there is another more formidable barrier: we must remember the difference between organic matter and organized matter. We may some day form synthetically glucose, tartaric acid, and all the ingredients of a grape; or we may produce, in like manner, fibrin, albumen, fatty matters, etc., as found in a mutton-chop; but when we have succeeded in doing all this we shall not be appreciably nearer the synthetic formation of the grape or of the mutton-chop.

We may next ask what evidence chemistry supplies in favor of or against the great principle of continuity. So far as research has gone, the results are in favor of this great law. We see that metals and non-metals, acids and bases, fade into each other by gradations not separated by any hard-and-fast boundary. We see that, in processes of union and of decomposition, the change to be induced spreads gradually through the whole mass exposed to reaction, time being thus a factor in the process, though in many cases it is so brief as to be inappreciable. It was on the faith of the principle of continuity that Mr. Newlands and Professor Mendelejeff ventured to predict the existence of bodies as yet unseen and unknown, because without them there would occur a breach of continuity. The verification of these forecasts not only proves the correctness of the periodic system, but further confirms the law of continuity. It may, therefore, be fairly contended that although the law might have been discovered in the absence of chemical considerations, yet its evidence, in their default, would have been much less complete than is now the case.

If now we sum up the main points established, we see that to chemistry we owe the notions of the permanence of matter, of the gaseous condition, of the nature of the atmosphere, of combustion and of oxidation, of elements, of composition and decomposition in definite proportions, and of organic synthesis. Without this knowledge, it may well be asked, where would be, not merely our industry, our technology, but our whole modern civilization? Before looking more closely into the practical bearing of the lessons which the world has thus learned from chemical research, we may point out that chemistry more than any other science has taught us the art of experimental inquiry, or, as it might other-



wise be called, the systematic interrogation of nature. The English language makes a clear distinction between experience and experiment, though the distinction is often overlooked. If we have only experienced or observed some result, our knowledge of it may be very vague. But if we know it experimentally, the word implies that we have produced the phenomenon under known conditions. Now, in chemistry we can reproduce any particular phenomenon we are studying as often as we please. We can note and can vary any and every condition which may affect or modify the result. If such result is novel or unexpected the investigation will be critically repeated by others, so that any error committed, whether of fact or of interpretation, is sure to be eliminated. In other sciences, *e. g.*, biology, experimentation is far more difficult. We cannot always obtain the materials we need, nor can we reproduce at will the phenomena under investigation. Hence, then, chemistry is a study indispensable for the development of civilization; since experimental inquiry, whenever practicable, is the type and model of the method of arriving at truth.

Passing now from the speculative to the practical sphere, we may briefly trace the influence of chemistry on the arts and industries, without which our civilization would be *non est*.

Let us suppose the reader rising in the morning and beginning the day's duties with a good wash. Here soap comes into play—soap, concerning which Liebig said that its consumption in any country might be taken as a measurement of the height to which civilization had reached. Now, the production of soap is a chemical art, practiced in former ages by rule of thumb, but now carried out on scientific principles. But behind soap making stand two other arts likewise founded upon chemistry, alkali making and oil and fat refining. If these arts are imperfectly understood or badly executed, the soap produced will be either bad or dear, or possibly both.

But we cannot yet leave the washstand. If our water supply is hard, decomposing the soap and forming an unpleasant gluey coating over our skin, chemistry will again have to come into play. The hard water ought to be softened by the Clarke process.

We proceed to dress, and we find that every article which we



put on depends for its condition on chemical arts. Our white underclothing has been bleached. If this be of cotton or linen, we are reminded of the destruction of vegetable colors by chlorine, of the manufacture of bleaching powder, and of Weldon's grand discovery of the regeneration of manganese, which, as an eminent French *savant* remarked, "has cheapened every yard of cotton cloth made in the world." Before this series of inventions, cottons and linens had to be bleached by the slow process of exposure on grass lands to the action of air and dew and light.

Turn we to the colored articles of dress. These have been either dyed or printed. Of all the industrial arts these two exhibit, perhaps, the most brilliant display of the results of chemistry. Behind the dyer and the printer stand the manufacturer of alum, tin crystals, preparing salts, etc., the tar refiner, the maker of coal-tar colors, and an ever-widening train of other chemical industrialists. Particular attention is due to the coal-tar colors, because they have sprung, not from hap-hazard experimentation, but from profound researches into the constitution of coloring matters and of the more immediate tar products. No rule-of-thumb work, if carried on for centuries, would ever have given us artificial alizarine.

Boots and shoes next claim attention. Here again we are indebted to a chemical art, tanning—an art which has involved no little study, and which is still capable of further improvement. How if we had to wear shoes of untanned hides?

Our friend walks down stairs and finds letters awaiting him, *i. e.*, paper. Now another authority has said, in opposition to Liebig, that not soap but paper furnishes the best standard of the civilization of any people. Be it so; paper making is a chemical art. Fibrous materials have to be freed from a variety of impurities and to be bleached, the Weldon process coming here again to the fore.

The reader steps up to his breakfast table and finds himself surrounded with the triumphs of chemical art. The porcelain cup owes its semi-transparency and its impervious glaze to chemical research exerted in the selection of materials and in their skillful combination. The same tale is told by the glass cream jug. The cutlery, though abundance of mechanical skill has



been spent in its manufacture, speaks not less of chemical knowledge applied in separating the original iron from its accompanying impurities, and in its conversion into steel. The same science has rendered it possible for the sugar to reach the consumer in a state bordering very closely upon absolute purity.

We may here be reminded of the adulteration of food and medicine—an evil accompanying civilization—and we may be asked whether these frauds have not been facilitated and multiplied in consequence of chemical research. Too true; the light of science, like the light of the sun, may be used amiss. But the same research has rendered it possible to trace these sophistications and bring their authors to punishment.

Space will not permit us to follow the reader through his daily business, and to show him how, if he is a producer at all, he is more or less dependent on chemistry at every step. We cannot show him the farmer calling in the aid of this science to maintain or increase the fertility of his land, or to conquer destructive insects. We cannot point to the miner, the quarryman, or the engineer, effecting by chemical means at a stroke, as at Hell Gate, what for mere mechanical appliances would have been an endless task. Nor can we enter upon the part played by certain chemical agents in the defense of civilization against the attacks of savage hordes, such as overthrew the Roman Empire. These we pass over the more readily from their liability to abuse. Neither have we scope to speak of artificial lighting, of gas and petroleum, none of which we should have without chemical research. But we may ask, Where would be our civilization if we had remained in ignorance of the principles which such research has brought to light, and of those few of their applications which we have enumerated? Civilization, as we now know it, would be simply nonexistent.

WILLIAM CROOKES.



# The Forum.

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## IS UNION WITH CANADA DESIRABLE?

I HAVE long supposed that a political union of Canada with the United States might be only a question of time, and have hoped that, if it ever came, it would come peaceably and with the good-will of a large majority of the people on both sides of the boundary line. At the present time the territorial ambition of our country appears to be in a self-contented slumber. The territories we now have are all-sufficient to absorb any redundant population for a long time to come, and yet the growth and density of our population may in time promote ideas of further annexation, and in the pride of power, or in the heat of party strife, a union may be brought about "peaceably if we can," or, unfortunately, "forcibly if we must." From such a stain and such a calamity as the latter process would be, I hope our country will steer clear, and only stand ready to welcome the union whenever the proposition comes from, and has the popular support of, the Canadas. It should come more as a favor to them than to us. Only with such preliminary conditions can the almost insuperable difficulties be toned down or removed.

Lofty sentiment and breezy assumption should not be permitted to hide the facts and surrounding conditions involved in a measure which must profoundly concern the two great English-speaking nations; and it may be well to examine some of the

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considerations which seem to bear against, as well as those which favor, either commercial reciprocity or a political and permanent union. The question first in order—first certainly with the Canadians—appears to be reciprocity. To obtain this they would unanimously and with great alacrity give us better terms than ever before, and no longer treat as enemies Americans found within three miles of their coasts.

Inward-bound free trade with Great Britain they appreciate much less than outward-bound, and would, perhaps, give up both for reciprocity with the United States. All reciprocity treaties clearly appear to be invasions of the prerogatives of the House of Representatives, to which belongs the sole authority to originate revenue bills. This is not simply my opinion, but it is the recorded opinion of nearly all of our eminent statesmen in the Senate of preceding generations, including Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. The present advocates of such a measure may attempt to disguise it under the name of a “commercial union,” but this presents the worst phase of a reciprocity treaty, involving a division of the revenue received from foreign imports either on the basis of extent of territory or on the relative number of population, and either would allot to Canadians an excessive and preposterous share, or far more than their contribution by consumption of dutiable merchandise. To those who have any practical knowledge of the country, of its lack of wealth, and of the character of the people, this requires no further argument.

The rejected Zollverein treaty of 1844, although it would have promoted our interests, as was stated in the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was unanimously rejected by the Senate of the United States on a call of the yeas and nays, and solely on the ground of paramount constitutional objections, inasmuch as “the control of trade and the function of taxing belong without abridgment or participation to Congress.” The assertion of Daniel Webster should never be forgotten: “I hope I know the Constitution of my country better than to think a reciprocity treaty is constitutional.” And yet the record will show that the Senate, though once saying it would “ne’er consent, consented still” more than once to a usurpation of the power to make a reciprocity treaty. But few Senators have attempted to show



either the constitutionality or the material and financial advantages of these treaties, obviously for the reason that the attempt would turn out a lame and sorry failure. Even if we had the power, and Great Britain were to consent that Canada should give to the United States privileges not granted even to the imperial government, which never yet has been done, the United States would be a large financial sufferer. We might get rid of our Treasury surplus, but it would be given to strangers, to those who care not for us.

No commercial reciprocity treaty will ever be accepted by Canada that does not abridge the prosperity of the farming and husbandry interests of the United States. The Canadians have iron and copper ores, petroleum and coal, in all of which our supply is abounding; but they are most in earnest for a better market for wheat, oats, potatoes, peas, hops, horses, cattle, and wool, and, with their cheaper labor, they could not fail to cripple the profits of American farmers on all similar products. Such a treaty, or such a union, would be a complete surrender of our greatly superior markets to the competition of over four millions of people, controlling a vast acreage of the cheapest land, for which we should in return only obtain Canadian markets almost utterly valueless to our people. Like *Æsop's* goose, we are invited by the fox to a nominal repast of which it would be impossible for us to partake. It should not be forgotten that a reciprocity treaty sets at defiance nearly all of our commercial treaties with foreign nations, as we have promised them every favor we may grant to others; and those nations, one or all, beyond all question, might legitimately claim, upon the conclusion of such a treaty, equal reciprocity privileges by offering the same equivalents to us.

A reciprocity treaty or commercial union with Canada would be a cruel and immediate disadvantage to all of our agricultural States, especially those on the border, and could not fail to interrupt and postpone the prosperity of all of our own large Territories. Strange to say there are a few persons who seem to believe that a reciprocity treaty or a commercial union would be only a stepping-stone to a permanent union; but surely such persons are wholly blind to all of our past experience. Reci-



procity, as understood in the Dominion, gives all that is wanted, and gives no twist to the tail of the British lion. Marriage seldom follows seduction.

No reciprocity treaty will ever be consented to by the Dominion that does not open a free fish market in the United States to their maritime provinces. All the heroic services of their redoubtable navy are supported only for that end, and their diplomacy can have no other object. If this could be obtained, their navy would soon become obsolescent, and its officers might be retired on half-pay. A commercial union, as surely as a reciprocity treaty, would include free fish and much more, and either would be absolutely ruinous to American fishermen.

The revenue to be lost by such a compact, though considerable, would be no measure of its far-reaching and irreparable destructiveness. The fishermen of the Provinces have no other vocation, and, being nearer to the fishing-grounds and fresh bait, they make their catch in shorter time and less perilous voyages than is possible for American fishermen. They also are contented with less returns; when hired they work for less wages, and always subsist on a much lower and cheaper grade of fare than Americans. The reciprocity treaties we have impatiently endured nearly blotted out the tonnage of our fisheries. In 1854 we had 328,870 tons engaged in the fisheries, and in 1886 it had dwindled to no more than 103,843 tons, or to only one-third of its former amount. Give up our markets for another twenty years and our fishermen would have only the memory of a lost art. The natural provincial advantages, coupled with those to be acquired by reciprocity, would be insurmountable, and the great nursery for American sailors would be closed forever.

Some of our people favor reciprocity or commercial union upon the idea that a market would be opened in Canada for New England manufactures, but such calculations do not take into consideration the fact of the large body of French Canadians who might there be employed in home manufactures at much lower wages than are current in the United States. A more trustworthy authority, Goldwin Smith, when he would persuade Canada to favor the measure, says: "With a free access to the markets of her own continent, she might become a great manufacturing country."



We may as well dismiss all golden dreams about a market in Canada for manufactures, as we already know that since they adopted a protective tariff, the manufactures established in Canada have already produced a glut in their own contracted market.

A commercial union with the Canadian Dominion would not stop short of participation in our coasting trade. At present this trade, on both the ocean and lakes, is in a highly prosperous condition, and it is about all we have left of our former mercantile tonnage. The cheap provincial craft, cheaply manned and cheaply run, would undermine our people in the coasting trade, just as the Clyde steamers and Norwegian and other foreign tramps have nearly extinguished our foreign carrying trade.

A commercial union might require an assimilation of tariffs or the same rates of duty on imports of foreign merchandise by both countries, and perhaps the adjustment of our own tariff in harmony with the demands of the Dominion, and subordinate to the requirements of all our commerce with other foreign nations. Manifestly this would be wholly inadmissible. The excise taxes of the Dominion and our internal revenue taxes would have to be made entirely equal; but the excise taxes are indispensable to the Dominion, while our internal revenue taxes are no longer needed, and, being a painful memento of the late rebellion, are likely soon to be cut down and may disappear altogether. A commercial union would be boundless reciprocity without any discrimination, and, in case of war between the United States and Great Britain, would leave the Canadas with a British governor of civil affairs and a British general in command of their military forces; and the sudden rupture of the commercial union, with all the doors of our northern frontier ajar and defenseless, could not fail to present serious embarrassments to our government, if not to the few estimable gentlemen whose ideas of such a union are nothing if not piping hot.

At present the Dominion is controlled by the majority supposed to be most hostile to a union with our republic, and their policy has been to obtain commercial privileges by compulsion or by legislative thumb-screws.\* Taking shelter behind the

\* Such as their recent non-intercourse export duty on logs and manufactured timber of \$3.00 per thousand feet.



mother country, their fishery provocations have strained our peaceful relations. Our people are in no mood to submit to a repetition of these provocations. We offer a full measure of reciprocity in all the friendly relations of near neighbors, and there we pause.

A political union of all the British North American colonies with the United States suggests discussion as to its final success, and as to the enduring contentment of all the parties. An examination of the fate of such national experiments in past history offers no universal assurance of permanence and durability. These events challenge the attention of mankind. If the planting of any of the dynastic governments of Europe on American soil would be repugnant to us, an extension of our dominion might equally be repugnant to them. The Monroe doctrine is not yet the accepted law of nations. However it may be with the plain people, it is unlikely that the governments of Europe cherish any love for Americans, and they would look upon a large extension of our republic with extreme jealousy, if not with animosity, tempered only with a lively hope that the extension would somehow terminate in disaster. Long as the Roman and Grecian acquisitions of territory and dominion may have flourished, and however rich were the conquests of Alexander or of Philip II., or of Napoleon, the time came when they all vanished. Not wholly unlike some of those now existing of Great Britain, they appear to have been too much like a pyramid reversed and standing upon the apex. With sixty thousand British-born soldiers, two hundred and fifty-three million natives of India are held in absolute subjection, and, except in the time of great mutinies, are made to pay an annual tax of one hundred million dollars on land, fifty million on opium, and thirty-six million on salt. This enormous possession of Great Britain is likely to be securely held, to furnish "Englishmen with a career and English manufacturers with a market," as long as the different castes of India and the different religious creeds can be made to antagonize each other. The imperial government has some difficulties in keeping Russia out of Constantinople and Afghanistan, and more from letting France into Egypt. Here as elsewhere, however, if it has any wolf by the ears it seems determined not to let go.



The indirect tribute of trade is still maintained, even in the colonies said to govern themselves; but the thread that binds them as British dependencies is very slender, and strengthened mainly from love of titles and personal allegiance. England made the union with Scotland a success, but has not yet succeeded with Ireland, and holds it, much as Germany holds Alsace and Lorraine, with a vigorous clasp of an iron hand. It required years of border warfare for Russia to subjugate the unruly chiefs of Caucasus. It was years after the dismemberment of Poland before "order reigned in Warsaw." The aggrandizements of France have mainly come to grief, as have those of Spain. The general outlook of these national speculations does not seem to be strongly commended, either by prudence or morals.

A considerable portion of the people of Canada are new settlers who have been aided to get there, or are frontiersmen without capital, who are subduing a surrounding wilderness, a wilderness which furnishes the largest item of their exports to Great Britain, and they are forced to limit their expenditures by rugged economy. But the older *habitans* are no better off. The same high authority I have already cited, Mr. Smith, says: "Families of twenty are not unknown in Quebec. The soil is niggard, the climate rigorous, and were the Province an island the pressure on the means of subsistence would be the same that it is in Ireland." These people are limited to the consumption of little else than their own domestic productions, and their contributions to a national revenue through a tariff on imports would be exceedingly small, as few of them ever have money "burning in their pockets."

If the British North American Provinces were firmly and unitedly resolved upon independence, or upon a union with the United States, it is quite improbable that Great Britain would resist their determination as a rebellion, but all the power of the Crown and all the influence of Victoria's loyal subjects would be vigorously exerted to nip it in the bud, and prevent the Provinces from ever reaching any resolution to sunder their present relations with the mother country. Great Britain, with so many widely-distributed dependencies, cannot afford to risk her prestige among European nations by a renunciation of all power over the American Provinces. A break here might prove an example



elsewhere for other breaks in the empire. So earnest will be the resistance of Englishmen to such an overture, inside and outside of the Canadian Provinces, that its occurrence is not likely to happen during the present generation—always provided that any war of Great Britain shall not call for too large a sacrifice on the part of the Provinces, where they have no more interest than they have in Egypt or Afghanistan.

There are many grave topics that would require definitive settlement prior to any political union. For instance, while the number of congressional representatives would be fairly regulated by our general law, which fixes the ratio of representation according to the number of inhabitants, the possibly large number of Canadian states to be represented in the United States Senate would require profound consideration. There are eight of the Provinces which appear hitherto to have had a separate and independent autonomy in their form of provincial governments. These are:—

	Square miles.	Population, Census of 1881.
Manitoba .....	123,200	65,954
British Columbia. ....	341,305	49,359
Nova Scotia .....	20,907	440,572
New Brunswick.....	20,174	321,233
Quebec.....	188,688	1,359,027
Ontario.....	101,733	1,923,228
Newfoundland .....	40,200	185,000*
Prince Edward Island.....	2,132	108,891
Territories and Arctic Islands.....	2,665,253	56,346

Besides the territories and Arctic islands, if all these Provinces were to be admitted as States there would be sixteen added to the number of United States senators, eight based on the four States with only 409,294 of population, or double the number of their representatives in the House, where each State would be accorded one member, though possibly upon a fraction of the number required by the general ratio. All of the Provinces would be likely to insist upon being represented in the Senate. To the older members of our Union this would not be acceptable. It may be true, however, that the Provinces now having the smallest number of inhabitants, Manitoba and British Columbia, promise with the

\* As estimated in 1882.



greatest certainty a future increase. With the possible exception of Ontario, none of the other Provinces are likely to have any large and progressive accessions to their numbers.

The coherence, as a political unit, of sixteen senators, suddenly admitted from the north, would be inevitable, and they would soon learn their power to build up or to break down both measures and men. The future success or failure of parties might depend upon their Canadian policy.

The present nomenclature of the Provinces would serve for the most part quite as well if applied to States; but to speak of Prince Edward Island as a State would be rather elongated, perhaps slightly unrepublican, and the name of British Columbia might be wholly changed for the better, as a British State would be a palpable misnomer, and the State of Columbia could not fail to be often confounded with the District of Columbia.

The public lands of the respective parties present questions of importance. Our public lands, whether for settlement as homesteads or as sources of revenue, would become common property to be disposed of for the general welfare, as much for the benefit of Canadian States as for the rest of the Union, and the public lands of the Canadas would therefore have to be ceded to the United States to be held on similar terms.

The absolute cleavage and abandonment of the power of Great Britain over any part of the North American continent would be a *sine qua non* on the part of the United States. There must be nothing left to breed national contention, and, although the extreme hyperborean regions north of the Canadas are destitute of much commercial value, when our flag goes north it should cover the whole country.

Canada was originally a colony of France, and there are now over a million of French Canadians, described by Goldwin Smith, the eloquent propagandist of commercial union, as an "unprogressive, religious, submissive, courteous, and, though poor, not unhappy people." He adds, that while "they have a very indifferent reputation as farmers," "they are governed by the priest with the occasional assistance of the notary." This certainly is not high commendation. Retaining in a poor way their French language, they have not been assimilated or angli-



cized, perhaps cannot be Americanized, and we have yet to learn that the Latin race have anywhere appeared to accept of a republican form of government with any staying enthusiasm.

The English civil service system has long served to provide in English colonies a refuge for the destitute younger sons of the aristocracy, and this class, with those dependent upon British pensions and annuities, must be expected to perpetuate national animosities and long to remain so wedded to the British monarchy as to be unable to contemplate a republic without hereditary hatred. The loyalists or tories, who left our country during and after the Revolution, have nursed and retained much of their ancient bitterness, on the ground that they were not treated with proper magnanimity, and these, with their descendants, are hostile to all republican theories and methods of government.

The six or seven hundred millions which the mother country has now invested in the provinces would be fruitful of evil influence, of litigation, and, in important cases of non-payment, of serious national complications.

The various Indian tribes of the United States have been for many generations a source of large expense and bloody raids and outbreaks. In fact, they are still the skeletons in the closets of our War and Interior Departments. Unfortunately, the Canadian Dominion, with its sixty-four different tribes or bands of Indians, is comparatively more seriously burdened with this unwelcome and destitute race, all of whom have had and must continue to have assistance in their sorry struggle for life, especially in an extreme northern climate. To the Canadians they bring a large item of expense, and to us the expense would be much larger, as our system of support has been far more generous.

The annual appropriation of the Dominion for fishery bounties is \$150,000; for superannuation, \$202,285; for aid to immigration, \$462,863; and for subsidies and steamship subventions, \$273,496. Whether or not all these peculiar benefactions would continue to be maintained by the United States after the union had been consummated, would have to be determined in advance or they would lead to sectional controversy.

The Dominion is the owner of several very necessary canals, and the Union would therefore be relieved from their future con-



struction; but the annual cost of their maintenance would have to be assumed, and some of them are so inferior as to require replacement by larger and better works. The relation of the Dominion government to its railways is extraordinarily heterogeneous. Nearly all of them have been subsidized or assisted, and several are owned by the government. Whether they are self-supporting or an annual tax, they are surely a source of vexation to be dreaded in their administration, and of probable financial deficits.

The public debt of the Canadian Dominion, however formidable, would have to be paid or assumed by the United States in case of a political union. Its present amount in proportion to population is more than three times as much as that of the United States; and the latter is being rapidly reduced, while that of the Dominion for the last twenty years has steadily increased in every year except two. Assuming the population of Canada in round numbers to be four millions, and ours sixty-four millions,\* our public debt should be sixteen times as much as that of the Dominion; but their debt is \$273,187,626, less \$45,873,715 assets, leaving a net debt of \$227,313,911; and our debt, less cash on hand, is \$1,137,290,036. To equalize the debts, that of the Dominion should not be over \$75,000,000, or that of the United States not less than \$3,632,000,000. Undoubtedly the heavy burden of the Dominion can be more safely borne by the United States, but the load is far from being attractive. Some of the loans of the Canadian Dominion have been guaranteed by the imperial government, and the larger part of their public debt is payable in London, in 1906, 1908, and 1913, involving a semi-annual export of gold. Before Great Britain would be willing to renounce her supremacy, it would be very natural for her to wait until relieved from all of these obligations.

We do not need the Canadian Dominion as a place of refuge for redundant population. We do not need it for the purpose of enrolling their young men in our army. We do not need it for the purpose of increasing our revenue, and, if we did, the balance would be found on the other side of the account.

The several Canadian Provinces, by union with the United

\* Slightly underestimated in each case.



States, would become the youngest of our sisterhood of States, demanding and commanding our affectionate attention, in such appropriations as older States have received for internal improvements of their numberless rivers and harbors, for public buildings, and for all the expenditures where our national government has been accustomed to bear the burden. No just demands in these respects could be refused, and in an era of good feeling the increased national expenditures might be prodigal rather than economical. The idea that the Canadas would be an acquisition of national wealth must be summarily dismissed.

A reciprocity treaty or a commercial union with the Canadian Dominion, were it possible to set aside all constitutional inhibitions, would be, as heretofore, unequal and disastrous to the material interest and general welfare of the United States, and unsupported even by the greed of gain or any nobler sentiment. Our capital and population so much exceed those of the Dominion that any fair and equal reciprocity or partnership is impossible. Then, with so many drawbacks and hindrances, why should we have any desire to promote a greater measure, which includes all the lesser, of a political union?

We cannot conceal the stubborn fact that the boundary line, supposed to separate our country from the British North American possessions, is for the most part imaginary, and about as invisible on land as on the great lakes. Undeniably the abolition of all custom houses across the American continent would be a magnificent event in our history, and would make the collection of customs revenue infinitely less difficult. Public opinion is in no hurry, but has its index finger forever pointing to a union of all that lies north of us, as our manifest destiny.

We can have no prevision of the longevity of nations, and their rise and fall are among the great undetermined problems of the future; but in the lapse of time these large northern possessions, if under the peaceful control of the United States, would be utilized by American capital and enterprise, which would ultimately explore and bring into activity their utmost capability. Our industries would spread over them. The profits of their agriculture in Ontario and the western territories would be increased, Canadian mineral wealth would be developed, and their



lands and property, with a constant rise in value, would attract new settlers and many wide-awake adventurers. A permanent union would remove all the little jealousies so apt to breed in small states against greater ones, and prevent warlike contentions about petty causes.

It is by no means a new question, and was provided for as early as 1777, in Article XI. of the Confederation, as follows:

“Canada acceding to this confederation and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of, this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted to the same, unless such admission shall be agreed to by nine States.”

To carry this into effect, a committee of three was appointed to procure a translation of the articles of confederation to be made into the French language, and to report an address to the inhabitants of Canada. A masterly address was accordingly drawn up by Mr. Dickinson, from which I make the following extract:

“The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your Province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs; do you join your political interests; for their own sakes they never will betray you. The happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty and their spirit to assert it. The value and the extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu.”

This shows our earliest Congress to have looked upon a union with the Canadian Provinces as worthy of their highest efforts. Great Britain, however, with the help of the Indian tribes, succeeded in retaining the Provinces, and our weak military attempts, under Arnold and Allen, to bring them into the fold of the stars and stripes resulted in pitiful failures. But to-day the plea of nature is as potential as it was a hundred years ago. We feel that there should be no divided empire on the great lakes, and we are not insensible to the grandeur of a continental boundary.

The few French and Spanish inhabitants who came to us with the Louisiana purchase, soon became Americanized, and learned and adopted the English language in their legislative assemblies, their courts, and their laws. In fact, our acquisitions of territory, hitherto, with only inconsiderable accessions of population, have presented no serious obstacles to national expansion.

A Canadian union would perpetuate our peace policy, as well



as our policy of a small standing army, and would have no reciprocity of retreat for criminal fugitives.

The very extensive wheat fields of the Canadian territories as a supplement to our own, would prove a welcome guaranty against any possible future deficiencies of American crops. Their bituminous coal would be convenient to our Eastern States, and there might be an equal demand for our abundant anthracite in their wintry climate. Certainly the cost would be considerably cheapened. Their wild lands would be a timely and almost boundless reinforcement of our forest and timber lands. Although our original hardy American fisherman could not be expected to survive a Canadian union, all the fisheries and all the fishermen would at last be ours, and the difference would be chiefly noted among our future throng of sailors by their slightly provincial accent. Our naval squadrons would still be manned by thoroughly-trained seamen.

The people of the Dominion are largely of the same English-speaking stock with ourselves. Their jurisprudence and courts are based on similar general principles. They have been practically instructed in a representative form of government, and understand the omnipotence of popular majorities. There is some reason to hope that, as additional States, their history would be fairly creditable and not greatly inferior to that of some of our older States.

A union must first be asked for on the part of the Dominion or it will not be worth the having. It cannot be hastened by any effort of ours, but all such efforts will retard it. If there is now a great difference in the estate and property of the parties, that difference will be likely to be greater fifty years hence. There is no reason why the United States should take the initiative as to a union with the Canadas. With the highest Christian ethics, let us do unto them whatsoever we would have them do unto us; and if ever the effervescent predictions concerning our "manifest destiny" shall, by the determination of Providence, be fulfilled, we may hope American statesmanship will be sufficient to give assurance that a union with our northern neighbors will advance the future dignity of our country and the permanent prosperity of the people.

JUSTIN S. MORRILL.



## THE NEED OF ANOTHER UNIVERSITY.

IN a former number of the FORUM I sketched a plan for a university in the city of Washington which should be an examining but not a teaching body, and which should award scholarships and fellowships in other institutions but should not have any instructing faculty of its own. I now present a plan which may be supplementary to that, or substituted for it—the plan of a university for instruction.

Down to about twenty-five years ago an American university was a very simple thing indeed. Apart from a few outlying professional departments, it consisted generally of the “college proper,” in which the great mass of students were carried, willingly or unwillingly, through the same simple, single course, without the slightest regard for differences between them in aims, tastes, or gifts. The minds of the students were supposed to be developed in the same manner as are the livers of the geese at Strasburg—every day sundry spoonfuls of the same mixture forced down all throats alike.

That was probably the lowest point in the history of higher education during the past hundred years. It had not the advantages either of the tutorial system in the English universities or of the professorial system in the German universities. Nor had it the advantages of that earlier period in our own country, when strong teachers came directly into living contact with their students; as in the legendary days of Yale, when President Dwight in the chair grappled with Calhoun upon the benches; or of exceptional places later, as when President Hopkins fought over various questions with his student Garfield.

The whole system had become mainly perfunctory. A few students did well in spite of it, but the scholarly energies of most were paralyzed by it. Anything like research or investigation by an under-graduate, in any true sense, was unknown. The



only course provided consisted, as a rule, of a very moderate amount of Latin and Greek, read by the majority in every class after the freshman year from concealed translations; of mathematical problems, very frequently copied from smuggled papers; of a little rhetoric, physics, political economy, moral philosophy, logic, physiology, and modern history, mainly recited from textbooks; and all culminated at commencement in the bestowal of diplomas in a Latin which few of the recipients could understand, preceded by orations on such subjects as "Great Thinkers," "Great Statesmen," "The Real and the Ideal," "The Ambition of Napoleon," and "The Importance of the Classics."

Such universities required little endowment. The professors, though frequently men of high character and ability, were few and poorly paid, the salaries being mainly determined by the price at which trustees could fill the faculty with clergymen who had proved unsuccessful as pastors. Money was also saved by requiring one professor to teach many different subjects, his instruction being considered satisfactory if by diligent reading he could keep just ahead of his students. Much money was saved, too, by the employment of tutors, for tutors came cheap. They were as a rule young men just out of college, "very poor and very pious," who while studying in the adjacent theological school would, for a small stipend, sit in a box three times a day and "hear recitations." This, as a rule, meant hearing young men give the words of a text-book as nearly as possible, or construe Latin or Greek mainly from the inevitable surreptitious translation, the tutor rarely discussing the subject or making the slightest comment on it, but simply making a mark upon his private book to denote his view of the goodness or badness of each performance. "This was probably the most woeful substitute for education ever devised by the unwisdom of man. Occasionally a bright instructor galvanized an appearance of life into it, but it was dead. A few great men rose above it, but generally the aspirations even of excellent teachers were stifled in the atmosphere it engendered. Cheapest and worst of all were the instructors in modern languages, refugees thrown on our shores by the various European revolutions during the first half of the century; an unkempt race who were willing to submit to the practical



jokes of sophomores for wages which would barely keep soul and body together.

As to equipment, all was on the same cheap scale. A few recitation rooms and lecture halls, with sundry barracks full of bedrooms, not over clean, answered the main requirements as regarded buildings. The library had generally, as its nucleus, the duplicates and sometimes the entire collections of books contributed by devoted clergymen; about these had been gathered small gifts from other public-spirited donors; and these were supplemented by sets of reviews, more or less complete, and the controversial and other literature of the religious sect which the university happened to represent. This was ample, since the faculty had little motive for research, and the students were not encouraged to read anything beyond their text-books. As to what little pretense of research there was, the controversial works enabled the faculty to hold their own against the faculties of other universities, representing other religious sects; and the sets of reviews enabled the undergraduates to "read up" for their essays and orations.

As to apparatus for illustration, in chemistry the collections of Professor Silliman at New Haven and of Professor Hare at Philadelphia were in the forefront; yet what seemed to them and to their audiences in the days before the Civil War ample, would now be thought ludicrously inadequate. Still more marked is the change in physics; a collection of apparatus which twenty-five years ago was thought most creditable to the largest of our universities, would not exhibit the rudiments of the science, as it is now developed, to an intermediate school.

Of chemical laboratories, in the present sense of the word, forty years ago there were none; and I can well remember, at a more recent period, the contempt with which we students in the "college proper" at Yale—"studying the classics"—looked down upon men in the rudimentary laboratory of the Sheffield Scientific School, "fussing with bottles." And at a period much more recent, working laboratories in physics, agriculture, biology, botany, and civil, mechanical, mining, and electrical engineering, were not dreamed of. As to observatories, in all the larger institutions, save one or two, a celestial globe, and a porta-



ble telescope which would show Saturn's rings to the junior class, were thought sufficient. As to illustrative material, that vast wealth of it which now forces upon a graduate the conviction that he lived too soon, was unknown. Usually there were sundry cabinets of specimens, rarely if ever brought into the class rooms, but which served to make a salutary impression upon visitors at commencement

Such was the general condition of the leading American universities about the middle of this century. Now all has been changed; the development in the higher education, even during the last twenty years, in the subjects taught, in the courses presented, in the number of professors, in libraries, laboratories, collections for illustration and research, and in buildings, has been enormous. Institutions for the higher education, where they have been fitly developed toward the proper standard of a university, have been obliged to enlarge their teaching force, equipment, and buildings, on very much the same scale of increase seen in our railroads, ocean steamers, hotels, and business generally. In those good old times of thirty years ago, two or three hundred thousand dollars was thought a great endowment for a university, and twenty thousand dollars a sufficient endowment for a professorship. Less than twenty years ago, a speaker at a great national conference of the largest of all Protestant sects in America declared, in a burst of eloquence, and amid deafening applause: "We must have the best university in this nation; we must have the best university in the world; we must have it if it requires a capital of five hundred thousand dollars." *Sancta simplicitas!*

But all this is outgrown. The day when the function of a university was to force a great body of young men through the same simple, illogical process vaguely called "mental discipline," is gone. There has come a demand for a far greater range of studies, giving not only fitting discipline but the highest knowledge needed in the various professions. There must be a large array of courses suited to the tastes and aims of different men; libraries in which students may at least begin to investigate the best thought and acquisitions of every country in every field; laboratories in chemistry, physics, botany, biology, civil en-



gineering, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and the like, where votaries of various sciences may learn the best methods in every sort of research. There has come, too, a demand for specimens of practical use in every branch of natural science, and for collections of apparatus in which a single instrument sometimes costs more than the whole equipment of a department under the old system; also for large corps of professors, most of them specially trained, and who, if fit for much, must be paid large salaries. A leading professor has become a personage; various institutions compete for him, often raising his salary to a figure which once would have filled boards of trustees with dismay. It does not equal yet the sum customary among distinguished city clergymen, lawyers, presidents of banks or railroads, consulting engineers, and cooks of New York millionaires; but it is rapidly nearing these figures, and it ought to do so.

To found an institution and call it a university, in these days, with an income of less than a quarter of a million of dollars a year, is a broad farce. Even with that sum many of the most important spheres of university activity must be neglected. Twice the amount is not more than adequate, and Harvard University, which has an income of more than twice that amount, is at this moment showing cogent reasons for demanding more.

And the tendency is ever toward a greater expenditure. This is neither to be scolded at nor whined over. Just as the material demands of this wonderful time have created vast hotels, steamships, and railway systems, so the moral and intellectual demands are creating great universities. One result is as natural and normal as the other; indeed all are parts of one great demand. To go back from the present universities to the old sort of colleges would be like giving up railroads and going back to stage coaches. The gentlemen who purpose to meet this demand in education by endowing colleges or universities no better equipped than the best of thirty years ago, are like men who should offer skills to persons wishing to cross the Atlantic, or gigs to those wishing to visit California.

To provide and maintain an efficient university library to-day costs more than was required thirty years ago to maintain a large college; to carry on any one of the half-dozen laboratories re-



quired for a university may cost in these days a sum larger than some of our largest universities then required. The simple refugee is no longer thought sufficient for instruction in modern languages; nothing will now serve save at least one thorough scholar trained at home and abroad to present each language and literature. A tutor to "hear recitations" in rhetoric and sundry declamations no longer suffices in any university worthy of the name; professors and lecturers are now required who can open up all the great fields of English literature.

The good old way of setting some professor or tutor who happens to have a little spare time at "hearing recitations" from a manual of dates or from some little text-book, no longer suffices for instruction in history. Now, in each of our larger universities, half-a-dozen or more professors and lecturers are required, each to go thoroughly into some worthy field of ancient or modern history, or the history of civilization, or the political or constitutional or social history of the United States, England, or some other leading country. In political economy, international law, constitutional law, and the like, it no longer suffices to have a term of recitations, supplemented, perhaps, by a few lectures from some aged lawyer whose time is no longer demanded by clients. There has come a need in each of these fields for professors or special lecturers of high ability, and for enough of them to present both sides of strongly-controverted questions.

In those good old days the university drove its students, under pains and penalties, to hear the preaching of the college pastor. No great salary was required to fill such a position, for what it lacked in remuneration was made up in stimulus from the half-fledged wits in the student magazines. Now it begins to be thought better to attract students than to drive them, and this can be done only by paying salaries sufficient to command the services of the most eminent clergymen, men who can present with force the highest moral and religious thought of their time, as is done at Harvard and Cornell.

Formerly, as to physical culture, nothing was done save to provide a sort of barn with a few ladders and bars, more abhorrent to most of the students than were the recitations. Very rarely was there any one to indicate the use of gymnastic appar-



atus or its proper gradation and limitations. The result was that American university graduates were too often *ex officio* dyspeptics. Now, every university worthy of the name sees more and more the necessity of large, fully-appointed gymnasiums with thoroughly-trained physicians as directors, and skillful assistants to stimulate, guide, and curb youthful zeal in this field; and all this adds to the necessity for large funds.

Such are a few of the causes of the increasing demands for university endowment. A leading result of the satisfaction of these demands is a process of separation and crystallization among our higher institutions of learning, which is now fully begun. The larger ones, to the number of perhaps twelve or fifteen, are becoming universities; the smaller are tending toward the position of intermediate colleges—the missing link between the universities and the public-school system—a position than which none can be more useful and honorable if frankly accepted.

A cause and result of all this process is a discernment more and more clear that while the intermediate and collegiate instruction, having as its aim general discipline and culture, can best be given in the smaller institutions, with a small faculty, little apparatus, and a library of moderate size, the higher university instruction now demanded in the various literatures, sciences, and arts, and for the various professions, has become so developed that no worthy success can be had save with large teaching bodies, libraries, equipment, and endowment.

Institutions fitted to do well as intermediate colleges, whether now called universities, colleges, or high schools, number already several hundred, and of these, the colleges carried on by the Society of Friends at Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr, near Philadelphia, are, of all within my knowledge, the best and most truly flourishing, because conducted with the most thoroughness, cleanliness, and intellectual honesty; and our other smaller colleges, even many called universities, would do well to profit by their example. A little "Quaker honesty" in calling things by their right names at several such institutions would greatly increase the number of their students, and would raise them enormously in capacity for good work, in the estimation of the country, and in their own self-respect.



Of the greater institutions which have the endowments or other advantages likely to lead to a real university development I shall now say nothing, but shall call attention simply to two centers especially fitted by position, influence, the concourse of scholars, and the accumulation of means and material, for the development of two great universities which will serve to strengthen and aid the growth of all the university germs now existing in various parts of our country.

The first of these centers is the city of New York. It has Columbia College, old, honored, with perhaps the largest endowment of its kind in the United States, with the best facilities for drawing into its faculty leading men in every department, and with boundless opportunities for raising the tone of the great city in which it stands, and so of the country at large. Unfortunately the great majority of its trustees have long since proved themselves blind to their opportunities. Two men, one a statesman, the late Samuel B. Ruggles, and the other a scholar, President Barnard, have done all they could to rescue the institution from this inadequacy; but the fact remains, that while Columbia College might have exerted a great civilizing and enlightening force on the metropolis and on the country, like the University at Berlin, the College of France, the Sorbonne, and the Polytechnic School at Paris, the Academy at Geneva, the School of Higher Studies at Florence, and indeed like similar institutions in nearly every European capital, it has been, despite the labors and protests of the president and a minority of his colleagues, maintained as nearly as possible in the condition of an ordinary high school, kept out of all the currents of civic pride or sympathy, thrust into the noisiest and most unfit corner of the city, and cooped up in buildings and space enormously costly but entirely insufficient. The main body of its trustees have resembled savages who have found a watch. The only hope remaining is that, having overridden the late president and the admirable faculty gathered under his auspices, they may now choose an equally competent new head, and, chastened by the evident consequences of their previous errors, follow his counsels. They will do well to reflect that in university matters the Napoleonic dictum, "One poor commander is better than two good



ones," applies; certainly one good president who puts his whole thought, knowledge, experience, and ambition into a university, is better as a leader than a small mob who give to the university only their whims, prejudices, and the dregs of their thoughts. If other proofs were wanted, the recent history of Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Princeton, the University of Michigan, Tulane, and Cornell would abundantly show this. Of this central position for a university, great and commanding though it is, I shall say no more at present.

The second great center, and the one to which I shall next call especial attention, is Washington. It has as yet no proper endowment; that, in view of the thin *laissez-faire* doctrine now dominant, must be supplied by some citizen or citizens rich enough to furnish the millions required, great enough to know what this would do for their country, and ambitious enough to see the high place which such a gift would give to the man who makes it—a place in history infinitely higher than that of two-thirds of our presidents, statesmen, or generals.

Regarding the advantages of Washington as the seat of a university, the splendid foundations already existing there in men, means, and material, and what might be built on this basis, I shall speak in another article.

ANDREW D. WHITE.



## AN EASY LESSON IN STATISTICS.

IN this and in articles which are to follow, I shall endeavor to bring the present condition of the people of the United States into a form of statement which will enable readers to whom statistics are apt to be very dry and uninteresting, to understand the bearing of many questions now pending. Persons who are not accustomed to deal with figures in very large sums, and to whom the incomprehensible millions of our national book-keeping carry but a confused impression, may easily comprehend the facts on which all fiscal or financial legislation ought to be based when the large sums of the national accounts are reduced to the quantities and values of a corresponding community of 6000 persons. In this essay I have assumed the existence of a community of 6000 souls whose conditions as regards occupations, industries, production, division and utilization of land, etc., are as nearly as may be identical with those of the people of the United States in 1880, when the population was 50,000,000, or in the present year, when it is more than 60,000,000. I have made use only of such census figures as I believe to be worthy of trust or which I could substantially verify myself. Disregarding fractions, then, the following computations relating to 6000 people correspond to the figures which would apply to the present population of the country, assuming that no material change has occurred since the census of 1880 in their relative occupations and production. The figures of foreign commerce have not held quite the same proportions, but in other matters of production and distribution there has probably been but little change.

I assume a typical township which covers 300 square miles. It is about 25 miles long east and west, and 12 miles wide north and south. It comprises 192,000 acres of land, of which about one-half, or 96,000 acres, is good arable land; the rest is about equally divided between pasture, mountain, and forest. A little over twenty per cent. of the arable land, about 30 square miles,



or 20,000 acres, is under the plow. Within this area of 300 square miles there are 6000 people, of whom 2000 (1700 males and 300 females, including 35 boys and 14 girls of 15 years or under) are occupied for gain, or are doing something by which they may get a living for themselves, each one on the average supporting two others, either in farming, manufacturing, mining, or trading, or in professional or personal services. The 2000 who are occupied for gain are occupied substantially as follows: 870 as farmers (490) and farm laborers (380), doing their work in part by machinery, mainly by the use of tools and implements driven by horse or manual power; 226 occupied in personal service—servants, draymen, hackmen and the like—doing their work mainly by hand; 224 laborers not on farms—hewers of wood and drawers of water, diggers and delvers; 214 mechanics or artisans, working where the work is to be done individually rather than collectively, and operating tools rather than machinery; 200 occupied in the collective work of the factory, operating machinery rather than using tools; 36 employed upon railways—engineers, firemen, and the like—omitting common laborers; 30 miners; 200 persons engaged in mental rather than in manual or mechanical industry, using their heads rather than their hands—clergymen, lawyers, doctors, literary persons, heads of corporations, merchants, traders, and the like.

The study of the occupations of the people may enable one to make a better estimate of their average income or product than any figures which can be compiled in a census; therefore it may be useful to make even a closer subdivision of these pursuits

**Occupied in agriculture :**

Farmers .....	500	
Farm laborers.....	370	
	—	870

**Occupied in personal service :**

Hotel keepers .....	4	
Domestic servants, waiters, laundresses, coachmen, and the like .....	158	
Draymen and hackmen.....	20	
Others, including mariners and police .....	44	
	—	226

Common laborers .....	224
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## Occupied in the mechanic arts :

Carpenters, wheelwrights, lumbermen, and other men who work in wood.....	56	
Blacksmiths.....	20	
Painters .....	14	
Masons .....	12	
All other mechanics.....	112	
	—	214

## Occupied in the collective or factory system :

Workers in textile factories.....	60	
Metal workers in blast furnaces, smelting shops, machine shops, and the like, worked on the factory principle .....	36	
Clothiers, tailors, and tailoresses.....	50	
Boot and shoe makers and hatters.....	24	
All other people who work in the factory rather than out of doors.....	30	
	—	200

## Occupied on railways, omitting common laborers :

Railway engineers, conductors, firemen, and brakemen.....	36	
Miners .....	30	

## Occupied in mental work :

Clergymen....	7 to 8	
Lawyers.....	7 to 8	
Doctors.....	7 to 10	
Professors, teachers, musicians, and literary people,	30	
Presidents of corporations, banks, railways, insurance companies, and the like.....	24	
Merchants and traders.....	56	
Clerks, salesmen, saleswomen, and book-keepers...	64	
	—	200

This classification by occupations is not an absolutely correct one, but it suffices for the general purpose of indicating the condition of the people. In former times, before the adoption of the factory system, each little community was to a large extent self-sustaining. The material for garments was spun and woven in the household. The farmer was a mechanic and almost of necessity a jack-of-all-trades, while the mechanic was apt to do a little farming. The local tailor and tailoress made the clothes. The work of each given community was much less subdivided individually than it has been since. Later came the substitution of the factory system for making cloth, the farmers' daughters



leaving the farm and finding occupation in the factory. Then followed the wholesale clothier, and the local tailor as a maker of garments almost disappeared.

But another phase of the distribution of work results from the reduction in railway charges. The railway system, by reducing the cost of moving goods to a fraction of a cent per ton a mile, practically converts a wide area into a close neighborhood. Hence there has been a considerable measure of household manufacture again introduced among farmers, but under wholly new conditions. The sewing-machine has become a necessary household implement, and the knitting-machine, sometimes owned in the farmers' families but more often owned by a manufacturer of knit goods, is widely distributed throughout the farmers' households of the eastern part of the country. The materials for ready-made clothing are cut at the manufacturing centers in the cities by the great clothiers, sorted, and put up in parcels with the thread, linings, and buttons; or the worsted and woolen yarns are made up in packages with directions for their use. These materials are then distributed throughout the farmers' families in the Eastern States, to be made up into garments or worked into hosiery and knit goods, sent back to the cities to be pressed and finished, and then distributed for sale. Thus there is a considerable amount of manufacturing carried on, especially by the women of the farmers' families, which does not appear in the census returns, and the women they partly occupied do not appear in the list of those who are occupied for gain. The income from such work is small in each individual case, but it adds in the aggregate a large element of comfort and welfare to those whose everyday work is that of doing the household and dairy work among the agricultural population of the country. In the mountain section of the South, again, the old conditions of small self-sustaining communities still survive, but are rapidly disappearing. The people are clad in homespun, while the log house and most of its contents are the products of the handicrafts of the people.

We will assume that the typical community is situated upon land in the northern rather than in the southern section of the country, and that the people are a little better off in personal wealth than the average of the whole country. It may be assumed



that they dwell in some part of Ohio, in which State the occupations of the people correspond very nearly in their proportions to the average of the whole country. The present value of all the land with all the improvements thereon, including railways, factories, machine-shops, dwelling-houses, public buildings, schools or colleges, and goods and wares of every description belonging to this community of 6000 persons, averages less than \$1000 per head and amounts in the aggregate to between five and six million dollars. This property is divided very unequally. The exact proportion of those who own some part of the land cannot be given with any positive accuracy. From two-fifths up to one-half of the total valuation consists of the value put upon the land; from three-fifths down to one-half consists in the value of the improvements upon it. The data of accumulated wealth are somewhat uncertain, and the census estimates have been computed at different periods on such different methods as to be almost worthless for purposes of comparison. The property assigned to this typical community is probably a third above the average of the whole country. The value of all these improvements or capital of the community, consisting of railways, factories, workshops, machinery, tools, dwelling-houses, and public buildings, also goods and wares of every kind, does not exceed \$600 worth per head of the population and is probably somewhat less.

The average value of the annual product is about \$200 per head, or \$600 to each person occupied for gain. The capital of this community, in ratio to its production, is therefore equal to that of the richest State in the Union. In other words, the whole capital of the community which has been placed upon the land is only equal to three years' product, even in the richest and most prosperous parts of the country. The value of the annual product of this community at \$200 worth per head of the population, or computed at \$600 worth as the average of each person occupied for gain, comes to \$1,200,000 a year, including what is consumed by farmers and their families upon the farms. In this gross value of all that is produced, salable farm products, rated at the farm before being moved away, come to \$435,000. Assuming that each member of the families of the farmers consumes about \$33 worth of the product of the farm at home, the value of the domes-



tic consumption of the farmers comes to \$87,000. The yield of minerals of all kinds, coal, oil, iron, lead, copper, gold, silver, etc., comes to \$50,000. The yield of the forests is \$80,000. The value added to the crude products of the farm, the forest, and the mine, by manufacturers, mechanics, and others, together with the charges for exchange and the cost for conversion and re-conversion into a consumable form, together with the product of the fisheries, comes to \$548,000.

#### SUMMARY.

Primary value of the salable products of the farm . . . . .	\$435,000
Farm consumption . . . . .	87,000
Product of the forest . . . . .	80,000
Product of mines . . . . .	50,000
Added in the process of manufacturing and for the cost of distribution . . . . .	548,000
Total . . . . .	<u>\$1,200,000</u>

It will be observed that, setting aside the sum assigned to home consumption on farms, the work of the country is about equally divided in value. The crude products of the farm, the forest, and the mine come to \$565,000. The volume added in the process of manufacturing or distributing—of conversion and of re-conversion to final use or consumption—comes to \$548,000.

It is a curious thought that all this huge value of traffic, production, distribution, and conversion, has for its end and objective point the supply of each inhabitant with a few feet of boards over his head, sustained by bricks or timber; about ten pounds of wool, sixteen pounds of cotton converted into clothing, a barrel of flour, and two or three hundred pounds of meat, each year; and a little sugar, a glass of beer, and about five pounds of solid or liquid food per day; these constituting the necessities of life. Some one has said that life would not be worth living except for its luxuries, and that time would not be worth having except for the hours that could be saved for leisure. How much of luxury and how much of leisure can the average man get out of what fifty to fifty-five cents a day will buy for his shelter, food, and clothing?

It will be observed that 870 farmers and farm laborers were occupied in the production of grain, meat, butter and cheese, vege-



tables, fibers, and fruit. This group produced more food than the 6000 people in this community could consume, all having enough and much being wasted. They also produced more cotton than could be spun or worn, but not enough wool. The miners produced more copper and silver than could be used and more oil than could be burned, but not enough iron. Some of the manufacturers produced more goods than this community required. Hence it followed that, at the ratio of 1880, \$100,000 worth of various commodities was sold for export to foreign countries. Of the exports, \$84,000 worth consisted of the products of agriculture; \$16,000 worth consisted of cotton goods, manufactures of metal, tools and implements, oil, manufactured tobacco, and the like. These figures are now somewhat changed; the export of farm products is less, of manufactures more. This export corresponded to the work of 150 to 160 farmers and farm laborers, and 30 to 40 manufacturers, mechanics, and miners; 180 to 200 in all. It consisted of a part of the product of a much greater number, but in proportion to the total the exports of the United States represent the work of about ten per cent. of all who are engaged in any industry which is directly productive. In exchange for this \$100,000 worth of goods exported, this community imported from other countries at the ratio of 1880, \$75,000 worth of goods, and \$25,000 worth of gold or government bonds brought home. The imports consisted of the following articles:

Yearly Imports.		Per Capita Each Year.
Sugar and molasses .....	\$9,500	\$1.58
Coffee .....	7,200	1.20
Tea.....	2,400	.40
Breadstuffs .....	1,100	.18
Fruits and nuts .....	1,500	.25
Animals, fish, drugs, dye-stuffs, and other necessary articles which are free of duty.....	15,400 .....	2.56
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Chemicals.....	1,800	.30
Flax, hemp, jute, and sisal grass .....	1,100	.18
Iron and steel, and manufactures.....	5,400	.90
Hides, leather, and goods.	1,400	.23



Yearly Imports.		Per Capita Each Year.		
Tin and tin plates.....	2,000			.33
Raw wool.....	2,000	..... 13,700	50,800	.33
<hr/>				
Manufactures of				
Cotton.....	3,300			.55
Wool.....	3,800			.63
Flax.....	2,800			.47
Silk.....	3,800			.64
Earthenware....	600			.10
Glass.....	600	..... 14,900		.10
<hr/>				
Fancy goods.....	600			.10
Spirits and wines.....	900			.15
Tobacco and cigars.....	800	..... 2,300		.13
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Sundries.....		7,000	24,200	1.19
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			\$75,000	\$12.50

It will be observed that the imports from other countries consist to the extent of one-half of articles of food, which are articles either of necessity or of common comfort. Adding to these the crude or partly manufactured articles which are necessary to the conduct of domestic industry, the proportion of this class of imports comes to two-thirds of the whole. That part which could be spared, if we could not afford to pay for it with the excess of our grain, cotton, and oil, comes to only one-third of the total import; and that part which may be rightly put under the head of luxuries is but a tithe of the whole.

Since 1880 exports have proportionately diminished, but imports have ratably increased about in ratio to population, and the above are about the relative values of goods now imported. The individual consumption of imported goods is now about \$12.50 per head, on which the duties come to a little less than \$4.00; in round figures, \$16.00 per head duty paid. The exports are now about equal in declared value to the imports without the addition of duties. As the sum of imports did not balance the export in 1880, the remainder was paid for in gold or bonds. These imports were taxed at the custom house \$24,000, or \$4.00 per head of 6000 people.

It will thus appear that about 18 per cent. of the people occu-



pied in agriculture in 1880 depended upon a foreign market for the sale of their product, to whom were added a few manufacturers and mechanics whose goods were sold for export. The export of food and fibers represented 18 per cent. of the products of the farm, to which manufactures being added, the whole export stood for 8 to 10 per cent. of the work done by all who were occupied for gain. The import consisted mainly of articles of food or of articles in a crude or partly-manufactured condition necessary to the work of the domestic manufacturers; a small part only consisted of articles which could be spared, or which might under other conditions have been made within the limit of the community itself and by its own people.

It is admitted that a part of this product of \$1,200,000 worth is distributed in payment for rent of land, to owners in whose possession all the occupied land now is. There is still a large area of unoccupied land, but it is not yet available for use and may not be occupied for a long time to come. It is admitted that another considerable part of this product of \$1,200,000 worth a year is distributed in the form of interest on bonds and mortgages, these evidences of indebtedness belonging to the few rather than to the many. Still another part of this product is distributed in the form of profits, and falls to the owners of the railways, factories, and other instruments of production constituting the capital of the country, in greater or less proportion according to the measure of service which they render to the community. Another part is distributed in the form of fees or salaries among professional persons, musicians, literary people, and the like. Lastly, the greater part of the product is distributed in the form of earnings or wages among those who do the primary or mechanical work of production and distribution. Such being the measure of the whole product, by so much as some have a greater share must others enjoy less. If the whole sum of \$1,200,000 worth were equally distributed, it would not even then suffice to meet a very high standard of general comfort and welfare; it would come only to 55 cents' worth a day to each person. This is a large estimate if all were consumed in even portions. The whole work of production would still be substantially as great as it is now, and would not admit of any



considerable amount of leisure on the part of the whole body of persons occupied for gain. There would be little relief in the hard work of getting a living. But, unless some part of this product of \$1,200,000 worth of all kinds of goods and wares is saved and added to the capital of the community by some one, it matters not by whom, the next generation will suffer for want of capital. A considerable part of the product is wasted through ignorance or vice, while only a small part is wasted in luxurious living. "Mankind is as lazy as it dares to be," even now.

In fact, that part of the product which may be added to the capital of the community must itself be consumed in the process of reproduction or conversion into capital; therefore the workmen who construct the railways, mills, works, and the like, in which the savings of the community are invested, get their subsistence, clothing, and shelter from what is paid them in doing this work. The object and end of all production is, therefore, in the first instance, complete consumption, the greater part of the product being consumed without specific reproduction in the form of capital, the smaller part being consumed in the process of conversion into capital. Even that part of the product which is consumed in the more or less luxurious living of the prosperous is not wholly consumed by themselves. They may waste a part of their income or devote it to purposes which are not reproductive and are not necessary to comfort and welfare, such as the construction of palatial dwellings, the making of pianos, the laying out of fine places, the building of yachts, and the like; yet even in this expenditure the workmen who do the work obtain their subsistence in return. No man lives to himself alone even in a material sense, and each one costs the community only what he and those dependent directly upon him consume on their own persons. What he spends stands for the subsistence of other persons. The rich man or the capitalist merely gives a different direction to the consumption of that part of the annual product which comes under his control from what it might otherwise have taken. It may be neither the most useful direction, the wisest, nor the best; it may even be wasteful; but even such methods of expenditure cannot be changed without altering the conditions of life and taking away the incomes of many of the



workingmen, among whom the rich man expends his wealth. Liquor and tobacco are computed to cost consumers \$75,000 to \$100,000 a year in each average community of 6000 persons. But if each producer or distributor of these articles averages the same income as in the other occupations—to wit, \$600 each—then 125 to 167 men supporting 375 to 500 in each average community of 6000 people, or 1,250,000 to 1,650,000 men supporting 3,500,000 to 5,000,000 men, women, and children in the whole country, now depend on the production and sale of liquor and tobacco for the means with which to buy their own food, fuel, clothing, and shelter. If the production and sale of liquor should be stopped they must find other work. Under the present distribution of occupations and of products, does any one actually suffer because a sufficient quantity of the necessities of life is not produced? So long as no one suffers for lack of land or for want of opportunity to work for a living in consequence of the accumulation of wealth, may not the true remedy for want consist in the ignorant rich learning how to spend or direct the material force which comes within their control in a better way; and in the ignorant poor learning either how to spend or to save the force which comes within their control in a way that will give them better results? The waste of the many poor costs the community in the aggregate far more than the waste of the few rich. True progress may consist not in taking away from any, but in adding to the production, especially of the means for shelter, of all.

It may well be remembered that the science of distribution is as yet but little comprehended, while production in ample measure is absolutely assured. It is less than a century since even the English-speaking people began to learn the very alphabet of commerce; has that part of the English-speaking people who occupy this country yet learned how to spell words of more than one syllable in putting together the letters of this alphabet? They have learned that trade among themselves has become profitable to all just so far as it is free from obstruction; have they yet to learn that trade with other nations may be as profitable when free from obstruction? Have they not yet to learn that the nation in which the wages or earnings of workmen are the highest, because they make their products under the best condi-



tions and therefore at the lowest cost, can also gain the largest profits and earn the highest wages from the widest international commerce?

We sell to China coarse cotton goods made by weavers who earn a dollar a day; yet four-fifths at least of the people of China are clothed in coarse cotton goods woven on hand-loom on which the weavers cannot earn more than ten cents a day. They pay us in tea produced and prepared at wages of ten cents a day, which we could not afford to grow at wages of one dollar a day, even if it would grow in this country, because we cannot spare the time for that kind of hand-work. We sell flour produced at wages four times as high as they are in Belgium, in competition with the tillers of small fields in that country, to which machinery cannot well be applied. We take our pay in part in high-priced Brussels lace, made by women who work for the lowest wages and under the worst conditions of almost any people in Europe. If we want the lace we could ill afford to make it under such conditions.

In the community of 6000 people which I have taken as an example there may be a few paupers, mostly foreign-born; but no one in this community is allowed to suffer for want of the absolute necessities of life, except through oversight or accident.

I have given the probable average product of each person occupied for gain at \$600 worth per year. This yields, disregarding fractions, what fifty-five cents a day will buy in the form of food, fuel, shelter, clothing, and sundries for each man, woman, and child; so close does want tread upon the heels of plenty. This is in fact a large estimate. There are a great many more people whose product is less than fifty cents' worth a day each for themselves and those dependent upon them, than of those who earn more; yet this is the richest, most productive and most prosperous country in the world.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## THE RECALL OF MINISTERS.

THE recent decision of the President, that the continuance of Lord Sackville in the office of British minister near our government was no longer acceptable, lends an interest to a consideration of the circumstances in which the recall of foreign ministers has heretofore been asked by our government, and also of the circumstances in which foreign powers have asked the recall of American ministers. I shall not in this sketch consider the cases in which foreign states have refused to receive the men appointed by our government as ministers.

Early in 1788 the Marquis de Moustier arrived in this country as the minister from France. He had been trained both in arms and in diplomacy. He had been an *attaché* to the French legation in Portugal, and secretary of legation at Naples, and had served as minister on a special mission to England after the treaties of 1783. Almost immediately on his arrival he began to make complaints that he was not treated by our citizens with the ceremony and outward respect to which, in his opinion, he was entitled. Washington, in private letters, endeavored to soothe him. His relations with Jay, then secretary of state, seem not to have been satisfactory either to him or to Jay. After Washington was inaugurated, he sought to have direct access to the President, for the transaction of public business by personal interviews. Washington indicated plainly that public business should be transacted through the secretary of state, and that it were generally better done in writing. As early as November 25th, 1788, Jay expressed to Jefferson, then representing us in France, the discontent of the President with the Marquis. Jefferson wrote as follows to Jay from Paris, February 4th, 1789:

“ We had before understood, through different channels, that the conduct of the Count de Moustier was politically and morally offensive. It was delicate for me to speak on the subject to the Count de Montmorin. The invaluable mediation of our friend, the Marquis de La Fayette, was



therefore resorted to, and the subject explained, though not pressed. Later intelligence showing the necessity of pressing it, it was yesterday resumed, and represented through the same medium to the Count de Montmorin, that recent information proved to us that his minister's conduct had rendered him personally odious in America, and might even influence the dispositions of the two nations; that his recall was become a matter of mutual concern; that he had understood he was instructed to remind the new government of their debt to this country, and that he was in the purpose of doing it in very harsh terms; that this could not increase their desire of hastening payment, and might wound their affections; that therefore it was much to be desired that his discretion should not be trusted to, as to the form in which the demand should be made, but that the letter should be written here, and he instructed to add nothing but his signature; nor was his private conduct omitted. The Count de Montmorin was sensibly impressed. He very readily determined that the letter should be formed here, but said that the recall was a more difficult business; that as they had no particular fact to allege against the Count de Moustier, they could not recall him from that ministry without giving him another, and there was no vacancy at present. However, he would hazard his first thoughts on the subject, saving the right of correcting them by further consideration. They were these: that there was a loose expression in one of Moustier's letters which might be construed into a petition for leave of absence; that he would give him permission to return to France."

The French secretary then went on to explain how he could send Colonel Ternant here as *chargé*, and if we found him satisfactory he would afterward appoint him minister. Jefferson concludes: "On the whole, I believe we may expect that the Count de Moustier will have an immediate leave of absence, which will soon after become a recall in effect."

It would seem that Moustier made himself more agreeable after a time. Madison wrote to Jefferson May 27th, 1789: "Moustier is become more and more acceptable, or at least less and less otherwise." He returned to France in October, 1789, and was sent to Berlin in the following year. From the correspondence of Hamilton with Charles Short, our *chargé* at Paris, it appears that Moustier, both before leaving here and after his arrival in Paris, made efforts to induce France to postpone her demands on us for our indebtedness to her. Moustier having written to Jefferson, secretary of state, on November 6th, 1790, that his King had transferred him to the court of Prussia, Jefferson, in a very complimentary reply, says: "The President, in a letter to the King, has expressed his sense of your merit and his entire approbation



of your conduct while here, and has charged me to convey to yourself the same sentiments on his part." He sends a medal and chain of gold "as a testimony of these sentiments." We are left to infer that, while the early complaints about Moustier really caused his recall, his course during the latter part of his residence here commended him to the esteem of our government. Ternant succeeded him as minister to this country.

Genet, who succeeded Ternant, landed at Charleston, S. C., June 8th, 1793, and soon became involved in grave controversies with our government. He at once set about fitting out privateers to prey on the commerce of England, which in the preceding February had become engaged in war with France. He enlisted men for the privateers. Prizes which they captured were brought into our ports, and Genet claimed with some plausibility that the French consuls, under our consular convention of 1788 with France, could as admiralty judges condemn the prizes. He insisted on his right to have the prizes admitted free of duty and sold. He persisted in demands which the President could not grant without disregarding the obligations that he had recognized by his proclamation of neutrality as incumbent on us. Genet undertook to set on foot military enterprises, one intended to invade Florida from Georgia, and another to recover Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain. In his correspondence with our government he used language highly disrespectful to the President and indulged in impertinent advice to the government, and in various ways excited popular clamor against the administration. Mr. Jefferson's letter of August 16th, 1793, to Mr. Morris, our minister to France, was a masterly review of Genet's course, and in effect asked for his recall. Washington and Knox and Hamilton were inclined to discontinue his functions and order him away at once, but Jefferson and Randolph favored the milder course, which finally the President adopted. On February 21st, 1794, Fauchet replaced him, and asked in the name of the French Republic for his arrest. This request our government denied. Genet dared not go home. Having married the daughter of Governor Clinton, he settled in New York.

The request of our government for the recall of Genet was the occasion, though perhaps not the cause, of a request from the



French Executive Provisory Council for the recall of Gouverneur Morris, who had represented us in France since early in 1792. Mr. Morris had lived in Paris several years before he was appointed minister, had been intimate with the royalist party, and had even made a draft of an address for the King to read on accepting the Constitution. And even after he had entered upon his official duties, he had actively engaged in aiding the King to escape. His lack of sympathy with the revolutionists was so well known that we cannot be surprised that the Jacobins, being in power when Genet was recalled, should have asked for his recall. This request was complied with, but Washington, who was a warm personal friend of Morris, wrote him a letter heartily commending him for his public services. The letter was captured on the voyage by a French cruiser, and so came into the hands of the French government.

In 1804, when we were discussing with Spain the question of our southwestern boundary, Yrujo, the Spanish minister to this country, caused the publication in one of the Philadelphia newspapers of an article defending the position of Spain and reflecting on the administration. When his attention was called by Mr. Madison to the impropriety of such an act, he maintained that he had not violated the usages of diplomacy. His recall was asked. The Spanish secretary replied that Yrujo had already obtained permission to go home at the season suitable for the voyage, and requested that without his receiving a formal recall he should be permitted to remain until then. This request was granted. But he remained month after month. At last Madison informed him in a note that his presence in the capital was "dissatisfactory" to the President. He replied in a very impertinent strain and refused to go away. John Quincy Adams, in consequence of Yrujo's impudence, introduced a bill authorizing the President at his discretion to order foreign ministers to leave this country, but it was not brought to a vote. Madison was much annoyed by the impertinence of the Spanish minister. Though we do not know the exact date of his departure, we find that in 1807 Spain was represented by a *chargé d'affaires*, Foronda.

Meantime our minister to Spain, Charles Pinckney, was involved in an unpleasant controversy with the Spanish secretary



of foreign affairs, Cevallos. He was endeavoring, in 1804, to secure the ratification by the King of a convention which had been negotiated in 1802, for the settlement of claims. The manner in which he pressed his arguments, especially his threat to inform our consuls on the shores of the Mediterranean and the commander of our squadron in that sea, that the situation was becoming critical, and to direct them to notify our citizens to be ready to withdraw with their property, was so displeasing to the King that he at once announced that he should send an extraordinary courier to the United States to confer with our government. In a letter addressed to Monroe, November 9th, 1804, Madison says:

“Pinckney’s recall has been asked by the Spanish government, and a letter of leave goes to him. I suspect he will not return in good humor. I could not permit myself to flatter him, and truth would not permit me to praise him. He is well off in escaping reproof, for his agency has been very faulty as well as feeble.”

Monroe, who had been in France and England, joined Pinckney in Madrid in January, 1805, and together they continued in vain the negotiations with Cevallos until May 18th. Monroe immediately quitted Spain, and Pinckney soon after.

In 1809 occurred the controversy between the British minister, Francis James Jackson, and the administration of Madison, which resulted in the recall of Jackson on the request of the President. When Madison came to the executive office, David Erskine, son of the distinguished Lord Erskine, represented Great Britain at Washington. He had married an American wife, was a warm friend of our people, and was more than ready to co-operate with the administration in securing a restoration of the commercial relations between Great Britain and the United States, which had been interrupted by the British orders in council and our own embargo. Mr. Canning, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, named to Erskine three conditions on which the orders in council would be revoked, and authorized him to show his instructions to Mr. Robert Smith, our secretary of state. Mr. Erskine did not avail himself of this liberty, although he did make known the three conditions, which in fact formed the substance of his instructions. Erskine gave a very liberal construction to



his instructions, and entered into an arrangement calculated to remove the obstacles to commercial intercourse. Accordingly, on April 19th, 1809, the President issued a proclamation terminating on June 10th the embargo and non-intercourse acts, on the understanding that the orders in council would be revoked on that day. Hardly had our seaports begun to rejoice over the news, when the tidings came that Mr. Erskine had been recalled and his action disavowed, on the ground that he had exceeded his instructions. On the 9th of August the President was obliged to issue another proclamation, recalling the first and announcing that the non-intercourse acts were still in force. The Federalists made the most of this embarrassing situation in their strictures on the administration. Naturally enough, when Mr. Jackson arrived as Erskine's successor, he found the administration in a frame of mind not altogether auspicious for harmonious negotiations. Moreover, although he had the reputation of an expert diplomatist, he had won the *sobriquet* of "Copenhagen Jackson," from his services as British minister to Denmark at the time of the seizure of the Danish fleet in 1807, and his part in that wrong to Denmark was not calculated to commend him here.

Almost immediately after Jackson's arrival, early in October, we find evidences of friction between him and Smith, the secretary of state, in the discussions on the demand of our government for the reasons for rejecting Erskine's arrangement. Smith soon required Jackson to communicate in writing whatever he had to say. Jackson under protest complied. Presently Smith complained that Jackson in one of his communications intimated that the President, when he made the arrangement with Erskine, knew that Erskine was exceeding his authority, and that when he was officially informed that the President had no such knowledge, he insisted on repeating his intimation. He was therefore admonished that "such insinuations are inadmissible in the intercourse of a foreign minister with a government that understands what it owes to itself." Jackson's insinuations were based on the fact that Smith admitted that Erskine made known to him the "three conditions" furnished by Canning, and on Jackson's knowledge that no other instructions were issued to Erskine than those, which named these "conditions." Smith's denial of Jackson's



intimations rested on the fact that Erskine had not formally shown him his instructions, and that the President could not know and did not know that his instructions did not warrant his action. Jackson, in his reply to Smith's note warning him against such insinuations as he had indulged in, said.

"I have carefully avoided drawing conclusions that do not necessarily follow from the premises advanced by me, and least of all should I think of uttering an insinuation where I was unable to substantiate a fact. To facts, as I have become acquainted with them, I have scrupulously adhered, and in so doing I must continue, whenever the good faith of His Majesty's government is called in question, to vindicate its honor and dignity in the manner that appears to me best calculated for that purpose."

On the receipt of these words, Smith at once, on November 8th, informed Jackson that no further communications would be received from him, and that the British government would be informed of the fact. This was a month after Jackson's first communication to Smith. Jackson announced, November 13th, through his secretary of legation, that he should withdraw to New York, and repeated again in substance the assertions which the President had deemed offensive. The President's party in Congress deemed it advisable to come to his support, as the attacks on him by the Federalists were spirited. Congress therefore passed a resolution declaring the words of Jackson "highly indecorous and insolent." Josiah Quincy made an elaborate speech in the House to prove that Jackson's language did not properly carry the meaning which the administration had accorded to it.\*

It may be true that the President and his party were more sensitive to the insinuations of Jackson than they would otherwise have been, because of the awkward situation in which the failure of the Erskine arrangement left them, and that they were not sorry to turn attention from that subject to this supposed affront offered by Jackson; but certainly Jackson did not pursue a conciliatory or a just course after the President had denied that he knew the exact nature of Erskine's instructions. His language and his tone were objectionable, even insolent. He seems to have thought that the arrogance which had succeeded in Denmark would succeed here.

\* Quincy's "Speeches in Congress," 157. The editor, Edmund Quincy, says Jackson took a copy of the speech home as the best defense of himself.



William Pinkney, our minister to Great Britain, very cogently presented the action of the President to the Marquis of Wellesley, then the British foreign secretary. Lord Wellesley's response, which was not given until nearly ten weeks after Pinkney's communication to him, after stating that Mr. Jackson had given the most positive assurance that it was not his purpose to give offense to our government by any expression or act, criticised our government as follows:

"The expressions and conduct of His Majesty's minister having, however, appeared to the government of the United States to be exceptionable, the usual course in such cases would have been to convey in the first instance to His Majesty a formal complaint against his minister, and to desire such redress as might be deemed suitable to the nature of the alleged offense. This course of proceeding would have enabled His Majesty to have made such arrangements, or to have offered such seasonable explanations as might have precluded the inconvenience which must always arise from the suspension of official communication between friendly powers."

Wellesley added that Mr. Jackson was directed to return, but would not receive any mark of the King's displeasure, as his integrity, zeal, and ability had long been distinguished, and he did not appear to have committed any intentional offense against the United States.

Pinkney was instructed, in case Great Britain purposed to have only a *chargé* at Washington, to take his departure and entrust our affairs in London to a *chargé*. Wellesley, however, gave repeated assurances of the intention to appoint a minister. But he delayed action. Accordingly, on January 14th, 1811, more than a year after Jackson's withdrawal to New York, Pinkney notified Wellesley of his intention to set out for home. On February 15th, 1811, Wellesley announced the appointment of Augustus J. Foster, who had been minister to Sweden. But on February 28th Pinkney took his leave. Such was the most exciting controversy, except that on the case of Genet, that we have had over the question of terminating our relations with a foreign minister. It is understood that the President himself largely conducted the correspondence in the case of Jackson.

In 1849 Mr. Clayton, secretary of state in Taylor's administration, was constrained to break off official communication with M. Poussin, the French minister. Prior to the act which led to



this determination by our government, Poussin had given grave offense by obnoxious strictures on our administration concerning our rejection of a worthless claim made by a French citizen against us, but under permission of the State Department, which rebuked him, had withdrawn his offensive note.

Commander Carpenter, of our navy, having saved a French vessel from destruction in a gale, some questions about salvage arose. Our government sustained the position of the naval officer. Poussin claimed that the officer had insulted the French flag, and ought to be punished. Clayton in reply submitted the proofs that Poussin's contention was not good, and made known his expectation that the French government would be satisfied with the statement presented. Poussin, without waiting to hear from his government, sent a reply in which he spoke of the act of the naval officer as "a point involving the dignity of the national marine," and added:

"From your answer I am unfortunately induced to believe that your government subscribes to the strange doctrines professed by Commander Carpenter of the war steamer 'Iris,' and I have only to protest in the name of my government against these doctrines."

The correspondence was sent to the French government through our minister at Paris. De Tocqueville, the French secretary for foreign affairs, after some delay announced that he did not feel called to take any action, and intimated that both Mr. Clayton and M. Poussin had laid themselves somewhat open to criticism. On learning of this the President instructed our minister to state to De Tocqueville that his views of the conduct of our government had not been invited, and on September 14th, 1849, by his order, Mr. Clayton informed M. Poussin that no further official intercourse would be held with him, and that the reasons had been communicated to his government. The French minister sailed for home on November 9th.

Early in 1855, the British government, being in need of troops for the Crimean war, and having heard that British subjects and other Europeans resident in this country were willing to enlist in the British army, opened a rendezvous at Halifax. Soon it became apparent that agents in the pay and under the direction of the British minister were busy on our territory, particularly in



Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, hiring men to go to Halifax to enlist. The attention of the British minister, Mr. Crampton, and of Earl Clarendon, the British secretary of state, was promptly called by Mr. Marcy to this infraction of our laws. Clarendon disclaimed the intention of violating our neutrality laws, and declared that the agents of Great Britain were instructed to observe them. Prosecutions of recruiting agents were instituted by our authorities in March, and in May two of the agents were held for trial. Notwithstanding this action on the part of our government, the recruiting continued until August 5th, when Mr. Crampton put an end to it in obedience to orders from his government. On December 28th, 1855, Marcy asked through our minister to England the recall of Crampton and of the consuls at New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. Clarendon received the request January 29th, 1856, but did not reply till April 30th. In his answer he repeated his disclaimers in behalf of his government, but did not recall the minister and the consuls. He maintained that they were not, as Marcy charged, implicated in the violation of our laws, because they themselves said they were not, and the witnesses against them were untruthful. Marcy on May 27th affirmed that Clarendon was mistaken on this point, and that the evidence establishing the charges was unimpeached and well sustained. On May 28th he announced to Crampton that the President had decided to discontinue intercourse with him. On the same day the President revoked the exequaturs of Mr. Barclay, Mr. Matthew, and Mr. Bancroft, the consuls. On the next day, May 29th, the President by a message informed Congress what had been done by him in the matter.

On June 30th it was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. G. H. Moore, that "the conduct of Her Majesty's government in the differences that have arisen between them and the government of the United States, on the question of enlistment, has not entitled them to the approbation of this House." Among those who criticised the government were Sir F. Thesiger, Milner Gibson, Sir John Pakington, and Mr. Gladstone; among those who defended the government were Sir G. Grey and Lord Palmerston. The motion was lost by a vote of 274 to 80. As a reinforcement of the British North American squadron was ordered soon after



Crampton's dismissal, rumors of war were rife for a time. Cramp-ton was soon made a K. C. B., and in March, 1857, was sent as minister to Hanover, and subsequently to St. Petersburg and Madrid.

The difficulties which arose in 1871 between General Grant's administration and Mr. Constantin Catacazy, the Russian minister, were very annoying to the President, partly because Catacazy's offenses were of an exasperating nature, and partly because they occurred on the eve of the visit of the Grand Duke Alexis to this country. Catacazy seems to have been almost as vain and meddlesome as Genet, and less frank than the troublesome Frenchman. He suggested or wrote articles which reflected severely on the administration, and then solemnly denied all connection with the authorship of the offensive articles. These articles charged that, when the Eastern Question was becoming of importance in 1871, the President desisted from pressing the "Alabama" claims in order to leave England free to oppose Russia, and declared that Russia should never be permitted to go to Constantinople. One of the articles accused the President of favoring a certain private claim, known as the Perkins claim, against Russia, because he was interested in it. Another spoke of "the incompetency and misrepresentation of a puerile government."

On June 16th, 1871, Mr. Fish, the secretary of state, asked through Governor Curtin, our minister to Russia, for the recall of Catacazy, stating that "his conduct, both official and personal, has for some time past been such as materially to impair his usefulness to his own government, and to render intercourse with him for either business or social purposes highly disagreeable." He informed Catacazy on August 16th of the action taken. The Vice-Chancellor of Russia requested, and later the Emperor repeated the request, that Catacazy be tolerated until the visit of the Grand Duke was over; and the Emperor accompanied his request with the assurance that the Russian minister should then be recalled. The President yielded to the wish of the Emperor. Catacazy meantime was writing home false reports such as these: that intrigues to prevent the visit of the Grand Duke and also to secure his recall were set on foot by the friends of the Perkins claim, and that the President had received him (Catacazy) with



marked cordiality in an interview he had secured. On September 22d, Mr. Fish by a note informed Catacazy that the Emperor's request for him to remain until the Grand Duke's visit was over had been acceded to, but that Mr. Curtin had been instructed to say further to the Russian government that:

"If when the visit of the Grand Duke shall have been concluded, you (Catacazy) shall not be recalled, your passport will be sent to you; and until the conclusion of the visit of the Grand Duke the President will not receive you unless when you may accompany that Prince, and will at no time hold any conversation with you."

To the surprise of Mr. Fish, on November 2d Catacazy sent a note saying that the Emperor had granted him permission to go home on leave of absence as soon as the journey of the Grand Duke here should be ended. The secretary replied on November 10th, that as the terms of this announcement were regarded as at variance with the understanding which was supposed to exist with the Russian government, as to the manner of terminating his official residence here, his passports would be transmitted to him when this government should consider the Grand Duke's visit concluded. As Catacazy still kept busy, according to Mr. Fish's statement, "in season and out of season, in efforts to obstruct, embarrass, and defeat the recent negotiations between the United States and Great Britain for the adjustment of their mutual differences," he was again addressed by the secretary on November 16th, who informed him that his continued and recurring acts of interference required that his passports should be transmitted to him at an earlier period than had been designated in the note of the 10th inst. On November 24th Catacazy wrote to the secretary announcing that he had received orders to sail for Russia on the completion of the Grand Duke's visit, and that he had transferred the business of the legation to General Gorloff. Mr. Fish in reply briefly referred to Catacazy's mistakes and said:

"The President directs me to say that he will suspend the transmission of your passports, which, however, are ready for you at any time and will be forwarded immediately on the conclusion of the visit of the Grand Duke, unless a recurrence of the causes which had determined him to send them at this time compel an earlier transmission."

But even then he had not heard the last of the Russian. In



a response on November 27th, Catacazy protested against Fish's charges, and claimed diplomatic immunities until he should have presented his recall and quitted the country. Mr. Fish, in a note to General Gorloff, maintained that although diplomatic privileges could be claimed for a reasonable time after a minister's functions were ended, he might forfeit them by an undue lingering in the country. So the correspondence terminated. Mr. Catacazy is now in the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg.

On January 22d, 1877, Dr. Caleano, the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, broke off official communication with Mr. Thomas Russell, our minister to Venezuela, because of language used by Mr. Russell in a despatch of May 8th, 1875, to Mr. Fish, our secretary of state, and published in a report of a committee of our House of Representatives, on certain claims of our citizens against Venezuela. In the language referred to Mr. Russell asserted that the payment of the sum declared by a commission to be due on the claims could be collected only by one of two methods, first by sharing the proceeds with some of the chief officers of the Venezuelan government, or, secondly, by a display or at least a threat of force.\* Dr. Caleano informed Mr. Russell that our government would at once be apprised of the facts. Mr. Russell received his passports February 12th, 1877, and left Venezuela on the 17th. On April 2d Mr. Evarts called the attention of Mr. Dalla Costa, the Venezuelan minister at Washington, to the fact that no explanation of the abrupt termination of relations with Mr. Russell had been offered, and that unless he could present one, the dignity of this government would require that his passports should be sent to him. Mr. Dalla Costa asked for some delay, as his despatches from home had been lost by shipwreck. The delay was granted. On July 9th he announced that he was instructed to withdraw and cancel the note of Dr. Caleano to Mr. Russell. But in the autumn he informed the State Department that he was instructed by his government to say that Mr. Russell was no longer a *persona grata*. Mr. Russell's resignation followed in January, 1878, but he went to Venezuela to present his letter of recall. The Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs

\* It has been said by the friends of Mr. Russell that the letter was confidential, and not intended for publication.



refused to receive any communication from him, directly or indirectly. Accordingly he returned home. So far as I am informed, no formal explanation why Mr. Russell was not a *persona grata* was offered to our government.

The circumstances of the official relations of Lord Sackville to our government are so fresh in the public mind that they need not be described here. It was a singular indiscretion for a minister who had resided in this country for years to write the Murchison letter to an unknown correspondent. It was a misfortune for him that it was made public in an excited political campaign on the eve of an election. Even the English journals admit that the President could not let it pass unnoticed. It has been said that it would have sufficed to call the attention of the British government to the facts, or that at any rate there was no need of such precipitate action on our part. But it must be remembered that the exigency which made any action necessary was of an unprecedented nature, and called for speedy action, if any. Lord Salisbury seems to have failed to appreciate that fact. The President was therefore compelled to take a decisive step promptly. The parallel between the action in this case and that in the case of Francis J. Jackson must strike the readers of this historical sketch.

JAMES B. ANGELL.



## DEFEATED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

DEFEAT has its compensations, as President Cleveland remarked a day or two after the election. To people outside of the political circle the compensations seem so great that we cannot tell whether to congratulate or to condole with the defeated. The task which General Harrison will confront a few weeks hence is not in itself too difficult for human nature, and would be infinitely attractive and noble but for those artificial and needless difficulties which forty-seven years ago destroyed his worthy grandfather in a month. Boileau said to the younger Racine, "You are a brave man, bearing the name that you do, to dare to write French verse." It is a gallant Harrison, with such a family record behind him, to dare to face the ravenous multitude who will gather in Washington on the fourth of March.

The happy men in the presidential race are they who run without any hope or desire of winning, candidates who lend their names to causes and reforms, content to sit at home at ease and to figure in the tables among the "scattering." But can men who make no fight be reckoned among the defeated? At least, we can admire the ingenious and original device of advertising an unpopular cause by placing it in competition with party feeling at the moment when party feeling is strongest, and thus making the most conspicuous possible exhibition of its weakness. This mode of proceeding affords us another proof that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. When we consider what the presidency is, an executive office surcharged with routine business, but occasionally calling for a supreme exercise of judgment involving the welfare of millions, we cannot but wonder at the notion of nominating a man for it because he believes in prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, or holds a peculiar theory of the ownership of land. It is in fine disdain of all the usual considerations which govern the attempt to keep square pegs out of round holes. Accordingly, the



children of this world do not rise to it. William Wirt, candidate of the Anti-Mason Party in 1832, the first of the candidates of this order, was also the only one who ever got out of the list of the scattering. Steadfast Vermont departed for this occasion only from her party fealty by giving to Wirt her whole electoral vote. Nor may we quite forget that the Anti-Mason movement called to political life three men who became eminent politicians, Thurlow Weed, Horace Greeley, and Thaddeus Stevens.

The defeated candidates of this kind, if we may class them as defeated, have usually been men of elevated character, the kind of men who are capable of disinterested devotion to an object. We have not had many men in the United States more happily compounded of the essential and the ornamental than William Wirt. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities which diffuse happiness around a man; nor was he, like some of his successors, warped or narrowed by his brief connection with a small and over-heated party. Doubtless he would have filled the office for which he was named with dignity and success. James G. Birney, of Kentucky, the candidate of the Abolitionists in 1840 and 1844, was a veritable king of men, a person of the highest type of character known among us. His life was a series of the noblest actions performed for the noblest reasons. He was brave, steadfast, and gentle, of gracious and dignified presence, asking nothing from his countrymen except to turn them from what he conceived to be their errors. In 1840 he received 7,369 votes; in 1844, 62,263 votes. No patriotic son of Kentucky could do a better service to his countrymen than to make this admirable man familiarly known to them. Peter Cooper, too, belongs to this class of the defeated, for the good old man was a greenbacker in 1876, and exhibited to all the world the weakness of the cause he represented by receiving only 82,000 votes.

Among the men who have represented ideas in the presidential canvases, one of the most estimable was General J. W. Phelps, of Vermont, who was the candidate of the American Party in 1880. It was he who could not endure the patience of Abraham Lincoln in deferring the final stroke at slavery until he was sure it would kill. It was he who launched that striking prophecy from Ship Island in December, 1861, telling the southern people, among



whom he had lived and whom he therefore loved and esteemed, that as soon as slavery was abolished they would "begin to emerge from a hateful delirium"; southern property would rise in value and every southern interest would enter upon a prosperity of a new kind, legitimate and stable, including the whole population. He was a beautiful prophet, as well as a man of childlike faith and innocence.

Nevertheless, is it not childish to play with the presidency in this manner? It is not a qualification for the office to hold peculiar opinions, or to be devoted to a generous cause. The presidency is a serious and difficult trust, demanding solid qualities rather than brilliant, wisdom and firmness rather than talent. A president should correctly represent, while greatly surpassing, the average good citizen; just as in other days the king was a man like the rest, and a passable king if he had sense enough to know his limitations and to supply his lack by selecting the right ministers. A calm and sure judgment, a mind open to conviction but not easily convinced, a purpose not to be shaken unless by new light or changed conditions, is what is needed in the presidential chair.

It does not appear that any of the unpopular causes have been promoted by this incongruous expedient. Everything in the past tends to show that he who would make himself felt in politics, and who would assist in promoting beneficial legislation, should do so from within one of the two great parties into which every free community naturally divides itself—the party that gains and the party that loses by the existing order; the party that aims to promote human welfare by restraints upon liberty, and the party that bases its policy and its hopes upon an increase of liberty. There is room in these two natural parties for all men. In the party now called Republican would naturally be found Protectionists, Prohibitionists, venerationists of the past, poets, distrusters of human nature, and most of that respectable class who, to use Thackeray's simile, like to sit with their back to the horses, and observe the country which has been already traversed, rather than buffet the storm beside the coachman and look forward. In the Democratic Party belong naturally the whole uncomfortable and defeated class, whether defeated by their own fault or by



the fault of others—the poor, the oppressed, the criminal, the lost; but also the optimist, the philosopher, the enthusiast, the dreamer, the humanitarian. To this great party should resort all the heterodox in all the kinds, as well as all men with difficult, right, and odious schemes of improvement, because this party alone can ever be strong enough to defend and protect by just legislation the natural rights of man against powerful classes who infringe them.

Here again we meet the usual discrepancy between theory and practice. Often the candidates of these two natural parties have been selected for their running power only, their fitness being merely one of the incidental elements. But the people, when it came their turn to act, have not failed to make the least erroneous choice out of the candidates submitted to them. They have done well their part when at last they had the chance; and hence, though the coach has been seriously shaken up at times, it has never been upset. On the other hand, our escapes from getting the fatal coachman have been frequent and narrow. Several defeated candidates, who came frightfully near being president, have been proved by later events or later disclosures to have been so unfit for responsible office that we look back upon the road we have gone over as mountain travellers sometimes do, who see that they have avoided an abyss thousands of feet deep by a fraction of an inch.

It takes the breath away to think of some of the escapes we have had. There was Henry Clay, for example, the brilliant and captivating representative of the early Protectionists, whose repeated defeats brought tears to so many thousand eyes, and cruelly wounded the class most susceptible to public griefs. There are gray and good old heads among us who still think of those defeats with a reminiscent pang, and cannot forgive the wise majority that kept him out of the presidential chair. Younger men, who see nothing of him but his unflattering portraits and his unread speeches, can form no idea of the sway and fascination of his public presence, still less of the enthusiasm which his public efforts often excited. He had a genius for popularity, and there was also in him a fund of sincerity and patriotism that was deeply drawn upon but never exhausted. He had one disqualification that neutralized all the possibilities



of good which he possessed. For many of the best years of his life his brain was always suffused, like Bismarck's, with the alcoholic poison. The history of parties, from Alexander the Great's time to this, will disclose to any investigator that, of all known disqualifications for offices of trust and difficulty, this is the most entirely fatal, because it disturbs the judgment while inflaming all the passions and propensities which constitute the task of the judgment. Nine-tenths of a president's fitness is judgment. It is the supreme faculty of the human mind. Naturally, Henry Clay had an ample share of the qualities which enable a man to reach conclusions which time proves to be correct. But no judgment is proof against the continuous perturbation of the organ through which it acts. The scenes described by the late Governor H. A. Wise, of Virginia, in his "Seven Decades," are almost beyond belief, and yet we are compelled to believe them. It was young Wise who bore to Mr. Clay the news of his failure to be nominated in 1840, and he was greeted by "a storm of desperation and curses." For several years after that great disappointment Mr. Clay's habits and temper reduced him to political impotence, and it was not without approximate justice that Thomas Marshall styled him "a sublime blackguard." Governor Pope's prediction that, if Clay had been elected in 1840, we should have witnessed in America "all the extravagances of the Bonaparte dynasty," was itself an extravagance. America is not France; but Henry Clay in the presidential chair, between 1840 and 1850, would have been a personage extremely ill-placed.

A man extremely unlike Henry Clay in every quality of mind and person was William H. Seward, who also may be reckoned among the defeated candidates. With nothing of the grace of demeanor that fascinates and wins great multitudes of men, short of stature, methodical, a sober church warden, without dash or brilliancy, he rendered good service to his country in many difficult times. Nevertheless, at the supreme moment of his existence, when wisdom and virtue were called for as never before and never after in his day, he gave official advice that seems the very *non plus ultra* of unwisdom and immorality. I mean, of course, the advice he gave in writing to President Lincoln, in April, 1861, urging him to seek a pretext for a war with European nations, so



as to "change the question before the public from one upon slavery or about slavery to one of patriotism or union," and offering to take charge of the business himself. That is to say: The southern people have done very wrong; therefore let us go and kill a large number of Spaniards and Frenchmen. He makes his position very clear. He advised his chief to "demand" explanations from Spain and France and "seek" explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and "if satisfactory explanations were not received from Spain and France," to convene Congress and declare war against them. He intimated, too, that, after a whole month's trial in the presidency, Abraham Lincoln had been found wanting, and some one else had better take a hand who knew how to restore empires that were falling to pieces; for example, the gentleman from Auburn.

When this disclosure was made in the "Century" of last February, by Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in their excellent work, some readers found a momentary comfort in observing at the head of Mr. Seward's long and careful letter of advice the date, "April 1." They grasped at the notion of a hoax, so astounding and incredible was the document. After twenty readings, after making every possible allowance for the novelty and difficulty of the crisis, as well as Mr. Seward's ignorance of Abraham Lincoln's latent power and resources, many people are still unable to believe that any man near the head of a government ever wrote so monstrous and absurd a proposal—before dinner.

And how near we were to having this man in the place of the benign and patient Lincoln! It seemed but an accident that kept him out. One man went to Chicago intent, not on putting Abraham Lincoln into the presidency, but on keeping Mr. Seward out, and that man happened to be the only one in the world capable of accomplishing the purpose. Nor had Horace Greeley's objection to Mr. Seward the slightest reference to his fitness or want of fitness for executive office. In his moments of keenest exasperation against his former "partner" in politics, he could not have thought him capable of such maniac folly as is revealed in those "Thoughts for the President's Consideration" which bear the descriptive date of April 1. Mr. Greeley's interest in politics was intense, but peculiar. It seemed sometimes that it



was the fierce joy of the chase that he chiefly valued, not the game that lay at the end of it. Like Thurlow Weed, he wanted always the best candidate, but more he wanted the candidate that would run best. Of his own candidacy he once wrote: "I should have hated to serve as lieutenant-governor, but I should have gloried in running for the post."

Unlike Thurlow Weed, he was not a good judge of a candidate's running qualities. Horace Greeley bore his character in his face—half baby, half philosopher. The sweetest child that ever looked into its mother's eyes had not a more benevolent expression than his countenance habitually wore. The worst portrait does not quite obliterate it; the best renders it imperfectly. The politician who said, "A man who would hurt Horace Greeley would strike his own mother," roughly expressed the feeling which the childlike part of his face often excited. His voice, too, was the pipe of a child. But above the eyes there was such a noble dome of head that a Greek sculptor would have been glad to take it for the model of benevolent wisdom. His demeanor showed similar contrasts. From that baby face what torrents of bad words would come, with no more malice behind them than there is behind a child's crying when some one has broken its toy. With a pen in his hand, and a subject before him suited to his talents and disposition as well as to the momentary needs of the "Tribune," what editor ever wrote more effectively?

Perhaps such an attempt was illegitimate. Possibly the journalist should stick to his news-gathering, as the cobbler to his last, and if he happens to have any desire to promote the happiness of his countrymen, he should keep it as a secret locked in his own heart. Perhaps the old "Tribune" suffered from its frequent avowals of its intention to do something more than earn its right to exist in the usual way. For, truly, the ruling passion of the famous editor became at last to carry elections, and this apparently without the least mingling of self-interest. He seemed to love the work for its own sake, as well as for the sake of the public measures which he desired to promote. Nor did he ever lose his disinterestedness. When he was first spoken of for the governorship of New York, the thought



that rose spontaneously to his mind appeared to be that it would "please his old mother" to hear of her favorite boy being thus distinguished. Probably many other candidates have had a feeling equally innocent at the beginning of their public life. But no matter in what spirit or with what intent a man steps into the arena, he does not wish to be a defeated candidate. Then comes the tug of war, and the ex-philosopher lays about him like a common man.

What a strange error of judgment was his running for the presidency! What a heart-rending tragedy it proved! Attracted, first of all, by a prospect of being the means of reuniting the South and the North, so long divided by a cause which he had powerfully assisted to remove, he went into the contest with an earnestness and docility rarely equaled. His scores of little speeches delivered during the fatal summer were wonderfully appropriate to time and place. But the people would not take him seriously, and he returned from his enormous labors to meet a domestic grief and a physical strain too severe even for his strength of constitution. The country escaped the hazard of putting into its chief executive office the least executive of men, but lost an editor who kept alive some of the best traditions of his profession, and a citizen who was part and parcel of an interesting period.

General McClellan was a defeated candidate for the presidency. What an escape was that for us, for him, and for all the world! No non-combatant should ever speak or write in any but a respectful and grateful spirit either of him or of any other man who served in the field during the war and did his best for his country. Such have a claim upon our consideration similar to that of the men who created and defended the republic a hundred years ago, when a handful of country lawyers, farmers, and mechanics found themselves called upon to act for their fellow citizens in circumstances wholly new and extremely difficult. McClellan, too, bore his defense in his face. He was simply a good and amiable officer, whirled aloft in a few weeks from a subaltern's rank to the command of forming armies. Lincoln had the patience to wait and let himself grow to his work before acting a decisive part, for nature had given him the capacity to



grow. If McClellan could not, in a few months, rise to the height and expand to the breadth of his new position, it is only what we can say with perfect truth of every other man then living on the earth. Bonaparte thought that among his marshals, long trained in commanding large armies, there was only one who could wield a hundred thousand men. After reading McClellan's own version of these events and the later revelations of the Lincoln biographers, we cannot help placing him near the head of our lucky escapes. Andrew Johnson was a trial; but what would McClellan have been in his place, in his time? At midsummer in 1861 Lincoln and McClellan were about equally unformed for their task; but Lincoln had patience, modesty, and good sense. He became at length master of the situation.

In the earlier days of the republic there were some remarkable escapes of a similar kind. There was a time when Aaron Burr was within an ace of being elected president, and for some years he was supposed to be on the direct road to the office. We have had respectable gentlemen, too, who seemed to be defeated candidates by profession, such as C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King, steadfast representatives of a lost cause—two able and honorable Englishmen born in America. There are plenty of Americans all over Europe who never trod this hemisphere, as there are also native Americans not a few, who cannot forgive their country for not being European. Those candidates, estimable as they were in so many respects, were no more at home in the politics of the United States than their young chief, Alexander Hamilton, and in the presidency they might have proved obstructive and injurious. No man has yet had a good and useful career in the politics of America who was not formed in the old Whig school, the founder of which, as Mr. Jefferson always said, was the English Lord Coke. Roger Williams was Coke's private secretary, and Thomas Jefferson was his most appreciative disciple; and these two men, Thomas Jefferson and Roger Williams, represent what is most essential in the public policy of America. Even the ignorance and the passion of Andrew Jackson could not prevent his being of service in the presidency, because he derived his political instincts from them.

The other defeated candidates, De Witt Clinton, Winfield



Scott, General Hancock, Blaine, Tilden, Douglass, Cass, Calhoun, Crawford, Frémont, Breckinridge—nearly every one of these men gave considerable reason to believe that both they and we had fortunate escapes in their defeat. Mr. Tilden, always a reluctant candidate, would scarcely have survived a term of the presidency. Mr. Blaine, on a coach in England, proclaiming unlimited and eternal protectionism, while at his side sat a manufacturer of a million a year, and his men on strike against excessive hours a day, was one of the most striking instances of self-refutation ever exhibited.

To the list of defeated candidates the people have recently added another, Grover Cleveland, who, as before remarked, has already found consolation. Indeed, he was richly provided with consolation beforehand, in the society of a lady of whom critics in Washington say that, in a place bristling with difficulties, she has never made one mistake. If he has not been able to follow her example in this particular, the fault was more ours than his. It was our fault that, in the selection of his cabinet, his choice was practically limited to the few Democrats who can afford to give their services for several thousand dollars a year less than nothing, and to live away from home while they are doing it. It was our fault that a hundred thousand offices were left in politics as part of the corruption fund by which all political life has been degraded, and the task of every executive chief rendered artificially difficult. With the unavoidable and natural difficulties of his post he might have grappled successfully, if he had been free to pick his advisers from the whole circle of the competent.

It amuses country people to read in the newspapers those extremely divergent disquisitions upon the causes of the late defeat which even now occasionally appear. The editors of daily papers pass their lives in circumstances too peculiar and absorbing to admit of their knowing much of what passes in the minds of quiet voters who care absolutely nothing for party names, but care a great deal about the honor of their country and the welfare of their countrymen. Of late years this has become a numerous class, both parties having become sadly discredited. With many of them politics had become another name for shame and despair. It was this class that rallied to Grover Cleveland,



with a passion of new-born hope, when he was nominated for the governorship of New York; and it was this class that, with doubt and fear, gave him the casting vote for the presidency in 1884. These foolish, fond people looked to see him, from his very first appointment to his last, keep one object steadily in view—to rescue the once great and glorious Democratic Party from the control of rich dummies and sharp adventurers. It was pathetic to hear them say to one another, with a kind of desperate enthusiasm, “Oh, what an opportunity is his! *Can* he rise to it? *Is* he a reality? Which will he choose, re-election or immortal glory? Is it in man to fight the fight that awaits him if he should choose to serve his country?” It was in such sentences that these harmless people occasionally relieved their minds.

Happily he did not keep them long waiting. The guillotine was soon in running order, and the heads began to tumble into the basket with about the usual rapidity. To the distant observer he seemed to lapse into the old grooves with little effort; and so we had the same strife, repeated all over the country, for the little offices, and the same nominating convention at St. Louis, without even the semblance of volition; the expenses paid, as politicians tell us, “out of the New York aqueduct.”

But it happens that these soft brethren take a charitable and compassionate view of the weakness of man. They forgave this melancholy lapse. And now that all is over, who shall presume to decide which of the eight thousand votes it was that he might have had, and failed to get? Outside of the whirlpool of New York all appeared to be going well with him, until the retaliation message created the impression that he was using the powers of the president to promote the interest of the candidate. The country softs aforesaid do not approve such a use of the presidential opportunities. They rejected with indignation the whispered story that Mr. Phelps had been chosen to fill the vacancy on the supreme bench, and had been set aside because an Irish delegation remonstrated. They rejected it as too monstrous for belief; but the tale goes the rounds of the papers uncontradicted. Then the needless severity toward the British minister, for an amiable and harmless inadvertence, gave a painful shock to many without conciliating the “Irish vote,” so often mentioned. The



Irish are a polite, serious, and orderly people, particularly in the conduct of political affairs, as any one can see who attends their political meetings. Nor do the American people like to be made parties to a provincial and ridiculous action. Some of the lost eight thousand votes were lost through these dubious and confusing actions. Besides alarming some voters in the frontier counties, they estranged many who revolve these political matters in disinterested and unworldly minds. If the President had been re-elected, they could not have been sure that, in some perilous crisis of public affairs involving peace or war, he might not again, and once too often, play with fire.

It was natural that, as soon as the hurly-burly of the election was over, there should have sprung up all over the country a discussion of the question, Is there no better way of getting a president—a way that will, at least, leave the candidates quiet, bring them out at the end unharmed in reputation and estate, and give them less temptation in office to court the sweet voices by unworthy means?

There was much in the late canvass to encourage. True, the tariff cannot be justly amended by going over the list of commodities and selecting, here and there, a victim for the sacrifice. The victim will always vehemently object. "Why immolate *me*, and not the rest?" he will ask. His question is fair, and cannot be answered. The original error of the Protectionists was in not fixing a term of years to every tariff bill, at the expiration of which the coddled child should run alone. That error remains to be corrected, and by whatever means it is accomplished, the remedial act should apply to every industry alike. Nevertheless, the ability shown by Congress, by the press, and by the stump, during the long debate upon the tariff, raised the standing of them all in public estimation. Many of the campaign writers went to the sources of information, not contenting themselves with "maxims" nor even with "markets," but going to the men who supply the markets with manufactured goods.

On the other hand, we cannot get away from the fact, too evident in England, in France, and in the United States, that an appeal to the whole people involves at present a vast amount of insincerity. Take, for example, the course of the London



"Times" ever since Mr. Gladstone brought forward his plan of home rule. No one could object to its opposing the scheme, but it is lamentable to see so important a journal always evading and confusing the issue, directing its resources of talent and experience to making the other side personally odious and contemptible. The assumption that Mr. Cleveland was a Free Trader is an instance of the same perversity. This mode of conducting a canvass is often adduced to show that free institutions are incompatible with that sincerity and love of truth which form the basis of respectable character. It cannot be that party contests of free and equal citizens, having a common interest in the adoption of a sound policy, debauch necessarily the general sense of truth. If freedom does not promote the practice of virtue among young and old; if the citizens of a republic are not of necessity more true, more generous, more valiant, and more polite than the subjects of a king, then republicanism has not yet proved its superiority.

But we improve as we go on. In the year 1888 we can scarcely imagine or believe in the extravagance and falsehood of former times. During the Harrison campaign of 1840, Ben Hardin, one of the leaders of the Kentucky bar, used to describe Martin Van Buren as "a little duck-legged man," a ridiculous fop who received his guests with a series of bows and scrapes, of which the orator gave a burlesque imitation of the greatest possible extravagance. He described Mr. Van Buren as he probably appeared while dressing his hair, "inserting tortoise-shell combs to keep it in curl." He used to finish this part of his discourse by giving an imitation of the comic figure this duck-legged dandy must make when he tried "to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." He would waddle up and down the platform, and stretch himself into all sorts of attitudes, "convulsing his hearers," as his biographer tells us. And even that campaign was an improvement over those of an earlier day, when the imperfect literary development of the speakers and writers compelled them to resort to serious libels and brutal vituperation.

The system of hereditary government is among the oldest of human devices. Politicians had thousands of years in which to



modify it and adjust themselves to it, placing padding where the burden bore heaviest, and parrying strokes they could not prevent. Readers of court memoirs, which enable us to understand the courts of the French and German kings better than the kings themselves understood them, know how many practices, good and bad, were employed to render the reign of a foolish and arbitrary monarch bearable, and in many respects salutary. In some way a bit was got between the teeth of the king, by which he could be controlled. The French of Louis the Fifteenth's time would know very well what to do with the young and over-zealous colonel of cavalry who is at present astride of the German empire. When Louis Fifteenth was made of age, in 1725, he was a rude, shy, moody, ignorant, intractable boy; but he was all there was between France and civil war. We can perceive how he was reduced to convenient subjection. Fleury, his old tutor, a gentle and resolute priest, became prime minister, and when the ladies of the court discovered that they could not seduce the king to milder manners, they found a wife for him, who kept him for some years reasonably well-behaved.

Government by sixty-five millions, or, in other words, government by the whole intelligence of the country, being a new enterprise, requires, and will require, improvement and rectification. At present, some of the machinery greatly needs revision. It creaks abominably, being compelled to do a hundred times the work it was originally intended for. A nominating convention, for example, appears to have developed into a contrivance for frustrating the popular wish. It is too enormous, too tumultuous to execute or to have any intention of its own. A few quiet and resolute men who have been there before, can baffle the manifest and strongest desire of the people at home, and place in nomination the weakest candidate, because he is the weakest. It is a thing highly curious to consider that, of all the men whose names are presented to a national convention, the one who is surest not to be nominated is he whom almost every member wishes to nominate. Hence, the unhappy candidate who is finally chosen enters upon the campaign with a painful consciousness that he is a disappointment to nine-tenths of his supporters. Absurd as this seems, it has its redeeming side, for we do not want in the



presidency the exceptionally gifted man, but the good average man, prudent, slow to make up his mind, but capable of holding his ground when he has taken it. It will be necessary to change in some way the process of electing a president, or it will not be possible to induce competent men to submit to the dreadful ordeal. We have been trading hitherto upon the divinity that was once supposed to hedge about a king. That illusion lasted long. It deceived and consoled former candidates for the presidency, even defeated candidates, by investing a thankless, underpaid, undesirable office with an imaginary charm. The expense to the ill-starred candidate in money, toil, mortification, nervous strain, and risk of destruction, is a price which rational men will not pay for anything whatever which transitory office can bestow. All this burden and expenditure should fall upon *us*, the interested party. The candidate should not lift an ounce of this load. It is indecent in him to do it, and indecent in us to let him do it.

And what can be said of the spectacle afforded by the nominating convention, the incessant drinking, the tumult, the intrigue? A spectator, on returning last summer from one of them, informed his friends that the only people who were benefited by such assemblages are the hotel keepers, liquor dealers, and barbers. He epitomized his impressions thus: "About the whole convention is drunk and has been the whole week. The bartenders are exhausted; they cannot find time to wipe off the counters." Supposing this an exaggeration, we cannot shut our eyes to the extreme probability of the illicit use of money. It is in vain to hope that national conventions can be kept free from the influence of money, now that men who get rich in dry-goods or lumber aspire to figure among the defeated candidates. As there are now no able men of leisure in the United States, there must be a considerable number of delegates who represent nothing but the purse that paid their travelling expenses. If the reader will take the trouble to walk slowly through a train of palace cars on its way to a national convention, whether to St. Louis or to Chicago, he will perceive that the passengers do not, as a rule, belong to the class of citizens who are either able or willing to spend two hundred dollars for their country. A portion of the



money which these conventions cost comes in various ways, more or less legitimate, from the public treasury. One of the problems of the future is, how to draw it all from the public treasury in a legitimate and lawful manner. How marvelous it is that from such scenes of tumult and excitement, intrigue and corruption, we should have drawn such prizes as we sometimes have, men so respectable in so many ways as Van Buren, Lincoln, Cleveland, and both Harrisons!

It were much to be desired that no future defeated candidate for the presidency should feel it incumbent upon him to send ten-thousand-dollar checks to the National Committee, least of all when that candidate is president of the United States. It was melancholy enough to see Horace Greeley selling out one of his few remaining shares of the "Tribune," that he might send something liberal to his committee; but when a president does it, it is an imperative command for all to do likewise whose places he controls. It is part of the system of handing over the government in perpetuity to a small class who make a business of politics. Why not open the polls on a fine day about the middle of June, and give to every voter an opportunity to signify his choice of a candidate, and when these votes are counted, let the two, the four, or the six at the head of the list be declared the candidates? Then require each of them to remain passive and silent until after the election.

The presidency is a public trust, a public duty, like that of mayor or school trustee, to be held a certain time and handed over with pleasure and alacrity to another. If it is not attractive, it need not be misery. Fortunately for all candidates, whether defeated or successful, it is now admitted by what are called practical politicians, that the possession of the offices is not a help, but a hinderance and a disadvantage in contested elections. They are bound to be eliminated from the politics of all free countries, and it then will not be a dreadful experience even to be a successful candidate for executive office. It will then probably be found that the term of four years, with a chance for one reelection, is a very happy solution of a difficult problem.

JAMES PARTON.



## UNFINISHED WORK OF THE WAR.

THE field-work of the war for the preservation of the Union, that part in the great struggle which, during the four bloody years from 1861 to 1865, was performed by armed men upon southern battle-fields, was well and thoroughly done. The fight was fought to a point where the overwhelming military power of the Union met the exhausted war resources of the Confederacy. The conduct of the soldiers of both armies, after the surrender of Lee and Johnston, was eminently worthy of brave men and fellow-countrymen. It was characterized by perfect good faith, and by wisdom and patriotism as marked as the display of fortitude, endurance, and gallantry in action had been conspicuous.

The soldiers of the Union divided their rations and left to the vanquished their horses to help them in beginning the work of restoration. Both armies turned their thoughts and steps to paths of peace. Not a guerilla band was formed in the South. Throughout all the States where, for four years, the entire military power of the United States had been unflinchingly met on every field of battle, a single file of soldiers, representing the power of the national government, was sufficient to enforce its decrees. The soldiers of the "lost cause" took up as best they could the work of making their land habitable. The troops of the armies of the Union returned to their homes. Those of them from southern border States, and a few others who cast in their lot with them, went home to meet conditions little if any better than those which confronted the defeated Confederates. But the great mass of the Union forces were from Northern States, and they returned to participate in a growth of wealth which had been quickened and stimulated in every branch of industry by the demands growing out of the work of carrying on the war. All of them, the boys in blue and the boys in grey, energetically set about the work of construction, or reconstruction, accordingly



as they were urged by the prospect of reward on the one side or driven by necessity on the other. Their work as soldiers was done.

Two great tasks remained to be accomplished: First, to pay the bills. Secondly, to secure the great object for which the war was fought—the preservation of the Union in its integrity—by removing the causes and changing the conditions which had threatened the national life, so that, with common interests and by united effort, prosperity might come to all parts of our country under assured and permanent peace.

The first of these involved, before all, provision for the widows and children of those soldiers who had paid with their lives the full measure of their devotion to the Union, and maintenance and support of those whose wounds or hurts had disabled them from following the arts of peace. Then provision was to be made for paying the bonded and other money debt incurred in carrying on the war. Our pension rolls attest our care for the soldier. Nor can the other creditors of the government complain. For a good promise, a better one was substituted; and performance has exceeded both. A credit so high as to compel the payment of large premiums for bonds not due, and a revenue so greatly in excess of expenditures as to create a troublesome surplus in the national Treasury, are the only financial difficulties which our government has had to contend with. Nor should it be forgotten that the South has cheerfully borne her full share in meeting all the obligations incurred in the prosecution of the war.

The most important and sacred work, made possible by the result achieved, and imposed by the sacrifices offered upon the battle-field, was the unification of the republic. It was for this priceless heritage of all our people, North and South, and of their children and their children's children to the end of time, that blood and treasure had been poured out without stint or counting the cost. In this, and this alone, could be found that security and guarantee of prosperity for the future which would indemnify the suffering and toil of the past, the life laid down and wounds and disease endured, on whichever side men fell or fought, and the wealth expended or destroyed. In the light of what was done, we can now see how far we were from appreciat-



ing the magnitude and character of the victory we had won, the results to be secured, and the responsibilities involved, when we imagined that such things as constitutional amendments and laws passed to enforce them had covered or could meet the necessities of the case.

To allay the passions, to remove the prejudices, to change and harmonize the conditions and interests, and to bind together and direct toward a common object the will and energies of two peoples, whose institutions and ideas had for generations been utterly hostile, is not to be done by constitutional amendments and laws alone. An attempt so great would demand, as conditions precedent to success, inspired wisdom, exalted patriotism, undaunted courage, unfaltering faith, indomitable resolution, infinite patience, untiring industry, and harmonious effort on the part of all branches of the government, sustained by the steady and unwavering support of all our people. By as much as we lacked these essential elements, the ambition of our attempts exceeded their wisdom and chance for success.

The carrying on of the war had employed a million men in the field and had taxed all our mental, moral, and material resources. Yet that was only the plain work of feeding, transporting, and fighting our armies against those of the Confederacy. The war bore the same relation to our national development that surveying, locating, and securing the right of way bears to the construction of a railroad. It opened the way. The amendments to the Constitution, and the laws to carry them into effect, even though they had been all that inspired wisdom could make them, could bear to the remaining work of nationalization only the same relations that the printing of a company's bonds and stock certificates bears to the grading, bridging, track-laying, and equipment of the railway, to say nothing of what would remain to be done by other forces whose labor and necessities must create the traffic. But inasmuch as what we speak of as the "reconstruction measures" were passed in a period of excitement, reaction, and distrust growing out of differences between Congress and the President, and in the heat generated by the fanned embers of the struggle which had just closed, it may be doubted whether they were likely to be without flaw.



The war had taught us to depend too much upon leaders. However necessary this may be in war, just the reverse holds in every-day life. The triumphs of peace must come from the prosperous industry of the people. It is but once in an age, and then only under such circumstances of compression as existed at the close of our war, that one man is able to impress his greatness and will upon a nation. Thrice happy the nation that, in such a time, has such a man. Our great war President who, more than any man of his time, embodied the strength, patience, faith, tact, and mother-wit of the people; who possessed the confidence of his countrymen, so essential to their unfaltering support and the consequent control and leadership of his party; and, above all, whose patriotism steadily impelled him onward "with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness for the right," could have helped us to that good start which would have been half the battle; for we know that his faith was in the people, and that he would have called upon them all, North and South, to join in the great work. But just when his services were most needed he fell by the bullet of an assassin.

In the differences and quarrels which arose between his successor and the legislative branch of the government, and the fear and impatience growing out of them, golden hours were lost, a great opportunity was frittered away, and reaction and confusion ensued among the people, North and South. The true causes of the war were largely lost sight of, effects were mistaken for causes, the beginning of work for the end, and wrong, or at best partial, remedies provided. When the cool head and steady hand of the great captain, under whose lead we had crossed the Red Sea of war, was called to the chief command, our way to the promised land was through a wilderness of doubt and distrust and the obstructive measures they had generated.

We expect too much from government. Political effort, when it steps out of the groove of providing for clearly-proved needs, and essays to lead instead of to follow development, is often exerted for evil, seldom for good results. Natural wealth is the material, capital the steam, and skill and labor the machinery of modern civilization. The most that statesmanship can do is to oil the bearing-points of the wheels to prevent friction. Our



laws have exerted progressive power upon our institutions just in proportion as they were passed at the demand of the people after their need had been thoroughly felt. The most pressing need developed by the revolutionary struggle which gave birth to our republic was for diversified home industries, and the first general law passed by Congress was a tariff schedule to foster and protect them. The greatest need of the fertile plains of western public land was settlers, because on those great prairies multitudes would prosper where the few must fail. The West needed numbers sufficient to support the large railway mileage, and innumerable points and facilities for exchange through which her bulky products of the soil must be collected and distributed. A homestead law brought these settlers from all parts of the world to occupy and possess free homes, while land-grant laws brought capital to build the railways. A few such great laws, the number of which can be counted upon the fingers of one hand, springing direct from the imperative needs of the people, have exerted more influence than all the remaining thousands which fill the books, and which too often obstruct and retard rather than promote the public welfare. It is the work which is performed by the intelligence and industry of the millions, each doing with his might what his hand finds to do about him, that tells and leads. The wise statesman watches to find any point where a bearing wears or a washer is needed.

Looking back, we can see that for forty years preceding the outbreak of our war, two civilizations, whose ideas and institutions had become utterly hostile, had grown up side by side under one government. That of the North led the advance of modern progress. Its labor was free, and all its ideas, institutions, and tendencies were in the direction of the more equal sharing of political power, the more general distribution of wealth created by labor, and the diffusion of knowledge. This generated individual effort in every field and branch of industry, with adherence to the national policy, born of the Revolution and crystallized in our earliest laws, as a central idea. All the inventions of the age, the railroad, the telegraph, the power press, the steamboat, improved implements, machinery, and power in every division of labor, worked with and for a people who wel-



comed them all. The South made as good a beginning as the North in the direction of nationality, but the rapid and profitable increase of her cotton-growing interests, starting from the invention of the cotton-gin and acting upon the southern system of slave labor, led her to diverge more and more until, beginning with the Missouri Compromise, she turned back to an ancient civilization whose tendencies were all toward the concentration of power, wealth, and knowledge in the hands of the few. Individual effort was repressed. Work ran in grooves. Modern ideas were looked upon as fraught with evil. The torch of freedom that lighted the way for the North meant destruction in the South, whose repressed power and explosive institutions demanded gloom and darkness as the price of safety. For a time each of these civilizations had room to grow. As the line between them narrowed, the strife for control grew more and more fierce, because it became evident that both could not survive. The struggle was, in its very nature, a war to the death, and eventually came the inevitable appeal to the arbitrament of the sword.

The war was not ended because of any conviction on the part of the people of the South that their cause was wrong, but by the knowledge forced upon them that their strength was exhausted. They could fight no more. They submitted to the inevitable. Their cause was based upon the ideas and institutions out of which their industries had grown. Compared with the results which would have been produced upon the great natural wealth of the South by a policy of diversified industries such as are now springing up there, what she had accomplished, blinded and with her hands tied, was poor enough; but, poor as it was, it had been mainly destroyed by the war, and nothing had been substituted for it which might alter the views of the people as to the righteousness of their cause. Defeat and disaster are not enough to change the convictions of a lifetime. New ideas must grow out of changed conditions, showing a better means to a greater end.

By the tenth census we found that, in round numbers, about eighty per cent. of our national wealth in farms, factories, railroads, cities, and all the forms of fixed wealth created and put into use by the labor of man, was in the Northern States east of the Rocky Mountains, and the remaining twenty per cent. was



divided between the South and the Pacific coast. This wide disparity was in no sense due to a corresponding difference in the natural wealth of these sections. On the contrary, great and splendid as is the wealth of the North, that of the South far excels it in abundance and variety of material resources and in permanent advantages for their production and exchange.

The means employed to meet the needs and ambitions of the many who ruled the North had stimulated to the utmost all her energies in the creation of wealth. Under the rule of the few, the strength of the South had been exhausted in attempting to preserve institutions which were to the last degree obstructive and restrictive. The war cut down the growth which had poisoned and put the southern giant to sleep. It remains yet to burn the brush and put the land into cultivation. Because of her great natural wealth, no part of our country can receive more benefit from the Union than must accrue to the South, and no portion of our territory can contribute more to the general wealth and welfare.

The northern foundation was a heavily-timbered and largely mountainous region in the New England and Middle States and a large part of Ohio, with a soil having but a moderate degree of variation, of only medium fertility, and with a climate which restricted its natural growth of forest and the production of its fields within an ordinary range. Its mineral wealth, though since found to be great, was in the early days but little known. Nor could it have any value until a demand for it was created by works involving great risks to large amounts of capital. It was supposed by engineers to be inaccessible to any practicable means of transportation. The labor of opening up this region to the uses of man was very great. The waste of wealth and energy was enormous. For lack of a market at home, or transportation to get it abroad, a large portion of the most valuable timber of the North was sacrificed by fire to meet the demand for cleared land. This was but one of many features. The commercial advantages, both along the sea-coast and on the lakes, were great and striking. The public lands of the West possessed advantages for rapid development, being treeless and level, and, under the stimulating operation of laws applied to them, results were



reached such as the world had never before seen. The only limit of growth was set by the demand for the products of the soil. But that limit has already been approached as nearly as that of cotton production in the South. Additional markets cannot be found; they must be created.

Compared with the resources of the North and the forces which have brought them into life, the southern wealth is as much greater as the demands and energies of our country to-day exceed in magnitude and complexity the forces of civilization in operation at the close of the war. And by this standard we may measure the increased necessity and value of using it to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the Republic. The States of our Union which lie between the Potomac and the Rio Grande, bounded on the east and south along three thousand miles of coast by the waters of the Atlantic and the Gulf, and on the north by kindred States, contain a world of wealth which lines of latitude and longitude, or the half-million square miles of area they embrace, but faintly indicate.

The highest mountain ranges of the Appalachian region, coming down from the north, extend through the center of the ten States which lie east of the Mississippi, and comprise large and important portions of all of them, with the exception of Mississippi and Florida. Their highest peaks are covered with the grasses of the far north or the balsam fir which marks the northern limit of tree growth, and their climate is indicated by their vegetation. The heavily-timbered and less elevated ranges of mountains and plateaus which extend through the Virginias, Kentucky, and Tennessee into Alabama, form a continuous coal field, and are separated from the eastern range throughout their whole distance by a broad, beautiful, fertile, elevated valley, which, in different portions of its length, is known as the Shenandoah Valley, the Valley of Virginia, and the Valley of East Tennessee. Its eastern walls comprise the great ranges of the Blue Ridge, Unaka, and Great Smoky Mountains, rising in their highest peaks to nearly 7,000 feet above sea level. Their slopes are covered, and, except on the highest peaks, their summits crowned with every kind of valuable timber known to our continent, save a few varieties peculiar to Florida, the Gulf coast,



Mexico, and the Pacific coast. Because of the long growing-season and abundant rainfall, almost all the valuable trees of our American forests here reach their largest and densest growth. In these mountains the mineral wealth is as remarkable as that of the forest, both for its variety and extent.

With a climate and conditions of health unexcelled in the world; with dynamic forces of coal, and a water power to be calculated from the immense area, great elevations, and heavy rainfall; with every form of mineral and forest wealth which enters into the arts and construction; with its winter garden of the coast country on one hand and the grains and grasses of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys on the other, the Appalachian region of the South forms the basis of a manufacturing country compared with which any other upon our continent, or within the known world, is insignificant.

The variety of soil in the Southern States is as great as that of climate, and yet its resources will one day be required to meet the diversity of agriculture which will follow industrial diversity in other fields. Here in the South is the field upon which can be created a home market and differing home productions, whether of the field, forest, or mine, whose needed exchanges will enrich, while their growing demands will tax, the soil of the West and the industries of the East. This is the country we fought to save as a part of our Union. It was worth fighting for. To broaden the general foundations of our continental commonwealth by bringing into supporting relations the wealth, institutions, and interests of the South, is the unfinished work of the war. War is but the rear-guard of civilization. Its task is to hold the ground until the broken lines of progress can be formed anew for a still further advance. The school-house, the mill, the furnace, the mine, connected by railroads, and the people who man and operate them, must constitute the permanent forts and garrisons. By this sign we conquer. All can help in the work; all must share in the reward. As we learn to know each other better we shall love each other more. As industries multiply sectionalism will pass away. The new lines to be formed will divide the colored as well as the white voters of the South, and political race prejudices and fears will disappear.



The forces of our great civil war so completely fulfilled their mission upon the battle-field that the soldiers of one army, moving to the West, have broadened the foundations of that mighty division of our empire which has since grown up. Those of the vanquished hosts, snatching victory from their defeat, have restored the South as an integral part of our national domain, and prepared it for a like, or even greater, development, which has now become equally necessary both to the North and the South.

From the day when the bugles sounded recall from the Southern battle-fields, the wealth-creating powers of peace, however obstructed, have pushed steadily forward. Consolidated and organized, they will be irresistible. The gathered strength and prestige of their success now re-enforce them for the final effort. Henceforward their march need meet only the obstructions of triumph. Flowers strewn in its path, or an occasional day's halt at some camp-ground, shaded and hallowed by the memories and sacrifices of the past, around springs whose clear waters sparkle with the hopes of the future, will rest and refresh, not delay, its progress. How small is the faith that can doubt the outcome ! If we can but let the dust of strife settle long enough to give the American people one glimpse of the wealth within their reach, our final and complete victory will be assured.

GEORGE B. COWLAM.



## THE CHINESE EXCLUSION BILL.

TWENTY years have sufficed for the swing of the political pendulum through the entire arc, from verge to verge. In 1868 the United States and China, by a treaty ratified with excessive pomp and display, bound themselves together in the closest political relationship. In this treaty, with profuse protestations of indissoluble amity, they declare that "the United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents"; that "citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and, reciprocally, Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation"; that such citizens and subjects respectively "shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control" of either government "which are enjoyed in the respective countries by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation," and "may freely establish and maintain schools at those places where foreigners are by treaty permitted to reside" in each country respectively. In 1888 the United States have enacted that no Chinaman, being a skilled or unskilled laborer, shall come into this country at all, and if any such Chinaman, already a resident here, shall go out of the country he shall never return. And whoever helps such a Chinaman across the line is liable to the penitentiary for the offense. In making this swing the pendulum has encountered much murky atmosphere and many elec-



tric currents, but has overcome them all, and only stops, if at all, because it seems to have reached the limit.

Now that the presidential election is over, and there is no longer occasion or temptation for either political party to masquerade as a Chinese-hater, it may not be amiss to look back over the space traversed in the bustle and hurry of the American people as they have been driven before the political herdsman, all the way from the love-making of 1868 to the absolute divorce of 1888. It is barely possible that such a retrospect may help to reveal whatever good may have been achieved in the process, and it may be that in this calmer atmosphere and slackened current the sediment which has been carried along in the drift, clouding vision and hiding tendencies, may be precipitated and thus reveal to us the real character of the force which has been moving us, and whither the path leads along which the shouting of political cow-boys has been driving us.

We shall not get very far into this inquiry before discovering that it is not the poor Chinaman only that we have "gone back on" in this matter. The phraseology of the Exclusion Bill, it will be observed, is "Chinese laborers, skilled and unskilled." It is not a law aimed at "bad men and women" escaping or driven from their own country and seeking a home here, and against whose malign influences self-preservation compels us to legislate. It excludes the good as well as the bad. Only two things are required to bring a foreigner reaching our shores within the law. He must be a Chinaman and he must also work for a living. Come he from any other country, or come he from China in any other garb or for any other purpose than to labor for his bread, he is welcome. We have not sought to justify this legislation by the plea of self-protection against the evil effect upon ourselves of the character and habits of Chinamen, for if a Chinaman has never "labored" at home and will pledge himself to remain idle on our soil, he may come here unmolested. If he will but array himself in purple and fine linen, or travel up and down the land with an army of adherents at his heels, keep a gambling shop where no work is done, or even worse houses, if worse there be; do anything or nothing that man aspires to or indulges in which may not be defined as a pursuit which



“laborers, skilled or unskilled,” follow—if he will do any of these things, no obstacle is interposed to his free entrance into, residence in, or departure from and return to this country. Even bad women, coming of their own motion, would find nothing in this legislation preventing them.

The negotiation of treaties and the legislation, extending over a period of years and culminating in the Exclusion Act of Oct. 1, 1888, all rest on an avowed purpose of excluding from a share in the labor of this country, performed on our own soil, members of one of the family of nations, while we open all our ports to the free entrance of all other nationalities. It is difficult to find justification for such a policy, either in the principles upon which our government is founded, in its attitude toward other nations and those coming to us from them, or in any necessity for the protection of labor or society here from this particular class of foreign laborers, more than from any others who come to our shores. Some aid in the discussion of this question will be found in an historical retrospect which shall make a note of some of the steps taken in this long journey from the Burlingame treaty of 1868, which welcomed with open arms all Chinamen to all the opportunities here held out to the rest of the world, to the Exclusion Act of 1888, which shuts the door in the face of every Chinaman who is a laborer, whatever his character or the purpose of his coming here.

When the Central Pacific Railroad, and other great public works in California, which have so marvellously developed her wealth and filled her with the life and activities of a great State, were approaching completion, the Chinese laborers, whose patient and persistent toil had made these national enterprises possible, began to take up whatever else their hands could find to do, and to carry into the every-day diversified employments of the people among whom they found themselves that same diligence and aptitude which made them so useful in the great enterprises which had drawn them to our shores. They thus came to be very much in the way of those who had hitherto filled these various employments. Labor on the Pacific coast, outside of the public works, became for this reason greatly demoralized. Those who had hitherto had this field to themselves failed to hold it



against the remarkable faculty of the Chinaman for making himself, by incessant application and patient docility, first useful, then indispensable, in the every-day diversity of work around him. This trouble of overstocking the labor of California naturally bred discontent and friction, which grew into disturbance and resistance. Violence came to be more and more frequent, threatening the public peace and filling with anxiety the sober, thoughtful citizen. Labor of all other nationalities made common cause against this inroad of Chinese laborers upon the domain hitherto exclusively theirs, and the cry went up for deliverance and riddance from this threatening element. The politician, the demagogue, and the "sand-lotter" caught it up and reinforced it. It was not long in reaching Washington and finding echo in the House and Senate, as well as in the executive branch of the government. Mr. Seward, who, as our Secretary of State, had negotiated the Burlingame treaty with the Chinese officials here, when on a visit to China after this excitement had arisen—a visit made with much circumstance and appearance of a representative of our government—undertook in discussion with officials there to deal with this demand which had come up from the Pacific coast that Chinese laborers should be driven out of the land, and to obtain a modification of that treaty. But he could find no other basis for the exclusion of immigrants consistent with the traditions and policy of this country toward those seeking a home here except individual character, and accordingly he proposed to the Chinese such a modification of the treaty as would permit us to exclude by law "paupers, lewd women, diseased persons, and contract laborers." This was a proposition in harmony with existing law in respect to all immigrants—poorly enough enforced, it is true, in any of our ports as to all other nationalities except the Chinese. Nothing, however, came of this discussion or negotiation. In the meantime Chinese laborers already resident here, and new ones coming, began to congregate in San Francisco and other places on the Pacific coast, and finally to appropriate to their own exclusive use a considerable section of the first-named city, which came to be known as the "Chinese Quarter." Here the worst characters among them found lodgment, and the worst habits and practices indulged in by the



degraded and vile of the race ran riot without restraint or rebuke, till decent society, which had folded its hands and looked on while control and suppression were possible, recoiled before the midnight orgies and noonday debauches which had in this "quarter" outgrown all restraint and were defying every sense of decency. Thus it came to pass that people of all classes on the Pacific coast, lovers of law and order and of all that was good and hopeful in the future of that people, were forced by what they deemed an overpowering necessity for self-preservation to join in the cry of the demagogue and sand-lotter that "the Chinaman must go." Their representatives in Congress procured the passage through both houses of a bill which, in direct conflict with the Burlingame treaty, was intended to put an end to Chinese immigration altogether. It did not, however, in a plain, manly way prohibit such immigration, but by an indirect method, which would have done more credit to the "heathen Chinese" themselves than to frank, honest, American legislators: it undertook to accomplish the same thing by declaring that no master of a vessel under a penitenitary penalty should take on board his vessel and bring to the United States Chinese passengers exceeding fifteen in number. This was the House of Representatives; but the Senate, competing with the House in zeal, added to this provision another, directly abrogating the fifth and sixth articles of the Burlingame treaty, which contained the mutual pledges of the two governments to punish the coolie trade as a crime, and to accord to the citizens or subjects of each government visiting or residing in the other respectively "the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may there be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation." They thus cut these two articles not only out of the treaty of 1868, but also out of the treaty of 1858, on which the Burlingame Treaty was based and by which the two were made one. Bear in mind that this was done without previous complaint to the Chinese government of any evil growing out of immigration countenanced and encouraged by existing treaty stipulations, and without any step taken to procure their modification. Had this bill become a law, China would have been released from all obligations contained in both treaties, and this nation, with its missionaries, merchants, and



all its trade relations with China, would have been thrown back upon the condition of things existing prior to 1858. But the bill was vetoed by President Hayes, because of its harsh provisions and its conflict with our treaty obligations, and thus was the honor of the nation, for the time, saved from the intensity of its own zeal.

President Hayes followed this veto with the appointment of a commission to proceed to China, and by negotiation to procure such modification of existing treaties as would permit legislation prohibiting, if possible, and if not, then limiting and regulating, immigration of Chinese laborers to this country. The result of this mission was the treaty of 1880, which permitted the United States to "regulate, limit, or suspend, but not absolutely prohibit," the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States whenever, in the opinion of that government, such coming or residence "affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country or to endanger the good order of said country or any locality therein." It was stipulated further that "the limitation or suspension shall be reasonable," and that there should be only such legislation as is necessary to enforce reasonable regulation, limitation, or suspension, and that immigrants "should not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse."

If the commissioners who negotiated this treaty on our part were to be held responsible for the legislation which immediately followed its ratification, or had knowledge that such legislation was contemplated, the inducements and artifices by which the Chinese government was led to put itself and its subjects coming here into our power would reflect little credit on our diplomacy. Without, however, attempting to attach any responsibility to these commissioners for the character of the legislation which followed so closely upon the ratification of the treaty they made as to excite the suspicion that their purpose was to open the way for this very legislation, still no true estimate of the real character of our dealings with these people in this regard could be made which omitted to consider some unusual features of this negotiation. The Chinese officials, supposing that our commissioners had come to renew the discussion had with Mr. Seward when "their foreign office consented to enter into negotiations with



him to prohibit the four classes of cooly laborers, criminals, prostitutes, and diseased persons from coming to this country," expressed an entire readiness to discuss further the proposition of Mr. Seward. But they were met by the statement of our commission that they had come for an entirely different purpose, namely, to effect such a change in the treaty as would permit the United States, at their own will, by legislation to prohibit altogether the coming to this country of Chinese laborers, without regard to their individual character, or whether coolies or free laborers. They went further, and repudiated altogether the views of Mr. Seward as without authority or approval of our government. Of this, they said, "the appointment of a new minister and our presence here with full powers to negotiate ought to be sufficient evidence." The Chinese officials, however, refused to treat on the basis of absolute prohibition, and met all attempts to obtain that concession with the offer to treat on the basis of the Seward negotiation for the exclusion of "coolly laborers, criminals, prostitutes, and diseased persons." Failing in their main object, our commissioners then proposed to withdraw the word "prohibit" and to use the words "regulate, limit, or suspend." Before this withdrawal, however, the Chinese officials asked of our commissioners some idea of the character of the legislation to which the United States would resort in enforcing these provisions, and were informed that "each nation could safely trust to the good faith and friendship of the other"; that "the United States government might never deem it necessary to exercise the power. It would depend upon circumstances. If Chinese immigration concentrated in cities where it threatened public order, or if it confined itself to localities where it was an injury to the interests of the American people," steps would be taken to prevent such an accumulation of Chinese. "For example, there might be a demand for Chinese labor in the South and a surplus of such labor in California, which would require legislation in accordance with these facts." Having been also assured as to those Chinese already here that "the United States government recognizes but one duty, and that is to maintain them in the exercise of their treaty privileges against any opposition, whether it take the shape of popular violence or legislative enactment,"



the Chinese commissioners said this explanation was satisfactory, and the treaty was accordingly signed, permitting the United States, at their discretion, to "regulate, limit, or suspend, but not absolutely prohibit," the coming or residence of Chinese laborers among us, the limitation or suspension to be reasonable, and pledging anew to those already here "the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty." It is not easy, upon a review of what passed between the high functionaries negotiating this treaty, a scanty outline of which only is here brought out, to determine which most impresses us, the keenness and diplomatic skill of our representatives, or the simple and blind confidence in their frankness and sincerity on the part of the Chinese with whom they were dealing.

The ratification of the treaty had not been proclaimed six months before a bill had passed both houses of Congress "suspending" the coming of Chinese laborers to this country for twenty years, and requiring of those already in the country, entitled by treaty to every right and privilege of any other foreigner here, if they desired to leave for any purpose, first to register at a custom house and take a passport describing them as particularly as a thief is described in a rogues' gallery, and when they returned to bring back a still more complicated paper, with the adjudication of both Chinese and American officials that they were entitled under this bill to return. The bill encountered the veto of President Arthur, for reasons similar to those given for the veto of its predecessor by President Hayes, but principally because in his opinion a "suspension for twenty years" was virtually a prohibition. The same bill, after reducing the suspension to ten years and slightly modifying the harsh requirements regarding Chinese already here, was again passed and became a law within one month of this veto. But this did not suffice. Two years after, the same bill passed Congress and became a law, amended and largely re-written, mainly in an effort to prevent the fraudulent use of certificates and passports by Chinamen never here before seeking to come in as former residents. These provisions, though deemed necessary to prevent



fraud upon our legislative requirements, bore very heavily upon the honest Chinaman entitled by treaty on his return to enjoy every "privilege, immunity, and exemption" enjoyed by any other foreigner.

But the warfare upon Chinese laborers grew in intensity hour by hour. All political parties on the Pacific coast made common cause in waging it, and all political parties away from there vied with each other in urging it on. Preparatory to the presidential campaign there was a race among politicians of the East for the cup offered by the voters on the Pacific slope to the best hater of these despised Celestials. During the late session of Congress a treaty was negotiated at Washington by the Executive with the Chinese minister resident here, which permitted the absolute exclusion for twenty years of all Chinese laborers, whether once resident or not, except such poor fellows as had left here a wife, child, parent, or one thousand dollars of property, and had also left before going away, with the collector of the port, a minute description in writing of these various articles, and had come back within a year. When this treaty was submitted to the Senate for approval, that body, as if anxious for an opportunity to share in the ultimate opprobrium which must rest on all this business, amended the text, giving the screw one more turn. The Chinese minister acquiesced with a sigh, but the amendments required ratification in China, which was likely to consume too much of the valuable time which was needed in the race. Congress, without waiting, passed an act dependent upon the ratification of this treaty, making it "unlawful for any Chinese person, whether a subject of China or any other power, to enter the United States," except "Chinese officials, students, merchants, or travelers for pleasure or curiosity," and except those who have left behind them when they went away, as before described, wife, child, parent, or property. And all excepted persons were, before setting foot on our soil, compelled to run the gantlet of the most complicated system of listing, description, certificate, and passport that human ingenuity could devise. In the meantime the home government, to which the treaty had been sent back for ratification, began to show some signs of "the spirit of a man," and, demurring to some of the provisions of the treaty, took time for



further deliberation and discussion. Upon the spur of a mere rumor that the treaty had been rejected, Congress, in hot anger and in hot haste, for there was no time to lose and the Pacific slope had its ear to the ground, passed, without any reference to committee, a law unqualifiedly and absolutely forbidding any Chinese laborer who now is or shall hereafter be a resident of the United States, who may leave the country, from ever returning on any conditions whatever. President Cleveland approved this bill, after the receipt of official information that the treaty had *not* been rejected by the Chinese government, but that there were points in it which they desired to reconsider with us. He accompanied this approval, however, with a special message giving good reasons why he should not have approved it at all, and suggesting alterations and amendments of the very bill which he had just signed.

This is a brief summary of our dealings by treaty and legislation with the subject of Chinese immigration during a period of twenty years, culminating in an absolute exclusion from our shores hereafter of all Chinese laborers, both those coming for the first time and those returning here, no matter what relations of business or family they have left behind under a treaty pledge of safe return and undisturbed residence. There is much more of the same color and tenor left unwritten in these pages, but enough is here disclosed to furnish material for an accurate judgment of the wisdom and justice of the policy to which we are committed. The position taken by our government, in reversal of the doctrine of the Burlingame treaty, that every nation must reserve to itself control of foreign immigration to its shores and be itself the judge of the extent and character of the limitations to be put upon it, is without question a sound one. Anything less than this would be fatal to its independence and power of self-preservation. It is not the assertion of this power, but the manner and the assigned cause for its assertion, which will be likely to occasion criticism. There has been nothing open or manly either in the negotiation of the treaties that conceded it or in the legislation in conformity to, as well as that in conflict with, those treaties. There is nowhere in the whole series an avowal of the real purpose which prompted our persistent zeal. The great



public works which brought Chinese laborers here had been accomplished, and they were in the way of laborers of other nationalities and must be got rid of. "Sand-lotters" like Dennis Kearney began the movement, demagogues took it up, and politicians carried it forward. It would not do to put exclusion upon the ground upon which Mr. Seward based it in his approach to the Chinese for a modification of the Burlingame treaty, namely, the necessity of keeping out "cooly laborers, criminals, prostitutes, and diseased persons," for that would be of general application and must be enforced at Castle Garden as well as at the Golden Gate. Indeed, recent investigations have demonstrated the absolute need, if immigrants of either of these four classes are to be excluded in the interest of good morals, free labor, or the safety of life and property, that the work must begin, and in earnest, too, on the Atlantic coast and among the immigrants of other nationalities who are crowding our Eastern ports. These considerations not only fail to appear in this whole business, but were openly repudiated by our commissioners when the Chinese offered to make them the basis of a treaty as proposed by Mr. Seward. We could have stood justified before the world in excluding "cooly laborers, criminals, prostitutes, and diseased persons," provided only that we enforced the rule right and left and without discrimination of nationality. But this did not answer our purpose, and we put away from under our feet this solid foundation and planted ourselves on the untenable ground of discriminating, not only against a particular race, but against those alone of that race who followed a particular mode of seeking a livelihood, and that, too, one in and of itself lawful, commendable, and pursued among us by every other nationality under the sun. It is Chinese *laborers* alone that must go.

Exclusion for any other reason except the bad character or condition of the individual immigrant is in direct conflict with the traditions, the institutions, and the policy of this country from the foundation of the government. From the time that our fathers charged it as a grievance against the king, in the Declaration of Independence, that he had "obstructed the laws for the naturalization of foreigners and refused to pass others to encourage their immigration hither," to this day, with the single exception



we are considering, our whole policy has been that of encouragement and facility to immigrants, without qualification or question save as to individual unfitness, and that in such a halting and limited manner as to be practically of no value. It has been our boast that this land has been the asylum of the oppressed and down-trodden, the home of the wretched, and the refuge of the political disturbers of all other lands. Millions of all nationalities have flocked hither and cast their lot among us without let or hinderance. We have by law created commissions and appropriated large sums of money to encourage and promote immigration. Even while the Burlingame treaty was pending we put upon the statute book, where it still remains, the declaration that "the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that "in recognition of this principle this government has freely received emigrants from all nations and invested them with the rights of citizenship"; and, further, that "any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, impairs, or questions the right of expatriation is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic." Side by side with this formal and solemn declaration that every man has a natural and inherent right to change his country and allegiance, stands this other declaration, that if the emigrant be only a Chinaman and toils as other men for his daily bread he shall never come to these shores. It is his inherent right to take passage, but not to land. It is "inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic" to prevent his severing his allegiance to China, and yet there is no inconsistency in shutting the door in his face when he gets here. He thus becomes "a man without a country," all in accordance with "the fundamental principles of the Republic."

It may be claimed that this legislation is, after all, but a just exercise of the admitted power to exclude bad persons, and that the term "Chinese laborer" is a proper description of a man whose moral qualities would work such harm to the Republic that public safety requires his exclusion. But this is a pretense covering up something else. Toil does not make a man bad. Is a



Chinaman a better man for being an idler, a dissolute rover from place to place, a mountebank, a player of tricks, a showman, than he would be if he had dug the earth with a shovel or driven a railroad spike? And yet the idlers are received, and the Chinese laborer forever shut out, by the act of October 1, 1888.

Equally unjustifiable would this policy be as a warfare against "cheap labor." If it were an honest effort to elevate the character and enhance the compensation of labor in this country, it would not be concentrated on Chinese labor alone. Cheap labor is a curse, not because it comes from China but because it *is* cheap, and consequently sure to be degraded, and is equally so come it from China or the Sandwich Islands to the Pacific coast, or from Italy or Bohemia or any other country bed-ridden by a vicious industrial system to the ports on the Atlantic coast, and the remedy must be of general application or it will be useless. But how absurd would be the idea of establishing a labor quarantine at San Francisco and New York and other ports, not based on character, but solely for the examination by experts of laborers before landing as to their ideas of a fair compensation for their work, and as to what security they could give that they would not set the value of their labor below the existing average. The evils which cheap and degraded labor brings in its train are not to be cured by making laborers scarce but by making employment plenty.

It is too early to speculate with much confidence upon the effect of this legislation upon our commercial relations with China, or upon the attitude of the Chinese government and people, consequent upon this treatment of Chinese subjects here, toward our merchants, missionaries, and teachers domiciled in that country, and the vast interests with which they are connected. The little that has as yet reached us from the Celestial Empire upon the subject is, in point of date, between the time of the ratification of the treaty with the amendments of the Senate, assented to by the Chinese minister at Washington, and the passage of the act of Oct. 1st, but that little augurs an uncomfortable time for that minister and all connected with these transactions. The people, in a rage, undertook to tear down the minister's house, and a Peking official, with what weight of



authority is not yet known, published a letter from which the following extract is taken :

“If the obnoxious American bill should be carried into effect, there will be no other course open for China, consistent with her dignity as a nation, than to adopt retaliatory measures by prohibiting the citizens of the United States from coming to China. This will be by no means proportionate to the harm done to the Chinese interests in America, but it will have to be done, in order to show that the Chinese can do the same thing, and, if this will have no effect in bringing the United States Congress and the United States government to reason and fairness, then it will be a question for China to consider whether it is not time for her to cancel her treaties made with that country, to recall her subjects from there, to expel all the United States citizens from this country, and to cease all relations and intercourse, diplomatic and commercial, with that country.”

When they come to know that by the enactment of the bill referred to not only are all Chinese laborers who have never been in the country, but all others in China who, under a treaty pledge of safe return, left all their effects and wives and children and parents here, are forever shut out, the disturbance can only be measured by the manly spirit which this test will prove to exist in that government and people. But whatever course the Chinese government may take, this chapter in the history of our diplomacy and legislation cannot fail to meet the condemnation of calmer and more unprejudiced times. The descent from the high plane of national tradition and policy to this low level has been rapid and easy and the recovery may be slow and difficult, but if it does not come the republic is sure to suffer irreparable detriment.

H. L. DAWES.



## A RAID UPON THE TREASURY.

It is not uncommon, among children of lesser or of larger growth, to meet with the clear and guileless conviction that in a destructive fire, if only there is full insurance, nobody loses anything. A more striking illustration of the same spirit of child-like and optimistic faith came to my knowledge once in a small southern city, from which they told me that fifteen thousand dollars a month was sent to the Louisiana State Lottery. It did not seem to my informants that there was in this any loss to anybody, worth speaking of, while the occasional prize of a few hundreds or even thousands, which at long intervals dropped into their town, seemed to them like an unmixed and heaven-sent blessing. I do remember, indeed, some sore complaints of a lack of money in the community, inflicting many hardships; but it was not felt that the Louisiana Lottery had anything to do with this, except to alleviate it with its comfortable prizes.

What wonder then, since human nature is capable of such happy illusions, that the general public should take the like cheerful view of the subject of pensions. It is a subject in relation to which a fatherly government appears in its most benignant aspect—not as exacting, forbidding, chastising, but simply as bestowing in sheer bounty; and the glory of this beneficence is that it costs nobody anything. These bountiful millions of money that make so many worthy people comfortable, do not come out of anybody's pocket. They come out of the pot of gold which some of our poetic statesmen have discovered at the foot of the rainbow. In some prosaic and literal sense of the word, indeed, it may be said that we all contribute toward them in hard—sometimes very hard—cash paid in hand to the customs-collector. But if this churlish thought ever occurs to us, we need only remember that this is the sort of taxation of which the more we pay the richer we grow, so that the whole business is a benefaction at both ends: "it blesses him that gives and him that



takes." In this view we find a new argument in favor of a liberal pension pay-roll—that without this outlet to the Treasury we should be in all the greater danger of being ruined in our industry and commerce by a reduction of our tax-bills. Which may heaven forefend!

It has not always seemed to work so, indeed. The most thorough experiment of this method of national beneficence that has ever been made, perhaps, was in progress in France a hundred years ago, when it was rudely interrupted by the Revolution, so that we cannot point to the triumphant ultimate result of it as we might otherwise have done. We cannot even deny that things just at that time were in a bad way, despite all the blessings of the pension system. Business-like Mr. Neckar took the public finances in hand, and was greatly dissatisfied to find a public pension-list of twenty-seven millions of livres, besides a private pension-list the amount of which it was thought expedient to keep very private indeed. We laugh at the ridiculous smallness of the sum—we who have been educated up to far more splendid ideas of what a government ought to disburse in the way of charity. But sober, prosaic Mr. Neckar had no such sense of the humor of it; and Jacques Bonhomme, representing some millions of not very well-to-do people, churlishly declined to regard it as a laughing matter at all. Notwithstanding all that could be said to him of the advantage of having so much public money annually disbursed in his neighborhood, thus creating a home market for his produce at the *château*, he obstinately looked upon it as a very serious matter; thought that times were hard and his family were starving, and that his share of the twenty-seven millions would do him more good if the government would kindly leave it in his pocket where it belonged, instead of taking it away to Paris, and sending part of it back to encourage a home market in which he would not be able to buy anything. In fact, he thought so positively and acted so rashly in the case, that he presently smashed in pieces the fatherly government and its beneficent pension system, leaving it impossible for posterity to point to the practical demonstration of what it would have accomplished if it had gone on developing at the splendid rate at which our American system is moving.



But is it fair to compare our American pension system, even in its widest contemplated expansion, with that iniquitous abuse which was one of the provocations to the French Revolution? Well, not exactly fair. There is no doubt that the American system is at some points by far the worse and more shameful of the two. To begin with, it deals with immensely greater sums of money. Then, secondly, by a wider distribution of these sums, in small portions, to a larger number of persons, it effects a wider demoralization of the recipients of the largesses, at the same time that it intrenches itself more securely against possible measures of resistance and reform, behind the self-interest of a large number of voters and their friends. Furthermore, the American system is unpleasantly differentiated from the French of the "*old régime*," by enormous enterprise in public plundering, carried on with a peculiarly disgusting cant of pretended patriotic sentiment. Who could read the following words and not feel that they were the irrepressible overflow of a heart welling up with an ecstasy—an agony—of love to the country and its defenders?

"No government can afford to higggle with its preservers over the price of their blood; nor is it a becoming thing to thrust a contemptible statute of limitations, the last resort of a dishonest debtor, into the faces of the maimed who are living or of the widows and orphans of the dead, in full payment of the most sacred obligations ever incurred by a nation in the history of the world."

Who would guess that this outburst of love for the country's defenders was only the voice of one of the most venomous of the copperheads who during the war were busy in stinging the heels of "Lincoln's hirelings," and who is here spending his cheap rhetoric in pushing in Congress the fortunes of as knavish a plot for stealing other people's money as was ever concocted in a den of thieves? Such nauseating hypocrisy, worthy of Pecksniff or Tartufe, showing through the effusive philanthropy and patriotism that are made the pretext of continually-renewed attempts at public robbery, is of a sort to provoke honest citizens to an unreasonable impatience with the very idea of a pension system.

For, of course, there is an honest and righteous work to be done by military pensions. It is the definite work of providing for the relief of disabilities incurred in and by the military



service of the country. No one objects to it. Every good citizen is heartily in favor of it. From the beginning, the provision for it by general law has been ample and generous. No hinderance has been put between any soldier disabled in the service, and the public treasury, beyond some very reasonable conditions to prevent the nation's money from being captured by fraud. That frauds have been frequent in spite of such precautions, and that in multitudes of instances the nation's bounty has been wasted on worthless objects, we have all known, and have not complained at the inevitable large percentage of loss incurred in the fulfillment of a plain duty.

It is just this simple and definite duty of the nation, and this honest and universal disposition to fulfill it largely and liberally, that have furnished the basis for a system of organized thieveries from the public, and for projects of open and wholesale robbery, the profits of which (after the men who have done the work have pocketed their heavy deductions) are to be applied in enabling able-bodied men to live in idleness, or in adding gratuities to the incomes of people who do not pretend to be in want, or, at best, in relieving necessities that are nowise traceable to the effects of military service, and for which the government has no more responsibility than for any other cases of suffering among its citizens.

To what dimensions this mischievous and demoralizing abuse is swiftly growing may be judged from the way in which it has already grown. In January, 1879, fourteen years after the close of the war, was passed an act for instigating and facilitating frauds upon the public treasury, commonly known as the Arrears of Pensions Act. In 1862, the law had been that pensions should begin from the date of discharge from the service, when the claim had been filed within one year from that date, otherwise that they should begin from the date of filing the claim. In 1864, the time within which a claim filed might secure arrears of pension was extended to three years, and in 1868, to five years. And there it rested, everybody being satisfied that five years was long enough for a man to find out whether he had been disabled or not. There was no pretense that any considerable class of deserving claimants suffered hardship on account of this limitation, or that relief by private bill was not ready to flow



forth to exceptional cases. The pressure for a change did not come from the soldiers. General Hawley declared this in the Senate, and no man better knows the mind of the soldiers than he. The stimulus, he declared, started from Washington, and went out into the country to come back to Washington again.

Where the carcass is, the vultures will be gathered. Where the great surplus is lying in the Treasury, the hungry, eager, able, and thoroughly-organized thieves of public money will be established alongside, and will have their accomplices where they are most needed. There is absolute genius in the audacity with which the Washington ring of pension-thieves laid and carried through the plan by which the sum of five hundred millions of dollars was to be lifted out of the Treasury. By diligent correspondence and personal operation in all parts of the country, under the stimulus of the enormous plunder to be divided, the appearance of a demand was created. The bill to make every pension grant retro-active to the date of discharge was skillfully drawn with the omission of obvious precautions against fraud; was adroitly brought into Congress in such a way as to evade the customary scrutiny of committees and tests of debate; was rushed to a vote (under assurances from Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, that it would cost only \$19,000,000—at the outside, \$30,000,000 \*); and then, in spite of warnings from Secretary Sherman, of the Treasury Department, that it would call for not less than \$150,000,000, was signed by President Hayes. And when it became a law, says General Hawley in the Senate, “the soldiers were as much surprised as anybody.” Secretary Schurz, from the Department of the Interior, urged that some provision be made against frauds; for Secretary Schurz apparently did not understand that this would have defeated the intent of the act. But Senator Benjamin Harrison, when the great robbery had been effected, and there was some harmless talk of repealing the act, ventured the safe and thoroughly defensible remark that it was “anomalous that five hundred millions of

\* Nothing would be more unjust than to insinuate that this senator was a willful accomplice of the thieves in whose interest he was working. If he had been a less honest man he would not have been half as useful to them.



dollars should be paid out of the Treasury on mere *ex parte* affidavits."

The consequence was what might have been foreseen. The nation had offered a bonus of \$1,000 cash, besides future payments, for every new pension claim that could be proved. The gang of claim agents in Washington were busy urging ex-soldiers everywhere to solicit government aid, and assuring them of "our unusual facilities." What wonder, considering the infirmities of human nature, that the invitation to step up and take a thousand dollars apiece, with an annuity, out of the Treasury, "on a mere *ex parte* affidavit," should be accepted in the same large spirit in which it was offered; that men in comfortable circumstances, who had been ashamed to ask for twelve dollars a month, should find the offer of a thousand dollars in a lump to be quite a different matter; and that men in comfortable health should become conscious all at once of hitherto unsuspected disorders, traceable through subtle lines of causation to a longer or shorter military service? Of course, as everybody (except Senator Blair) might have known, and as everybody now does know, there were frauds innumerable. And the senator from New Hampshire, whose guileless hands had been employed to pull the lanyard to explode this mine under the Treasury, could only remark, as he saw the rogues running away with the gold, that he had no idea that it was loaded to that extent.

We have had General Hawley's testimony that the pressure for this great robbery did not proceed from the soldiers. It was concocted and carried through by the dens of pension-thieves in Washington, and their confederates in Congress and in various parts of the country. But the same cannot be said of the like schemes that have followed this. One of the most pitiable results of the Arrears of Pensions Act was the demoralization of the ex-soldiers; not merely the demoralization indicated by such facts as were told to the Senate through Mr. Beck by the officers of the various Soldiers' Homes—that the payments under this act emptied their institutions for weeks thereafter, the pensioners drifting back little by little, suffering the miserable consequences of a long debauch. To a painful extent, the ex-soldiers throughout the nation were intoxicated by these copious drafts from the



Treasury, and began to rave and threaten, like drunken men demanding more drink. Their organizations for mutual aid and good-fellowship were turned into political machines, not for the promotion of public ends, but for the one purpose of public plunder for the personal profit of the members. Candidates for office were pledged to the support of new projects of robbery, under the threat of being opposed by "the soldier vote." The next scheme for "distributing the surplus" was a bill for the promotion of thriftlessness and the punishment of private virtue, which provides that any ex-soldier who by industry and thrift shall have taken good care of himself and his family and laid up something for a rainy day, shall be excluded from the privileges of that act, and that spendthrifts and dead-beats and sharpers with wit enough to put their property under other names, shall have the run of the Treasury. And the two houses of Congress were bullied into passing this bill—the "Dependent Pension Bill," so-called—under the open and impudent threat, that if they refused to pass it they would presently be compelled to pass something a great deal worse. The Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic came before the Senate Committee, and through General Merrill served its warning upon Congress. General Merrill, in behalf of his committee, said in substance,

"We are opposed to a universal pension of eight dollars a month to every soldier irrespective of conditions. We have been endeavoring to sustain that position; but the pressure for the eight-dollar-a-month bill is growing more formidable than ever. If you do not pass the 'disability bill' soon, you will have to pass a universal pension bill. The Pension Committee of the Grand Army of the Republic cannot stand out much longer unless something is done speedily."

And Mr. Blair, of the Senate Committee, thought this was worthy of serious consideration, and that the disability bill had better be adopted as a compromise between the United States and the Grand Army of the Republic. In the last Congress, between 1,100 and 1,200 posts had petitioned for a service pension. There was a strong demand for it from the "soldier element." The demand had an astounding aspect as far as public taxation was concerned. He believed that if we should say to "the soldier element," We



are not able to pay it, but we will go further than we have ever gone hitherto, and pass the disability bill, that proposition would "be met by the soldier element as fair and equitable and just."

How fully justified was General Merrill's warning to Congress that it had not heard the worst of the demands of the Grand Army of the Republic, and how effective would have been the costly tub which Mr. Blair was preparing to throw over to that voracious whale, may be inferred from the following Resolution and Report adopted at the late National Encampment of the Grand Army, at Columbus, by the decisive vote of 356 to 22:

"Resolved: That this Encampment favors the presentation of a bill to Congress which will give to every soldier, sailor, and marine who served in the Army and Navy of the United States between April, 1861, and July, 1865, for the period of sixty days or more, a service pension of \$8 per month, and to all who served a period exceeding 800 days an additional amount of one cent per day for each day's service exceeding that period.

"Your committee also earnestly advocate the passage of a bill placing the widows of Union soldiers, sailors, and marines on the pension list without regard to the term of the service or the cause of the soldier's death.

"And your committee further report that we do not withdraw our repeated approval of the bill now before Congress which was proposed and indorsed by the National Pension Committee of the G. A. R., known as the Disability Bill."

Senator Blair says that this has "an astounding aspect" in its relation to taxation; and it takes a good deal to astound Senator Blair. What the disability bill would cost he does not know; \$25,000,000, he says, "would not begin to cover it"—a safe statement. The proposed service pension bill he thinks would cost from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000 annually; and if he is as near right as he was in his estimate of the cost of arrears of pensions, it ought not to cost over three or four thousand millions a year. But who supposes that the demands of the Grand Army of the Republic will stop here? Is there any one of the speeches of Mr. Ingalls, or of that intense patriot, Mr. Voorhees, in favor of the Arrears of Pensions Bill of 1879, that will not apply, without changing a syllable, to the demand, in the name of common justice and a grateful country, for arrears, running back to the war, for every one of the new pensioners about to be created? And will Mr. Blair, of the Senate Commit-



tee on Pensions, kindly pull out his pencil and oblige us with a few figures as to the probable amount of this little bill?

Already the enlarged future demands of "the soldier element" begin to be formulated with a lucidity and definiteness which leave little to be desired. In the columns of perhaps the most mischievous of the journals printed at Washington in this interest, we find the following program laid down:

"We must have \$12 a month pension, \$144 a year, till we all die. We must have arrears clear back to the war, which will buy us all homes."

It undoubtedly would suffice for this, if the discount to the pension agency was not too large. The amount would be \$3,456 for each man, cash down.

"We must have all our bounties equalized. The Republican Party is pledged to do all these things. The election of Harrison secures to us all these things."

Can we afford to laugh at the enormity of schemes of public plunder such as these? Is there anything less hopeful in the plot for stealing five thousand millions next year than there was in the plot for stealing five hundred millions ten years before? Is there a leading politician at the North, of either party, that dares open his mouth against these shameless conspiracies against the nation in the late presidential campaign? Did not both the parties bid against each other, in promises of public money for the soldier vote, to buy the presidency by largesses to this prætorian guard?

There is not room here to say the tenth part of the plain words that need to be said on this subject, and that no one seems ready to say. It looks highly probable that the next Congress and the next Executive will unite in some measure unprecedentedly ruinous and infamous; that the party whose boast has been that it would maintain the American workingman in his superiority to the European workingman, will deliberately impose upon American industry the identical burden of war taxation, to be borne through generations to come, under which the industry of the older nations is bowed into the dust; so that it shall be said of us as, with such bitter truth, it has been said of them, that "the workman goes to his labor carrying a soldier strapped upon his back."

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.



## GETTING INTO PRINT.

SOLOMON tells us that there is nothing new under the sun; but he spoke from insufficient data. When he enumerates the various vanities to which human nature is subject, he omits to mention the desire of seeing one's self in print, because that desire was born a good many years after his time. The exact date is not known, but it was probably not very much after 1252, in which year printing was invented. That there should be nothing said about this natural yearning in any ancient publication is not to the point, because each writer obviously must have obtained his wish, and no doubt forgot all about it as soon as it was gratified. It is difficult to imagine any one yearning to have his thoughts appear in black-letter; but Leigh Hunt, in his charitable, delightful way, contends that even the habit of cutting one's initials on historical memorials and on trees, is not only natural but even commendable, since it arises from the desire for fame on the part of those who have no other means of obtaining it. Only a few people read black-letter and initials on trees, and in neither case was there any *honorarium* for the author. Indeed, to do it justice, the desire of seeing one's self in print has no association with the lust of gain; in its first bloom, at least, it is as far removed from all considerations of lucre as is the desire of the youthful savage for his first scalp. And yet one cannot say that the motive is solely honor and glory. There is a good deal of egotism, and perhaps not a little vanity, in the matter. As the young warrior is admired by the squaws for being "decorated" with that proof of his prowess, so the young writer with his first "proof" receives the congratulations of his female friends. He has emerged from the ruck of mankind and become an author.

Upon this it may justly be observed that in nine cases out of ten he had much better not have emerged; but then, unless this had happened in the tenth case, even the man of genius would



never have become an author at all. There are similar objections to marriage; but the world must be peopled, and though the great majority of us are not worth much, a few are valuable members of society, and it would be a pity to nip them in the bud. At all events here we are, and that being so, those that have brought us into the world are bound to do the best for us. The same reasoning applies to the desire of seeing one's self in print; it may be a morbid ambition, but the thing exists, and those who harbor it increase and multiply. Under these circumstances, it is perhaps only reasonable that one who has been the literary godfather of a good many beginners should offer aspirants a few words of advice.

I take it for granted that the aspiration of the would-be man of letters is of modest dimensions; that he wishes to contribute something to a periodical, and not to publish a book. Indeed, if he be a rich man, he will not, in the latter case, need any help. Any fool can bring out a book if he is able to pay for its publication. People with literary proclivities are, however, generally poor; and moreover it must be remembered that the author of a volume need not obtain even a single reader, whereas the contributor of an article to a magazine has at least a good chance of finding some among its many subscribers. The mere seeing one's self in print, though no doubt a delightful experience, is not very satisfactory unless we can get other people to look at us.

I do not pretend, of course, to suggest the character of the composition; if that—with one exception, however—does not suggest itself to the writer his chance is small indeed. The exception is poetry. Almost all persons who have made their mark in the world of letters have begun as poets; they echo more or less harmoniously the songs of their favorite bards; they think they are going to die young (though not before they have made themselves immortal by their touching verses), and take melancholy leave of a world with which they have not yet made acquaintance. It is very difficult to persuade these "one-foot-in-the-grave-young-men," as Mr. Gilbert calls them, to take any counsel from anybody. Their genius knows no law and needs no teaching. Still, I would venture to suggest to them that if they want to appear in print, they had better not, just at first, write



epics, hundreds of lines of blank verse, nor indeed blank verse at all; an editor's face is apt to reflect the blank. I need hardly say that they should not write five-act plays. Translations of the "Odes" of Horace, also, perhaps they will permit me to suggest, are not recommendations in themselves on the score of novelty.

I suppose a poet would hardly think of sending his lucubrations to the "Mechanic's Magazine" or the "Political Economist," but the prose writer in embryo knows nothing of anomaly and inappropriateness. It is quite amazing how he leaves out of the question the suitability of his contribution to the publication which he proposes to patronize; he thinks only of the harmony of his own composition, and not at all of its adaptability to the "organ" to which he sends it. Yet this is a most important consideration. First impressions are almost as valuable in literature as in art; and what sort of an opinion must an editor form of a contributor who has not taken the trouble to study the character of his magazine, and has perhaps even addressed it under a wrong title? To send along with his contribution a letter of several pages, containing a little biography of himself, with a passing reference to his ancestors, and concluding with his literary aspirations, is a form of self-introduction often used by the young author, but one which I do not recommend. The contribution should speak for itself. There is even a worse plan than this, namely, the calling with it in person and demanding an interview, with the object of explaining it *viva voce*. This is indeed what Artemus Ward used to call "a high-handed outrage in Utica" to all editorial feeling. It is not to be denied that in the case of a young and pretty female contributor this scheme may have its advantages; but I protest even against that as manifestly unfair. By all means send a letter with your article, but let it be a very short one; write your name and address on your manuscript; enclose stamps, but not a stamped envelope (that is really too tempting for human nature); and, in a word, give your editor as little trouble as possible.

The question of private introductions is a difficult one. It is right to hold as a literary dogma that "an editor has no friends"—though it seems rather hard upon him since he makes



so many enemies—but this must be taken with a grain of salt. Of course he has friends, and unfortunately some very injudicious ones. They not only worry him often with very sad stuff of their own, but encourage *their* friends to shoot their rubbish at him. It is hardly to be expected that those who are consumed by such a passionate desire as that of appearing in print, will be so chivalrous as Adelaide Proctor, who, though well known to Dickens, always sent her contributions to "Household Words" anonymously and written by an amanuensis; but they should not abuse their friendship with an editor, however much they may privately abuse *him*. In nine cases out of ten he is not the proprietor of the periodical he conducts, and they should remember, in requesting him to stretch a point in their favor, that he must do it at another person's expense. One cannot expect them, being human, not to take advantage of their "pull"; but I would counsel them to pull gently, and if the bell is not answered, not to pull more than half a dozen times.

While we are on these delicate matters, I would also respectfully suggest that a letter sent as an *avant-courier* by a total stranger, requesting to know how much the editor pays a page, is not as a rule an epistle of recommendation as regards the promised manuscript. To send a story "by the author of" a great many other stories, which, ten to one, the editor never heard of, or to add to the writer's name "contributor to" the "Sunday Spy," the "Saturday Sledge-hammer," or some other periodical little known to fame, is also a bad plan. It is something like putting A. S. S. after one's name, which, in default of the initials of some really learned or well-thought-of society, had better be omitted.

Unless he has really nothing else to write about, let the man who has a passion to appear in print avoid "recollections of travel." All the world travels nowadays, and a writer of exceptional talent is required to invest the subject with interest. To describe in detail what a bad breakfast you got at some place in Asia Minor, or how you had to wait for dinner among the Crim Tartars, is very little more interesting than the same incident in New York or London. If the writer has had



an exceptional experience—was driven, for example, to *eat* a Crim Tartar—this observation of course does not apply; but your ordinary traveler, though he often bores you to death, is rarely a cannibal. Another subject to be avoided is translations. It is quite remarkable how, at a time when there is nothing extraordinary in the possession of half a dozen languages, people continue to plume themselves upon their knowledge of French and German. To make a translation interesting requires not only a good subject, but one that recommends itself to the taste of English readers, and an intelligent as well as accomplished adaptor, who can free himself from trammels (the style of progression of most translations being that of jumping in sacks). But even when all is done, and done well, a translation is generally but a poor thing.

It may not unnaturally be remarked that this advice to would-be authors is mostly of the negative kind; but that is from the necessity of the case. I cannot picture to myself, though I have very often been asked to do so, the particular line that a young writer's genius may happen to take. His turn of mind may be humorous, in which case let him avoid flippancy; or dramatic, when he must steer clear of too much "sensation," or he will be humorous without intending it; he may be theological, artistic, or Heaven knows what. But whatever he writes about, let him write legibly. Editors are not so much in want of contributions that they will waste their eyesight over manuscripts which, twenty chances to one, will never repay their pains. Moreover, in these type-writing times there is no sort of excuse for it. For a few shillings anything can now be copied so clearly that it is almost as good as print, while a duplicate of the article is at the same time retained. If the writer loses his would-be contribution in the post, it at once becomes "invaluable," just as when a trout gets off one's hook we immediately persuade ourselves that it was the biggest fish in the river.

As a general rule, the best thing to which a young writer can apply his wits is a description of some personal experience of his own. The more remarkable it is of course the better, since the less he will have to rely upon excellence of treatment to make it interesting. It is far easier to describe than to imagine, to recall an incident to memory than to invent one. Some persons,



like Single-speech Hamilton in another line, have acquitted themselves admirably in this way just once, and never entered the lists of literature again—an example not encouraging to quote, but their desire to see themselves in print at least is gratified.

The neophyte in letters should give as little introductory matter as possible; there is nothing like a preface for putting an editor out of temper. He exclaims to himself, with Macbeth, "Why does not this fellow leave off making his damnable faces and begin?" Only a very few people can perform in literature what is called in military drill "marking time"; the writer should make haste to get on with his story. If he can open with a striking scene, so much the better; but this necessitates a somewhat high level of interest throughout. It must not be his only dramatic situation; and he must be very careful to keep what the postboys call "a gallop for the avenue"—something good to finish with. It disappoints an editor very much to find a narrative which had at first favorably impressed him "fizzle out" like a spent firework. The true story-teller always keeps his "finis" in mind, and leads up to it from the first.

I would impress also another thing upon the neophyte in story telling: that he must have a story to tell. It is no use for him to write aimlessly and trust to "inspiration," as he wildly calls it, to provide him with interesting material. The mistake of the young fictionist is to narrate a series of adventures, at the end of each of which all interest ceases, and he has to begin to weave his web again, when perhaps his flies escape and never give him another chance of catching them. He makes very hard work for the reader, who has no momentum to carry him up the next hill.

The personal introduction of the writer into his story is also much to be deprecated; it will take all he knows to give *vraisemblance* to his little drama, and he should be careful not to endanger it by showing his head before the curtain. True, Thackeray did it, but we are not so curious to see every writer as we were to see Thackeray.

The placing the scene of a story in a foreign land is always disadvantageous. It may be mere ignorance which causes untraveled readers to prefer stories of their own land, but such is the fact. They feel the same want of reality in stories of



foreign countries as in a fairy tale. All editors know this, and look askance at such productions. This is still more true of the historical story. Mr. Blackmore, it is true, has delighted us all with his "Lorna Doone," and Mr. Besant with his "Chaplain of the Fleet," but the gentleman whose desire is to appear in print is not likely to be either a Blackmore or a Besant at starting. At one time, thanks to Walter Scott, there was a rage for stories of the middle ages, but that has utterly died out. Even genius such as dwelt in George Eliot was unable to contend against the two drawbacks of a distant scene and a distant age, as in "Romola," which, notwithstanding its great merits, never obtained the popularity of her home novels. "This may be a faithful picture of life and manners as they once existed," says the reader to himself, "but I have only the author's word for it; I prefer something of the truth of which I can judge for myself." A very uncultured view of matters, no doubt, but not an unnatural one, and for my own part I confess I sympathize with it. Many a famous writer, such as the authors of "Hereward" and "The Last of the Barons," for example, has broken his strong teeth over *this* file. For similar reasons, but also because it smacks of affectation and shows poverty of expression, a writer should never interlard his dialogue with French phrases; it is quite as offensive to use them in writing as in conversation. A still worse vulgarity is the frequent use of italics. It evinces a want of sense of proportion—a thing of great importance in composition—and sets an editor who knows his business almost as much against a manuscript as bad spelling.

A very common practice with young writers is to indicate the names of their localities, and sometimes even of their characters, by an initial letter. Their imagination must indeed be at a low ebb to be reduced to such a strait as this. It is difficult to interest an editor in what goes on "at W——, in 18—," and still more so in the amatory passages between "Mr. A——" and "Miss B——." This method of expression may arise from extreme delicacy of mind; but I am afraid, as in physical matters, the delicacy involves a certain weakness. Again, it may be due to modesty that some young writers never express themselves with certainty, but always put in an "almost" or a "perhaps" in their state-



ments, which has the same undesirable effect as adding water to skimmed milk. These are trifles, but it is possible that the whole contribution may be a trifle, and only preserved from rejection by its freedom from these irritating drawbacks. "The service of the Creator," once observed a certain divine to a younger member of the same profession, of whose acquirements he was somewhat jealous, "stands in no need of our wisdom"; to which the other not unreasonably rejoined, "But it still less stands in need of our folly"; and even in less important matters, such as literature, it is worth while to avoid affectation, carelessness, and insolence.

Genius has been described as "an infinite capacity for taking pains," and even without genius an aspirant to literary honors is likely to be successful precisely in proportion to the care and attention he gives to every portion of the work he has set himself to do. The best motto, indeed, for the disciple of literature is, "Take pains," and not the more frequently inculcated maxim, "Try again." Perseverance is in most cases a necessity; but all the perseverance in the world, and even all the taking pains, are useless unless the aspirant has some natural gift. His case is not that of Bruce's spider, who had only to try often enough to obtain his object; it is more often that of the moth in the candle, which consumes itself "in fruitless flame." In almost all other things the old provincial proverb, "It is dogged as does it," holds good; but it is not so in letters. The conclusion of the undergraduate, plucked in many examinations, who, "at last disgusted, took and cussed it, and didn't try again," is one which he who has a desire to see himself in print is very loth to come to. He prefers to think that there is a universal conspiracy to suppress his genius. Yet if what he writes is really good, is it reasonable to suppose that a dozen editors, one after another, would reject it, when the very thing they are looking for, for their own sakes, is a good contribution. The want of this in fact is almost the sole reason why so many bad ones find their way into print. The editor does not care one penny whether his would-be contributor is old or young, rich or poor, saint or sinner, but only about his article being acceptable. Nay, as one who "knows the ropes" has well expressed it, he



is "apt to overvalue the merely readable work of an unknown hand, because even mediocrity shines out against the general average of volunteered contributions." Moreover, there are "dead seasons," when good work comes sparingly in, and he is obliged to provide against them by occasionally accepting what is not quite up to the mark.

Nevertheless, the inveterate persistence of the "rejected" has to me, who have known hundreds of such cases, something very pathetic about it. They cannot understand why this passionate desire of theirs to appear in print can never be gratified; and when at last they recognize that all is over, so far as one editor is concerned, who may have rejected them with unusual tenderness, they naively ask him to recommend them by letter to another: "This gentleman is not good enough for my periodical, but is admirably adapted for yours."

There is no more unpleasant, and, too often, no more unthankful task, than, in answer to some last appeal of one who has mistaken his profession, to tell him the honest truth; it is a pill that it is very difficult to swallow. Yet editors have sometimes even more painful duties. A great author once found his editor looking very grave and embarrassed. "I have got to write to a man," he explained, "to tell him his stories will not suit us." "Well, I suppose it is not the first time you have had to do that." "Of course not, but this is S—," naming a writer of great eminence. The author stood aghast. "Yes," continued the editor, "he has broken down; there is no more meat on his bones, and it is rather difficult to tell him so." Terrible news indeed; and yet unless Death—a chambermaid who sometimes oversleeps herself—raps at our door in good time, news that must one day be brought to every one of us.

JAMES PAYN.



## JOTTINGS ON AMERICAN SOCIETY.

DURING a delightful stay of six months in the United States, I was asked by a few Americans a question which I notice they sometimes ask of the foreigners who visit their hospitable shores: "What do you think of America?" Since my return home I have set about answering this question upon paper, and the answer has filled a small volume. At the request of the editor of the FORUM, however, I will make an attempt to give the gist of it in a short article.

It is of course impossible to gain a deep knowledge of so large a country in so little time, but one is bound to have impressions, and those which I formed I distinctly give as such. An eminent American warned me, just before I left the States, not to make the mistake of imagining that I knew, or that it was possible to know, his country in six months. I promptly answered that his caution was needless, and that, if any mistake were made over the book I might write on America, it would be made by those who would take simple *impressions de voyage* for a profound study of a boundless subject. Without pretending, therefore, to sit in judgment upon America, I will attempt to sum up the impressions formed during my stay in the States.

Let me, at the outset, say that my ideas are all jostling in my poor European brain. The Americans are full of *unheard-of-ness*, and their country is getting very much like the land of conjuring. The earth is small, it has often been remarked; but America is large. When one thinks of what the Americans have done in a hundred years of independent life, it looks as if nothing should be impossible to them in the future, considering the inexhaustible resources at their disposal.

America has been doubling her population every twenty-five years. If immigration continues at the same rate as it has hitherto, in fifty years she will have more than 200,000,000 inhabitants. If, during that time, continental Europe makes prog-



ress only in arts and sciences, while the condition of her nations does not improve, she will be to America something like what barbarism is to civilization. While the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the "Firebrandenburgs" of Europe review their troops; while her standing armies cost continental Europe more than a thousand million dollars a year in time of peace; while the European debt is twenty-five thousand million dollars, the American treasury at Washington, in spite of corruption which it is well known does exist, has a large surplus. While European governments cudgel their wits to devise means for meeting the expenses of absolute monarchies, the Washington government is at a loss to know what to do with an "unmanageable surplus." While the European telegrams in the daily papers give accounts of reviews, mobilizations, military and naval maneuvers: of speeches in which the people are reminded that their duty is to serve their emperor first and their country afterward; of blasphemous prayers in which God is asked to bless soldiers, swords, and gunpowder, the American telegrams announce the price of wheat and cattle, and the quotations on the American markets. Happy country that does supply the press with sensational news! Happy country that can get into a state of ebullition over a presidential election or the doings of the pugilist John Sullivan, while Europe in trembling asks herself with the return of each new spring, whether two or three millions of her sons will not be called upon to cut each other's throats for the greater glory of three emperors in search of a little excitement!

America is not only a great nation geographically speaking. The Americans are a great people, holding in their hands their own destiny, learning day by day, with the help of liberty, to govern themselves more and more wisely, and able, thanks to the profound security in which they live, to consecrate all their talents and all their energy to the arts of peace.

That which struck me most in America, from first to last, is the total absence of stupid-looking faces. All are not handsome, but all are intelligent and beaming with activity. In my opinion, it is in this that American beauty mainly consists. In the large cities of the East, the first thing which caught my attention



was the thinness of the men and the plumpness of the women. This seemed to hint that the former lived in a furnace of activity and the latter in cotton wool. This impression soon deepened into a conviction. The more I saw of these large cities and the brilliancy, wit, and refinement of society in them, the plainer it became to me that, if America had thus early rivaled the older nations of Europe in all the elegancies of fashionable life, it was because of its treatment of woman. It seemed to me that her lot was as near to being perfection as an earthly lot could be. A respect amounting to reverence is shown for her, and it appears to be the chief aim of her protectors to surround her with luxury and make her path through life a sunny one. So far as adding to her mental and physical grace goes, this plan of making every woman an uncrowned queen has answered completely. Seeing her high position, she has set herself at work to fill it becomingly; and it is the cultivation of America's daughters, it is their charming independence and a consciousness of their power, that make them so attractive and render American society so delightful to the stranger. In their treatment of woman, the Americans might give more than one lesson to the men of the Old World, even to the Frenchman who, in the matter of politeness, lives a good deal, I am afraid, on the reputation of his ancestors. The respect for woman in America seemed to me to be perfectly disinterested, purely platonic. In France, this respect almost always borders on gallantry. A Frenchman will always stand back to let a woman pass, but he will generally profit by the occasion to take a good look at her.

If an outsider be competent to form an opinion, I venture to say that the American woman does not render to man a tithe of the devotion she receives from him. The French wife repays a husband's devotion by protecting his interest; an American one too often repays it by breaking into his capital. But Jonathan complains not. To him it is only seemly that "beauty should go beautifully." If one fortune goes, he sets to work to make another, and the sweat of his brow is soon crystallizing once more upon the neck and arms of his beloved womankind in the form of diamonds.

The dress of American women must be a considerable item in



the expenditure of the country. They dress well on all occasions, and *portent très bien la toilette*; but they have yet to learn the highest effect in dress: a commingling of simplicity and elegance. To see the street toilettes, one would think that only the looms of Lyons and Genoa were capable of furnishing the material for a woman's gown; and in evening dress there is an apparently deep-rooted tendency to over-elaboration. It must strike Europeans as very droll to see ladies attired in low-necked ball dresses to receive afternoon callers, but I found the practice was universal. Afternoon teas being frequently given to introduce a young girl into society, one could understand a little extra toilette being thought necessary in her case (though in France a woman playing hostess carefully avoids eclipsing her guests); but it is not only the "bud," as she is called, who is in full war paint, it is the bud's mamma, or aunt, or both, in looking at whose bare necks I have often been inclined to exclaim: "Ladies, throw a veil over the past." There is something strikingly incongruous in this jostling of the white satin and tulle of the hostess with the street dress of the callers.

Of all the tasks I set myself while on American soil, that which I found most difficult was getting at the national characteristic traits. By and by it became clear to me that though there are plenty of Americans, *the* American does not exist as yet. The American of the West differs as much from the American of the East as this latter does from the Southerner. In all, however, I was struck with the mixture of a power and energy most manly, with a gentleness almost womanly. The sternest of those pale, often careworn, faces light up with a smile that is sweetness itself.

Another thing that is general in America is the absence of that British crust of reserve, which it sometimes takes a stranger years to break through before he can find the man or woman underneath. An American may be lovable or the contrary, but, whichever it is, you are not long in finding out. After you have met him two or three times, you know whether you have one more friend in the world, or have simply made the acquaintance of one more person between whom and yourself there never can be much sympathy.



The character of the Americans is English from the point of view of its contrasts and contradictions. Is there, for instance, anything more sublime than the way in which the American can combine the sacred and the profane? Why, he is a greater adept at it than John Bull. On board the steamer we had a party of Americans who passed seven days of the voyage in playing poker. The smoking-room rang from morning to night with the oaths that they uttered every time that they threw a card on the table. They were so fluent with them that they hardly used the same twice in an hour. Their stock seemed inexhaustible. On Sunday, after breakfast, a young lady sat down to the piano and began playing hymns. What happened then? Our poker party gathered round the young lady, and for two hours sang psalms and holy tunes to the edification of the other occupants of the saloon. I was dumbfounded. In France we have men who swear, and also men who sing hymns; but I believe that the Anglo-Saxon race alone can furnish men who do both with equal facility and gusto.

There is a pronounced childish side to the character of most Americans. In less than a century they have stridden ahead of the nations of the Old World; they are astonished at their own handiwork, and like children with a splendid toy of their own manufacture in their hands they say to you: "Look, just look; isn't this beautiful?" They like compliments, and are, in spite of all they may say, very sensitive to criticism. They have not yet got over Charles Dickens's "American Notes," nor the still older criticisms of Mrs. Trollope. Scarcely has a foreigner set foot in their country before they ask him what he thinks of America. Sometimes they don't wait until he has landed. I had just arrived on board the "Germanic" in Liverpool when the purser handed me a letter from New York. It was from the editor of a great literary paper. It ran thus:

"Dear Sir: Could you, during the voyage, write an article for me? I should like to publish it soon after your arrival in the States. Subject, your preconceived notions of America." ●

I had heard that the cabman who drove you from the docks to your hotel, asked you as he opened the door of his vehicle: "Well, Sir, and what is your first impression of America?" But



to be asked in Liverpool for my "preconceived notions of America" was, I thought, somewhat humorous. This is a question that a Frenchman and an Englishman never ask on the subject of their respective countries. They are both so sure that nothing can approach the land of their birth that they would save the foreigner the risk of making a fool of himself in criticizing it.

Something which charmed me in almost all the Americans I met was their simplicity, their total freedom from affectation. This did not surprise me. Knowing beforehand something of the immense fund of humor they possess, I had expected to find this naturalness, for humor only springs in simple, unaffected people; it is an unassuming form of wit that one never comes across in a vain, pompous person.

America is the home of all forms of eccentricity and daring. Has not the vastness of the continent the Americans inhabit something to do with this? I think so. There is that boundlessness about the notions of an American which must be born of the vastness, the limitless possibilities of such a great territory. To the American, his own daring and eccentricity are the most natural things in the world, and this is what makes a great part of his charm. He talks of, or does, things that fairly take your breath away just as coolly as if they were matters of everyday occurrence. Parisians remember to this day the American millionaire—I was going to say billionaire—who, on the occasion of his daughter's wedding, wrote to the Town Council of Paris to ask for the loan of the *Arc de Triomphe*, which he was anxious to decorate in honor of the wedding, and have the special use of during the day. He was politely informed that the arch was not to let. "Then I will buy it," he replied; "name your price." An American would ask the Queen of England to let him Windsor Castle for the shooting season, and if she refused a good price for it, he would probably have a very poor idea of her. The looking upon everything and everybody as being to be had at a price, is one of the chief forms of this daring of the American. It would be an ugly trait in his character if often it were not so preposterous as to be amusing, and if it were not backed by a perfect *bonhomie*.



The American is constantly accused by Europeans of worshipping the "almighty dollar," and great was my curiosity to judge for myself of the justice of this charge. After calm observation of the ways of men in America, I came to the conclusion that the dollar was certainly not only the unit of the monetary system, but that it was also the unit of the metrical system. However, I soon saw that, if the dollar was coveted and held in great respect, it was not so much for itself as for the luxury it was the key to; in other words, that avarice was a vice almost unknown in the land. There is a lavishness in the American's way of expending his money that redeems his trick of taking off his hat to it whenever he sees it.

In America, as in England, there are two great political parties. The difference which exists between the American Republicans and Democrats is about the same as that which exists between the English Conservatives and Liberals: one party is in power and tries to stay in; the other is out of it and tries to get in. It is not patriotism, it is *parti-otism*.

An impression, which deepened into conviction with me, was that the Americans, though living under a republic, are really less free than the English under a monarchy. The reason of this apparent anomaly seems to me clearly due to the apathy of refined and enlightened Americans in matters political. In England, public opinion is a haughty, Argus-eyed patrician, accustomed to being obeyed. In America, public opinion is rather an apathetic slave, accustomed to being ignored. Good society in America holds aloof from politics, and, I think, from politicians also. So far as I can see, a gentleman has but to mix himself up in politics in America to become a *déclassé*, to lose caste in polite society. The influence of the best thus withheld means the untrammelled power of a class unfitted by education and antecedents for rein-holding. In England it has always been, and is still, considered that a hand in the ruling of the nation is an honor of which the proudest gentleman may be proud. I am persuaded that the English, monarchists though they be, would obtain even a constitutional reform far sooner than the so-called democrats of America.



Contemporary America seems to me to be governed by the Irish. The Germans, the Scandinavians, all these crowds of foreigners that, year by year, flock to the New World to find a livelihood, and which America gradually assimilates, go West to fell forests and reclaim the land. But the Irish pitch their tents for the most part in the large cities, where they congregate together and take up politics. The city of New York, which has been successively in the power of the Dutch, the English, and the Yankees, is to-day the real capital of Ireland. The English are always wondering why Americans are all in favor of home rule for Ireland, and ready to back up the cause with their dollars. Why, I will tell you. The good Americans hope that when Ireland is restored to the Irish, all the Irish will go home.

As I said at the beginning of this paper, I found great difficulty in summing up in a short article the many impressions which I formed during a six-months' stay in America. I may, however, safely assert that the well-read, well-bred American is the most delightful of men, and that good American society is among the wittiest, the most genial, refined, and hospitable I have met with.

But the more I travel, and the more I look at other nations, the more convinced am I that the French, with all their faults, are the happiest people on earth. The Americans are certainly on the road to the possession of all that can contribute to the well-being and success of a nation, but they seem to me to have missed the path that leads to real happiness. I do not think they know how to live. Their domestic joys are more shadowy than real. To live in a whirl is not to live well. America suffers from a general plethora. The French shop-keeper, for instance, who, in our small provincial towns, locks the door of his shop from half-past twelve till half-past one, so as not to be disturbed by customers whilst he is enjoying his dinner with his wife and children, is nearer to the solution of that great problem of life, happiness, than the American in his headlong chase after affluence. The Frenchman says to himself: "I want to live as well and as long as I can; I know I shall never have another chance."

It is often charged against the Americans that they are given



to bragging. But so are we all, in a different manner. And may not men who have done marvels be permitted a certain amount of self-glorification? It is said, too, that their eccentricity constantly leads them into folly and sometimes into license. But is it not better to have the liberty to err than to be obliged to run straight in leash? Their politics appeared to me perfectly childish, but if I am right, I may add that, like children, they will learn. It is by voting that people learn to vote.

Is there any country of Europe in which morals are better regulated, work better paid, or education wider spread? Is there a country in Europe where you can find such natural riches and such energy to employ them? So many people with a consciousness of their own intellectual and moral force? So many free schools, where the child of the millionaire and the child of the poor are seen studying side by side? So many free libraries, where the boy in rags may enter and read the history of his country and be fired with the exploits of its heroes? Can you name a country with so many learned societies, so many newspapers, so many charitable institutions, or so much comfort?

The greatest French prose writer of the day, M. Ernest Renan, one day wishing to turn himself into a prophet of ill omen, predicted that, if France continued republican, she would become a second America. May nothing worse befall her!

MAX O'RELL.



# The Forum.

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FEBRUARY, 1889.

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## RELIEF FOR THE SUPREME COURT.

THE Supreme Court of the United States is between three and four years behind its docket. An appeal or writ of error taken in 1884, or during the first six months of 1885, may be reached, argued, and decided at the present term. An appeal taken now cannot in the ordinary course be disposed of until 1892 or 1893. A curious index of the growth and prosperity of the country, this docket! After the court was organized, in 1790, no business of importance was transacted for several terms, and it was not until after the commencement of the present century that the average of causes on the calendar exceeded ten. Early in 1800, however, the number increased to fifty. Twenty years later, and during all that golden age of American jurisprudence when Marshall, Story, and Livingston were on the bench, and Webster, Wirt, Pinkney, Clay, and Dallas were at the bar, there were still less than two hundred causes on the docket, and seldom did the court dispose of more than seventy-five at a single term. To-day, although the amount necessary to confer jurisdiction was, in 1875, increased from \$2,000 to \$5,000, the number of causes on the docket is about 1,450. This increase has not been sporadic and exceptional, but sure and steady.

During the period from 1880 to the present year, the average number of causes disposed of annually has been 431; the average

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number added to the docket, 461; and the average number actually considered by the court, being the causes orally argued or submitted on printed briefs, 307. The rest of the causes disposed of, above the latter number, were stricken from the docket or dismissed under the rules. This would make an average of about thirty-four causes annually in which each of the nine judges is required to write out the judgment of the court.

The lesson taught by these figures is this: Although the court has each year increased its labors, so that more causes are disposed of at a single term than during a whole decade half a century ago, the fact yet remains that the business is gradually gaining upon the court. Notwithstanding its heroic effort to shake itself free, it is gradually sinking under the weight of fast-accumulating appeal records. The evils of the present condition of affairs are grave, immedicable, and, in many cases, well-nigh intolerable. He suffers wrong who is denied the opportunity to enforce a right. Justice postponed is injustice. To refuse a hearing to a litigant is to do him affirmative mischief. The cases are not few in which a court might as well turn the suitor at once from the temple of justice as close the door in his face for four years.

Take an illustration. A patentee obtains a decree at the circuit. An injunction issues. Competitors are notified, warned, and threatened. The air is made murky by fluttering clouds of circulars "to the trade." Industrious agents, vigorous attorneys, collectors, nimble with the hope of coming commissions, appear with the unanimity and precision which animated the followers of Roderick when "his whistle garrisoned the glen." Nothing is left undone. A sculptor, ambitious to personify Activity, could find no better model for his marble than a successful patentee with a newly-granted injunction in his hand. The result is easily imagined. Infringers are remorselessly pursued, competition is stifled, monopoly is triumphant. For years the patentee, unmolested, reaps a golden harvest. At last the patent is considered by the Supreme Court and is pronounced invalid. What redress have the defendants or the public? None. The wrong has been successfully consummated. Judge Grover once said that a defeated party had two remedies; he could appeal, or he could go



down to the tavern and swear at the court. In the circumstances suggested neither remedy is available.

But the hardship to a meritorious inventor may be equally disastrous. His patent is overthrown at circuit; infringers appear in swarms. The more valuable the patent the more diligent and pestiferous they become. The patentee has no power to prevent this. He is as harmless as a caged tiger. His teeth are drawn. When his appeal is reached, as is frequently the case, the patent has expired. He succeeds in the appellate court, but its judgment is mere *brutum fulmen*. The opportunity has passed. The princely income which was lawfully his has been appropriated by others. He has been ruined. Another instance of "the man from Shropshire." But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. The injustice of the present condition must be manifest to all. It is entirely clear that some remedy must be adopted. What shall it be?

Various suggestions have from time to time been made having in view a radical reconstruction of the judicial system, an increase of judges, and the establishment of an intermediate appellate court. All these plans require general legislation. Perhaps the most widely approved has been the so-called "Davis bill." The principal features of this measure are the establishment of a Court of Appeals in each of the nine circuits, to consist of the circuit justice, the circuit judges, and two of the district judges. Two additional circuit judges for each circuit are provided for. Where the sum or value in dispute exceeds \$10,000, the judgments of the Court of Appeals may be reviewed by the Supreme Court. This bill passed the Senate May 12th, 1882, and then disappeared from legislative cognizance.

A bill, understood to have been prepared by the Attorney-General and referred to in his report for the year 1885, was introduced in the Senate January 5th, 1886, by Senator Jackson. It proposes to take away all original jurisdiction from the Circuit Courts and vest it in the District Courts. It adds two judges to the Circuit Court of each circuit and gives that court appellate jurisdiction only. A similar bill was introduced at the last session of the House of Representatives by Mr. Rogers, and, though a substitute was reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, it



met the same fate as its predecessors. Measures embodying the same general features were introduced as long ago as 1854 by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and in 1863 by Senator Ira Harris. Since then bills based upon similar principles have on various occasions been introduced by members of both houses of Congress, and always with the same result—failure.

Of the objections to these measures, some are wise and some are otherwise. It is said, and said truly, that the Davis bill makes the Supreme Court a rich man's tribunal, and denies to a poor litigant, whose quarrel involves less than \$10,000, the benefit of an appeal. Moreover, it is quite clear that if the original jurisdiction now vested in the Circuit Courts is taken away and given to the District Courts, in addition to what they now possess, it will, in some of the districts, be an absolute impossibility for the district judge, with this enormous increase, to do the work required of him. On the other hand, the judges of the Circuit Courts, deprived as they are of all but appellate jurisdiction, will, in some of the circuits, have hardly enough business to occupy them during three months out of the twelve.

The further objection is urged that it is partial and unwise legislation to make the same increase of the judicial force in all the circuits. The circuit having the greatest volume of litigation transacts ten times the business of the circuit having the least. In 1886 there were pending in the second circuit 16,133 causes, and in the ninth circuit 1,600 causes, and yet it is proposed to add two judges to each. This is manifestly unfair. Again, it is insisted that the ultimate end to be attained, the relief of the Supreme Court, will not be reached by any of these measures, unless the objectionable feature which increases the jurisdiction to \$10,000 be retained. There will be more judges, more courts, greater opportunity for prolonging litigation, but the number of causes which reach the court of last resort will not be lessened.

It is true that the present system, especially in criminal causes, furnishes inadequate opportunities for review in a large number of instances; but the complaints have not been loud or bitter, and many persons prefer the speedy and definite results of the federal practice, abrupt and arbitrary though it may sometimes seem, to the evils resulting from the pernicious system of



perpetual and unrestrained appeals which is permitted in many of the States. It is an easy matter, under some of these codes, for shrewd and unscrupulous practitioners, the Quirks, Gammons, and Snaps of the profession, who are adepts in handling the machinery of practice, so to "gerrymander, zigzag, and bewitch" a cause with the delays of fribbling and unconscionable appeals, that a meritorious cause of action is frequently lost in an endless snarl of empty litigation. Is there not wisdom in the suggestion that the main features of the system which has worked successfully for nearly one hundred years shall be retained? Let it be added to and improved from time to time as the exigencies of business may require, but permit no radical and sweeping changes to be made. Why not let well enough alone? We have courts enough already—too many. Why create more?

It has also been proposed, as a solution of existing difficulties, that the justices of the Supreme Court shall be increased from nine to fifteen or more, and the court divided into sections. To say nothing of the constitutional objection to this scheme (the Constitution providing for *one* Supreme Court), it would impair its usefulness, mar its prestige, and convert it into an unwieldy and intractable body—a sort of town meeting or committee of the whole. Experience teaches that a judicial body composed of more than nine members is impracticable. In a great majority of the States the number of judges composing the court of last resort is five or less than five. In none is it more than nine. Fifteen judges sitting *in banc* can dispose of but little more business than nine, and to divide the court into sections would lead to a clashing of authority and other deplorable results. The country is proud, and justly proud, of the Supreme Court. With rare exceptions its members have been taken from the wisest, the best, the purest of the land. It is hardly too much to say, taking into consideration the ability of its members and the great interests committed to their care, that it is the ablest court in Christendom. Let it be spared the dangerous surgery of legislation. Let it be kept forever as a proof that even in a republic the vandal hand of change can leave one institution inviolate, an object of respect and admiration if not of reverence.

But the decisive objection to any of these plans for relief is



that they are impracticable. To judge from the past, no general legislation can be had. It is doubtless true that twenty leading members of Congress, fairly representing the sentiment of the two great parties and actively and aggressively in earnest, could pass a wise and prudent measure which would remedy not only the evil under discussion, but other defects, inconsistencies, and unfair features of the federal judicial system. But, apparently, the men are not to be found. For twenty-five years, certainly, has the necessity for some relief been patent. Urgent appeals have been made from official and unofficial sources, in vain. The session just closed was the longest on record, but the only measure relating to the federal courts which was passed was one of retrenchment and reform. It reduced the number of bailiffs in attendance upon a term of court from five to three. Thus is saved to the Treasury of the United States the *per diem* allowance of two dollars which these men receive.

Many of the police courts of our large cities have vastly greater facilities for the speedy and orderly transaction of business than the courts of the United States. When, therefore, the necessities of government require that a still more rigid economy shall be practiced toward them, it would seem that the legislative mind is not in so serene and unbiased a state of receptivity as to justify the expectation of relief from that source based upon any general and radical changes. It remains to be seen what can be done by the Supreme Court itself, aided, perhaps, by some simple legislation to which no valid objection can be urged.

As already noted, the court is now able at each term to dispose of nearly as many causes as are added to its calendar. In other words, the average number disposed of has been 431, and the average number added has been 461. Were it possible to devote twice as much time to the sessions of the court, it is clear that twice as many causes would be disposed of. If a balance of but one hundred causes were in favor of the court, assuming that the conditions of the last eight years hold good for the next eight years, the court will in that time have cleared off its arrearages. Once abreast with its work, it will probably have little difficulty in keeping up, for the present indications are that the number of causes will not be increased. The act of 1887 materially restricts



the right of removal of causes from the State to the federal courts. The effect of this act is already manifest in the Circuit Courts, and must soon make itself felt in the Supreme Court.

The court now begins its sessions on the second Monday of October, pursuant to statute. It adjourns usually about the middle of May, to enable the justices to go to their several circuits. Deducting the holiday recess of ten days, and the February recess of a month, there remain twenty-six weeks during which the court is actually in session. But Monday in each week is devoted principally to reading opinions and hearing motions, and Saturday, being conference day, the court does not sit. But four days a week, therefore, are devoted to the hearing of causes. The sessions last four hours each day, from twelve until four o'clock. The remaining time is devoted to consultation, study, and the preparation of opinions. In other words, out of three hundred and sixty-five days the court hears arguments on about one hundred and ten, and disposes on the average of four causes a day. If Mondays were utilized, twenty-six more days would be added; and should the court begin a month earlier and sit a month later, that would again increase the working-days by forty. Thus would two hundred and sixty causes be added to the list of those disposed of.

But the question is asked, How can this be done? How is the additional time to be obtained? The justices are hard and conscientious workers. Their time is now fully employed, in court in hearing arguments and out of court in examining the law and preparing their decisions. When not at Washington they are occupied largely in holding Circuit Courts. They can do no more. Three answers suggest themselves.

1. While the present exigency exists, let the justices of the Supreme Court give up holding Circuit Courts. Their time can be spent at Washington more advantageously than elsewhere.
2. Let the reading of opinions be omitted, in order that another working-day may be added to the week.
3. Where judgments are affirmed, dispense with long written opinions, except in suits involving constitutional questions or questions of general interest.

There is no longer reason or necessity for placing the additional burden of holding Circuit Courts upon the justices of the



Supreme Court. The reason for this anomalous feature in the federal judiciary was apparently two-fold; it was both practical and sentimental. Practical, because it gave the justices something to do, there being little or no appellate business for years after the court was organized; and sentimental, because it was thought that in this way they would be brought nearer the people and prevented from organizing a species of judicial aristocracy. In the fierce and bitter contentions which succeeded the revolution and crystallized in the Constitution, it appears that the fear of class and caste was the animating force which actuated a great majority of the men who helped to frame that inspired document. They grew pallid with apprehension before the faintest phantom of privilege, and saw a menace to the republic in many harmless and necessary measures which the most fanatical republican of to-day views with indifference. It was the logic of the situation, the reaction from tyranny. The necessity for resisting monarchical tendencies has passed away. There is no longer ground for fear in that direction. Respect and reverence for authority is surely not a national vice. The highest in station, the noblest, the most refined must take their chances in the pushing, driving, heedless multitude. There is more danger now from the anarchist than from the aristocrat. The despotism of license is more to be dreaded than the despotism of law.

No valid objection can be urged to the suggestion that the justices of the Supreme Court shall be confined to the labors of that court. Nor would their withdrawal from the circuits occasion any serious inconvenience so far as the prompt discharge of business is concerned. Why, then, should this unnecessary provision of the law be retained? The reasons which created it are obsolete. It compels the justices to discharge duties which can be discharged by others, and withdraws them from duties infinitely more important, which no one else can perform. It enables a judge of an appellate court to sit in two courts, and review in one the decision he has rendered in the other. This power is thought by many wise and honest men to be not only unbecoming but dangerous. It has been discarded in most of the States. Should the attention of Congress be called to the subject by the justices themselves, or by the executive, or by some other recognized



authority, it is hardly possible that a repeal of this law would be refused. But even if Congress should neglect to act, why is not the remedy still with the court? Suppose that while the docket is so overburdened, the justices should simply refuse to do circuit duty; who, having knowledge of the facts, would criticise their course?

It is well known that when the court was organized it was a serious question whether the judges could legally be required to hold Circuit Courts. During the last days of the administration of President Adams an act was passed (February 13th, 1801) which settled the question. It relieved them from circuit duty entirely, and confined them to the labors of the Supreme Court, two sessions of which were required to be held annually. The repeal was not popular under the new order of republicanism which succeeded to power under Jefferson, and the old system was restored by the act of April 29th, 1802. The restoration was carried only after a vigorous and fierce opposition, its opponents insisting with great force and spirit that it was both unwise and unconstitutional. One of those who entertained this opinion was Chief-Justice Marshall. He wrote a circular letter to his associates, stating that, after giving the subject careful consideration, he had reached the conclusion that they could not be required to hold other courts or perform judicial functions not connected with the court of which they were members. He said that if his brethren concurred with these views he would peremptorily decline to sit at circuit and abide the consequences. On the legal proposition they were unanimous, but from motives of public policy they thought it wiser to bow to the will of the legislature, especially in view of the fact that precedent was in favor of such a course. So Marshall went down to the Virginia circuit. His right to hold it was challenged on the ground that he held no commission as circuit judge. The cause which presented this point was carried to the Supreme Court, and the question set at rest on the ground of precedent. The court held that it was not illegal for judges of the Supreme Court to hold Circuit Courts.\*

There has never been a decision that it was illegal for them not to hold Circuit Courts. Even if the question could be pre-

\* *Stuart v. Laird*, 1 Cranch Reports, 299.



sented, and it is difficult to see how it can be, it is thought that the well-known views of Marshall must prevail. It is not possible to comply literally with the law imposing this duty, and if it should be suspended altogether while the great tribunal is struggling under its increasing load of work, not only would no censure attend the act, but it would be greeted with approval and acclaim. But it is only in the improbable event that Congress should refuse to act that such drastic measures need be resorted to.

How else can business be expedited? One of the time-honored and impressive ceremonies of the court is the public reading of its judgments on Mondays. In this manner a large part of the session of that day is consumed. No one with any regard for the past should wish to see a custom so full of dignity, so ancient, so imposing swept away. Surely here if anywhere the irreverent demand for change, the all-leveling processes of modern reform, should be withstood. And yet even in this high tribunal a ceremony which has little but antiquity to commend it must at some time, sooner or later, succumb to the restless march of progress. An age of type-writers, stenographers, and telephones will not patiently wait upon the methods of a half-century ago.

**"New occasions teach new duties;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth."**

The decisions thus promulgated may be of causes which originated in Maine, California, Michigan, or Florida. The counsel who argued them have long since reached their respective homes, and there await the telegram which is to announce glory or the grave to their clients. No one who has the slightest interest in the decisions thus announced is present unless by accident. So far as any practical result is obtained, the manuscripts might as well be delivered to the court crier and read by him at midnight from the dome of the Capitol. It is safe to assume that this system has been discontinued by every State court. In the New York Court of Appeals a list of the decisions is filed and published, and a copy of the opinions can be obtained from the reporter.

Again, what objection could there be to adopting a rule that until the arrearages are cleared off no opinion shall be written



where the judgment is affirmed, except in cases of general interest and those involving constitutional law? Very much time would thus be economized. The preparation of a legal opinion requiring great care in the use of language, an accurate and painstaking statement of the facts, and a summary of the law deemed applicable, is often the work of weeks; the manual labor alone is immense. All this would be saved. And besides, the example thus set by the highest tribunal in the land would be followed by inferior courts, to the infinite relief of lawyers, judges, clients, everybody—the booksellers alone excepted.

Within the memory of men still living it was not a difficult task for a lawyer in active practice to familiarize himself with all the leading American decisions. How is it now? Unless his memory is abnormally developed he cannot retain the names of the reports even, much less their contents. There are State reports of assorted varieties, big and little, district reports, and federal reports. The surrogates' courts and courts of the larger cities contribute their volumes, while an innumerable mass of daily, weekly, and monthly publications from the North-west, the South-west, the Atlantic, and the Pacific flutter about the head of the bewildered practitioner in a confusion of legal tongues—a judicial Babel. The result is that in this multitude of authorities, both luminous and fuliginous, no proposition, however absurd, is required to stand without apparent support. The lawyer of the present, instead of basing his judgment upon broad general principles of right, is too apt to spend his time and waste his faculties in delving and searching among the yellow-covered literature of a public law library (no one but a millionaire can afford one of his own) for some case similar to the one in hand. He shrinks into a mere "decision-index or an echo." He becomes a patient toiler searching for the threads of precedent to twist a rope with which to strangle principle. There is "authority" enough at present to last without addition for a hundred years.

A writer who took the pains to gather the statistics asserts that from December, 1886, to August, 1887—a period of eight months—the Supreme Court and the courts of last resort of the various States rendered 8,325 decisions, in most of which opinions



were written. This for a part of a year and a part only of the courts. Is it surprising that this deluge of reports has diluted legal science and almost swept away the great landmarks of the law?

The American wants results, not reasons. He frequently gets reasons without results. No other country can in this respect compare with us in fecundity. English reports are comparatively few and English judges comparatively brief. The writer heard Lord Coleridge say that it was the boast of one of the most learned jurists who ever adorned the bench of England, that he never kept but one case over night, and in that one he rendered his judgment on the morning following the trial. In the French *Cour de Cassation* the decisions are rendered orally immediately after the argument. They go in for a right determination in each case, and are not hampered by what they may have said in a similar cause years before. The only way to stop this advancing flood is for judges to write less. So long as decisions are put in printable form, some one will be found to publish them. If the highest and ablest court in the land should set the example, who would complain? The change in procedure might excite a passing comment, but the few who would criticise would be lost in the multitude who would applaud.

Unless these or kindred measures are adopted the court will fall hopelessly behind. Nothing then remains but some heroic, and probably empirical, remedy. Some measure may be adopted as a last recourse which will destroy the court or irretrievably impair its dignity and power. To increase the present number of its members and split the court into sections would be a grievous error. The court should be left as it is, the one institution in the country to which all sorts and conditions of men bow with pride akin to veneration. If the present exigency can be met the future can be controlled. The existing system has worked well for nearly a hundred years; let it alone. Give the justices time to do the work of the Supreme Court. Cease to vex them with the business of the lower courts. Make them appellate judges solely,

“And all is made right which so puzzles us here.”

ALFRED CONKLING COXE.



## THE FOUNDATION OF ETHICS.

It is not very easy to over-estimate the extent to which the modern mind has been stirred by the doctrines popularly associated with the name of the late Charles Darwin. There is no department of human thought, no sphere of human life, in which the influence of what is called the evolutionary philosophy is not felt. I say advisedly, "what is called"; for evolution really exhibits the mode, not the cause, of development, and its ascertained facts lend themselves to various interpretations. When, however, the evolutionary philosophy is spoken of, the hypothesis of the universe so elaborately formulated by Mr. Spencer is very generally meant. It is this hypothesis which Professor Huxley has blessed and approved as the "only complete and methodical exposition of the theory of evolution" known to him, "a work that should be carefully studied by those who desire to become acquainted with the tendencies of scientific thought." This seems to be fair enough. No one can deny to Mr. Spencer the praise of method, or, in a certain sense, of completeness; and unquestionably he does exhibit clearly the tendencies of an influential school of contemporary physicists. His "system of philosophy" is an attempt to rebuild the edifice of human knowledge on the one foundation of evolution; he seeks to explain the wondrous All by his one law of "the persistence of force." Well, I, for my part, do not doubt that all future theories of the universe will have to reckon with the facts so industriously collected by Mr. Spencer, and with the speculations into which he has so ingeniously fitted them. I take leave to doubt, however, whether the reading of the doctrine of evolution of which he is the preacher will ultimately be accepted as the true one. It appears to me too narrow, too mechanical, too inadequate to life. Complete as it may be in itself, it leaves out of sight vast ranges of facts not less but far more important than those with which it deals. It does not completely harmonize and synthesize the



totality of human experience. At present, however, it is unquestionably a most potent factor in the world's thought.

A recent writer has truly observed: "In England and America Mr. Herbert Spencer is *the* philosopher." His philosophy falls in with the general intellectual tendencies of the English-speaking races. We boast ourselves a practical people. For abstract speculation we have little taste. In every department of intellectual activity this is so. We have had many able lawyers, but no great jurists; many eminent physicians, but no founders of new medical schools; many excellent clergymen, but no masters of theological speculation, or even of biblical exegesis. We dwell, and we are proud of it, in the relative, the phenomenal, the concrete. The absolute, the noumenal, the abstract we relegate to those whom we contemptuously characterize as transcendentalists, *doctrinaires*, dreamers. We like to go by the facts. We leave it to German and French professors to give to those "airy nothings," as we esteem them, which they call ideas, "a local habitation and a name."

Nothing could be less favorable to the cultivation of metaphysics than this national temper. For the object of metaphysics, in the proper sense of the word, is that very absolute from which the English mind turns away. Hence it welcomes a philosophy which, like Mr. Spencer's, is avowedly a philosophy of relativity. He labels the absolute "unknowable." He restricts us to a knowledge of relations between relations. He follows the ordinary method of the experimental sciences. He puts aside the inquiry into final causes and substances and the nature of things, and bids us confine our attention to phenomena. He disclaims the name of materialist, and I certainly have no wish to impose it upon him. But in good logic the outcome of his teaching regarding the relativity of knowledge and the persistence of force, is the doctrine of self-existing matter. Indeed, he tells us in terms, in a well-known passage in his "Essays":

"The proposition that an originating mind is the cause of evolution is a proposition that can be entertained only so long as no attempt is made to unite in thought the two terms in the alleged relation."

Take away the unknowable, and Mr. Spencer's doctrine is practically materialism, and that of a very crude kind. And



what difference can the unknowable make to the mass of men? I am far from denying that to Mr. Spencer himself and his more cultivated disciples, it may make a great deal of difference to be able to turn from his speculative physics to worship in silence they know not what. But systems of philosophy gradually penetrate the general mind, and exercise influence over the vast mass of men, who are not subtle and refined. And assuredly the portion of Mr. Spencer's philosophy which will be most widely received and believed is not his doctrine of the unknowable. "Parson, this is no time for conundrums," said the wounded Confederate soldier to the minister of religion who inquired, "Do you believe in God?" The vast majority of the combatants in the battle of life will assuredly treat Mr. Spencer's unknowable as a conundrum, and will give it up. For them his teaching will assume the form of a crude disbelief in whatever lies out of the senses' grasp. He calls his system "transfigured realism." But the multitude are and ever must be *naïve* realists. I feel very sure that the practical effect of Mr. Spencer's philosophy has been to promote the elevation of materialism into the reigning creed of the day in the English-speaking races.

There are those of my critics who lose patience with me when I speak of materialism in this way. But the more closely I examine the intellectual and spiritual condition of the world, the more clearly does it seem to me that the great issue is between a conception of life based wholly on the senses and a conception based on reason, intellect, spirit. I have elsewhere said:

"All systems of philosophy may be reduced to two great classes. Everything depends upon the point of departure. The recognition of the consciousness of the *Ego* by itself, or the non-recognition—there is the radical difference. There is a whole universe between the system which starts from the soul as the true *Ego*, the form of the body, and the philosophy which starts from the physical organism."\*

When I speak of the materialism of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, I use the word, not as a term of vituperation, but merely for want of a better to express my meaning. Of course there is materialism and materialism. There is the materialism of La Mettrie with his "*L'Homme Machine*," and the materialism of Mr. Spencer with his unknowable in the background. And between

\* "Chapters in European History," Vol. II., p. 160.



these two there are many gradations. So it is with the opposed doctrine. Who shall reckon the varieties which lie between the purely subjective idealism, so noble and poetical, of Berkeley, "moving about in worlds not realized" of spirit and mere ideas, and the absolute idealism of Hegel, cold, hard, and lustrous as a palace of ice? Moreover, it is quite possible that both doctrines may be held by one and the same person. Mr. Spencer, for example—although, as Professor Green has pointed out, his conception of idealism seems to be pretty much that which a raw undergraduate might form—not unfrequently teaches it in complete unconsciousness, apparently, that he is doing anything of the kind. So, too, Professor Huxley, who is said—I know not whether truly or not—to have once laughingly observed, "I am a materialist before dinner and an idealist afterward." Certainly in the writings of this eminent man there are passages of strictly idealistic meaning. Thus, in one of his "Lay Sermons," he says:

"It is an indisputable truth that what we call the material world is only known to us under the forms of the ideal world: our knowledge of the soul is more intimate and certain than our knowledge of the body."

But in another of these Sermons he asserts:

"The progress of science means the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation, and the concomitant gradual banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity."

This certainly seems to me pure materialism. Professor Huxley objects to being called a materialist. In controversy with myself a short time ago, he protested that if he "may trust his own knowledge of his own thoughts," this is "an error of the first magnitude." Of course I accept unhesitatingly Professor Huxley's own account of his own thoughts. But I am clearly of opinion—and my opinion rests upon facts within my own knowledge, only too numerous and too cogent—that the practical issue of his teaching is materialism; that he is, in truth, among the most successful of its preachers. In another of his Sermons he proposes to lead his hearers "through the territory of vital phenomena to the materialistic slough, and then to point to the path of extrication." But I am sure that the vast majority of his readers never find that path. From the materialistic slough they never emerge. They carry away from his writings the con-



viction that matter gives rise to mind by a process of natural causation, in which the series of causes and effects is unbroken; in other words, where there are physical causes at the beginning of the chain and mental effects at the end of it. The practical outcome of his writings, as of Mr. Spencer's, is materialism.

Now this way of thinking appears to me directly hostile to what I must account a most precious element in our modern civilization—I mean the tendency to look within and to seek there the source of our conceptions, our decisions. This is, if I may so speak, a root idea of Christianity, underlying its theology, its ethics, its philosophy. But it is not necessarily bound up with Christianity. In these latter days its most distinguished preacher has been the illustrious Kant. The contrary doctrine sets out with the conviction that the thoughts and wills of men are purely the effect of forces inherent in external things, of which the true account is *ῥεῖ τὰ πάντα*, which are ever changing and “are essentially constituted by the sum of their relations”—a somewhat absurd phrase, I may observe, for how can relation be essence? It is like saying that the outside is the inside. The correlations of things and forces in their varying modes is the theme of the new philosophy, the newness of which indeed is only relative, for it is at the least as ancient as the atomistic theory of Democritus. It denies the absolute, or, what in practice comes to the same thing, relegates it to the domain of the unknowable. But that old philosophy which has hitherto dominated our civilization reposes upon the idea of the absolute—the absolute within us and the absolute without us. “What we call the *Ego*,” the new philosophy tells us, “is merely a succession of states of consciousness.” “No,” answers the old,

“ ‘We all are changed by still degrees,  
All but the basis of the soul.’ ”

That abides. And the supreme reality, with which we have to do, abides also; in it is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. There is the category of being as well as the category of becoming.” That is the old-world view, which the philosophy of evolution, as propounded by Mr. Spencer, is attempting to supersede. And this new philosophy is gradually instilling itself into our practical life, our daily habits of thought and speech,



our methods of viewing all things. I am writing as a moralist, and intend to keep altogether outside of the sphere of theology. It seems to me of the utmost importance to keep the two spheres distinct. Mr. Herbert Spencer is, in my judgment, not well-founded when he tells us in his "First Principles": "The moral code is, in all cases, a supplementary growth to a religious creed." Ethics does not found itself upon a divine command, but upon a natural and permanent revelation of the human reason. The moral law, which is the indefeasible rule of right and wrong, existed before the ephemeral race of man was evolved upon the earth, and will exist after our globe shall have ceased to be the abode of human life. Wholly independent of empirical deductions, and immutably true, it is, as the tragic poet speaks, "from everlasting and no one knows its birthplace." It is binding, absolutely binding, upon us as upon the totality of existence.

Of course to the vast majority of men, religions are the only philosophies, and ethical notions present themselves in the guise of divine commands, enforced by rewards and punishments, and appealing to sensuous conceptions. But, in a true sense, morality is independent and would subsist though churches, sacred books, and hierarchies were swept into oblivion. The theistic idea is not the starting-point, but the goal of the moral law. According to the most true teaching of Kant, the concept of duty reached in the depths of the human consciousness implies the notion of a supremely just judge, to whom we have to give account. The right order is to ground our religion on our ethical principles, absolute and eternal; not our ethical principles on our religion. But for these principles the new philosophy substitutes the shibboleths of a sect. Its morality is not absolute but relative. It excludes all immutable morality and allows to man no inviolable rights entitled to respect *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*. Thus, Professor Huxley expressly grounds the new ethics upon "the laws of comfort":

"I say that natural science, in desiring to ascertain the laws of comfort, has been driven to discover the laws of conduct, and to lay the foundation of a new morality." \*

Mr. Spencer's ultimate test of right and wrong is "agreeable

\* "Lay Sermons," p. 11.



feeling." For him, virtues are founded upon expediency; not indeed upon a direct calculation of what is expedient, but upon the registration of it in the human organism. But if morality is not a formal law, absolute as are the laws of mathematics, transcending all persons and all conditions, and sovereignly obligatory upon all, without regard to its consequences and without reference to any personal end—if, I say, it is not all this, it is nothing. And as I look around the world I find only too abundant evidence how fast it is becoming nothing in some of the most important provinces of man's activity, through the debased conception of it which the new philosophy has diffused. I have not now in view individual deflections from the moral code. Whether those deflections are more or less numerous at one time than another, is a question of comparatively small importance, if the idea upon which this code rests is generally acknowledged and revered; for then there is always left a principle of recovery. But if that idea falls into discredit, and loses its hold upon the popular mind, the civilization based upon it is certainly doomed. Kant, if I may again quote him—and assuredly I may, for he, of all the teachers of our age, has a right to be heard in this connection—Kant speaks in a famous passage of "the wonderful idea of duty, self-sustained in the soul by its own bare law, and ever compelling respect, if not always securing obedience." But this respect must vanish—and vanishing it is—when duty is accounted merely the fashion of apprehending that "adjustment of external relations to internal relations" called life; when the categorical imperative is explained by inbred selfishness *plus* the fear of the constable; when comfort or agreeable feeling is exhibited as the ultimate rule of ethics. The philosophy of relativity empties truth of its old meaning. And in every department of human activity I note the invalidation of the moral idea as this philosophy wins its way into popular acceptance. Everywhere I discern tokens of the lowering of the ethical standard. I find them in art. I find them in journalism. I find them in politics. I find them in the view commonly taken of that penal law which is, in a true sense, the bond of civil society. I propose to consider these several subjects in future numbers of this review.

W. S. LILLY.



## SHALL NEGRO MAJORITIES RULE?

THE population of the United States is made up, mainly, of two races of men, the Caucasian and the African, more than one-seventh being of the latter. In thirteen contiguous States nearly 40 per cent. of the inhabitants are Negroes. In three States the Negroes outnumber the whites. In all political matters the law declares these races to be equal, and secures to men of each all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship that belong to men of the other. In the relations of these races, so different from each other in mental, moral, and physical characteristics, is the "Negro question," which is now receiving, and will hereafter demand in greater degree, the most serious consideration of thinking men of every class and of all sections of the country. In its calm, considerate, and courageous treatment from time to time as it presents itself for action is involved the welfare and tranquillity of both races, and no one who rightly estimates its difficulties and importance will approach a discussion of it in any prejudiced or partisan temper. For twenty years politicians have been playing with it as children with fire, gaining nothing themselves and aggravating a situation fraught with danger from the beginning. There are indications that its gravity is now impressing itself on the minds of men of broad views and serious purpose, who begin to realize that much more is at stake than the gain or loss of the doubtful political advantages of inconsequential party conflicts, and who manifest a disposition to study and investigate it in a fearless, earnest, and patriotic spirit. In any honest consideration of this question one must confront unpleasant facts at the very outset, and these will multiply as inquiry progresses.

It is a question of race conflict. In whatever connection it is considered, whether in church or social relations, in business, professional, or industrial employments, or in politics, it is a matter of race. Every result that we have reached, or that we



can reach, whether it has been worked out by the Negroes in their natural progress, or by the whites in their endeavors to elevate the Negroes, is a consequence of race conflict. Neither race is responsible for the conditions that make this conflict instinctive and irreconcilable, and neither can avoid the issue or its consequences under the circumstances in which both are placed.

These races, brought together here on terms of political equality, are not equal or homogeneous. Their amalgamation is impossible, because it is forbidden by the instincts of both. The whites of the United States have been remarkably firm and persistent in their insistence upon the maintenance of race distinctions in everything that relates to social existence and progress, and the Negroes have as distinctly shown their aversion to any relaxation of race ties and exclusiveness. The aversion is mutual, and, in a general sense, fixed.

Our native Indians are a strong race, mentally and physically. Many examples of the highest ability in military and civil government have been furnished in the history of the tribes of Indians. With unquestioned capacity for the highest attainment in civil government, they have rejected, practically, every effort we have made to incorporate and identify them with our civil polity. The pride of race, attachment to tribal relations, the ties of kindred, and the craving for the powers of independent self-government have caused them to refuse our most sincere endeavors to raise them to the plane of our civilization. The pride of race has always lived in every Indian's blood, and is now the only remaining element of his former power. Intermarriage with Indians has not been regarded by the whites as in derogation of race, nor is amalgamation of the races forbidden by any recognized natural law, or made impossible by any distinct and admitted aversion; but even with this advantage, very little impression has been made on the Indians toward inducing them to any relaxation of their pride of race in social or governmental affairs. They remain unaffected by the relations and intercourse of centuries, at enmity with our civilization, and in conflict with the whites. Race aversion, amounting to hatred, exists also between the whites and the Chinese. Recent legislation in Congress proves this, if proof were needed. Between these inferior



racés, also, the division is as marked and the repulsion as decided as it is between either of them and the whites.

Between the African and the white race the bar to union is still more absolute. To remove it, if it could be removed, would be to lower the whites to the level of the intellectual, moral, and social condition of the Negroes. It would be to destroy the white race. One drop of Negro blood known to exist in the veins of a woman in this country draws her down to the social status of the Negro, and impresses upon her whole life the stamp of the fateful Negro caste, though she may rival the Easter lily in the whiteness of her skin. The Negroes, though they may accept almost any form of association with the whites, are never satisfied with any admixture of the blood of the races. It relaxes the hold of their own race upon their affections. Negroes of mixed blood are inferior among the race to which they belong.

It is irrational to attribute these race antipathies and aversions to the laws of this country or to anything in the manner of their administration and enforcement. They rest upon foundations that men have not built, and are supported by ordinances that human power can neither enact nor amend nor repeal. After we have done all that we can to abolish or to neutralize these race distinctions and the feelings that grow out of them—attempting to set aside the eternal laws of nature—we shall find that we have only marked more plainly the differences between the races, and that we have rooted race prejudices more deeply in the hearts of the inferior races and the whites, at least so far as the Chinese and Negroes are concerned. The Negro question is not, therefore, a southern question, but a race question, that appears in every phase of human existence as distinctly in the North, wherever a considerable number of Negroes is found, as in the South.

The personal relations between the Negroes and the white people are more friendly in the South than in the North, because in the South they are based upon the recognition, by both races, of the leadership and superiority of the white race. This recognition of a natural and obvious fact is not offensive to the Negroes, and the relations that accord with it are not constrained or disagreeable to either race.



The southern white man, from long association with the Negroes as a dependent and inferior race, can afford to indulge for them an honest and cordial regard; while the white man in the North feels that, in any exhibition of regard for the Negro, he is sacrificing the dignity of his race and making a personal condescension. He is willing to punish himself with a certain self-abasement to prove to the Negro that he is no more than his equal, while the Negro is compelled to lower his opinion of the white man in order to believe what he says.

If these race instincts and proclivities are wrong, and appeal to humanity for their correction, it by no means follows that the remedy is to be found within the domain of the legislative power, either State or federal. As our Constitution carefully reserves the settlement of all religious and social questions within the great mass of powers that were never surrendered to any government, but were retained by the people, we must look to those powers and to the arbitrament of the people, through the ordinances of public opinion, for the safe and final settlement of race questions in our country. The most serious and important questions connected with the African race will be settled in the "high chancery" of public opinion. When we come to make laws for the regulation of the political powers accorded to the African race, this important factor—public opinion—cannot be disregarded. Without its support such laws will fail of their purpose, however they may be sustained by force. Public opinion, in any part of the United States, will ultimately neutralize statutes that violate the instincts of the white race.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution of the United States placed the entire Negro population, in the States, in their basis of national representation. They also gave to the Negroes entitled to vote under the permission of State laws, a guarantee that such permission should not be withheld by the States "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Each of the States conferred upon Negro men of a certain age the privilege of voting. The Negroes thus enfranchised were selected and set apart by the State laws as voters, without any personal selection based on merit or capacity, and were induced with power to influence the destiny of the whole country



through their votes. This is the extent to which this subject was pushed by the law-making power. As this privilege of voting was the only political power that was conferred upon any class of Negroes under these laws, that is the only point at which the legislative authority of the country can be exercised rightfully in favor of the Negroes as a race or class of people.

The personal rights of the people of all races and classes are secured alike under our Constitution and laws, but a designated class of the Negro race is the only class of that race in whose favor there is any pretense of the existence of any special power or duty of legislation. The political privilege given to this limited number of Negroes contains the whole subject upon which Congress could legislate, if it has any power to regulate the voting of Negroes or white people in the States. The question of the safety of the Negro race is not involved in this controversy, unless we insist that Negro voters alone can protect the rights of the Negro race. The Negro question relates only to the political power of those Negroes who have the privilege of voting under the State laws. They constitute about one-fifth of the Negro population. The other four-fifths are no more interested personally in preserving the ballot in the hands of the Negro voter than are so many white people. With one-fifth it is a privilege; with the remaining four-fifths it is only a sentiment, or question of race.

The States have the exclusive right to prescribe the qualifications of voters. They are prohibited from giving any preference to a white voter over a Negro voter, but they may give such preference to the white voter over the Indian or Chinaman, even if he is a citizen. Without the assistance of the laws of the States, respectively, the right of suffrage could not be completely exercised. If we grant, for the sake of the argument, that Congress may legislate in favor of the right of the Negro to vote in certain elections, still the support of the people is as much needed to enforce that legislation as if it were a law of the State. Without this sustaining sentiment any law will fail. Coercion may, for a time, repress the practical expression of public sentiment, but such pressure must ultimately cease. However great it may be, it will only intensify opposition to laws that are in hostility to



the settled convictions of the white race in this country. The reaction of public opinion against such laws usually results in thoroughly removing the subject from further controversy. It is certain that no law can long be enforced among a people as free as ours when their opposition to it is sincere. This is especially true when such laws demand the humiliation of the white race, or the admission of the Negroes to a dangerous participation, as a race, in the affairs of our government.

Each voter in this country represents a group of five persons, including himself. In his selection as the trustee of such power, the law alone speaks. Nobody selects him; in many instances nobody would select him as a representative, and he is not in the least responsible to those he represents for his opinions or conduct. The remaining four persons of the group, who are excluded from voting, have no sort of control over their representative, except through the influence of public opinion. This is therefore the only check upon the representative voters, who are otherwise more autocratic in their powers than any other class of men in the world. In the States of this Union, 13,000,000 of men rule 65,000,000 of people in everything that relates to the making of laws and the choice of all the officers concerned in government, whether civil or military. If we could silence the press and repress the utterances of the people, leaving the control of our destiny solely to the uninstructed and unrestrained will of the voting class, our liberties would perish in the hands of our guardians, created by law; and "the people," who are the natural guardians of the country, would find no means through which to exert the powers reserved to them in the Constitution. Public opinion is, at last, the mightiest agency in free self-government, and it will ultimately dispose of the Negro question according to the enlightened judgment and the will of the white race in the United States.

It is not in the power of man to bring about a general infusion of the blood of the Negro race into that of the white race, and with this infusion to Africanize our people in their social instincts and in their ideas of government. The common law of Africa, which is slavery, cannot be substituted in the United States for the common law of England, which is liberty, and which



is to us as much an inheritance as slavery is to the African race. Public opinion will never sanction so radical a change in the condition and relations of these races in this country, and all the laws, of whatever dignity, that look in that direction will fail of their purpose. The votes of the Negroes will be arrayed in constant opposition to this sentiment and resolution of the white race, but they will never reverse this current of public opinion. They will only increase and strengthen it.

The laws that give the ballot to one-fifth of the Negro race appeal to the race prejudice which incites them to persistent effort to accomplish the impossible result of race equality. "Equality before the law" is the phrase in which this demand is expressed, but this condition is impossible without equality in the opinion and conscience of the white race. The question is the same in every State, North or South, where any considerable body of Negroes is found, and the decree of public opinion is the same.

The Negroes are no more capable than we are of setting aside the natural influence of race. The honest Negro will vote with his race at every opportunity, just as the honest white man will vote with his. Every sentiment and affection of the human heart is engaged in behalf of the race to which the voter belongs. It is impossible that any man can vote impartially when a question is presented in which his race is believed to be vitally concerned, and it is folly to expect such a vote. The sentiment or public opinion of his race will control him beyond his power of resistance. Education, refinement, wealth, and the consciousness of personal merit add a stronger jealousy to the power of race, and continually widen the separation between the white and Negro races. This effect is more decided with the Negro than it is with the white race. It has increased every day since the Negroes were emancipated. They demand, with greater earnestness than ever before, that their representatives shall be Negroes, and not white men. No solidity of political affiliation can resist this burrowing suspicion of the Negro race that a white man is the natural enemy of the Negro power in government.

We have not accomplished any good to either race by conferring upon 1,500,000 Negroes the privilege of voting. Its effect is only to neutralize the same number of white votes that



would otherwise be cast with reference to the general welfare and prosperity of the country. It is needless to recall the history of the race contests that have pervaded the ballot-box under this mistaken policy. The facts are present, in every election, to establish the existence of this national misfortune. Unless the voter can sink his race proclivities and aversions in his sense of duty to his country, it is in vain that we endeavor to compel by law the harmonious action of the white and Negro races, either in voting or in conducting the government. This impossible condition is hidden in the core of the Negro question, and neither law-makers, judges, nor executive officers can remove it.

Whether the aversion and incongruity of the races is the result of slavery in the United States or of slavery in Africa, whether it dates back two centuries or ten, it is fixed and irreconcilable. No human law created this condition and none can destroy it. All the laws we can enact of a coercive or compulsory character will only intensify this aversion. They will only force the races wider apart the more we attempt to compel their accord, or their union into a homogeneous society or into political fellowship.

As to the domination of the Negro race in the government of any State of this Union, the American people have already decreed that it is impossible. As to the control of the government of any State by a few self-seeking white men, supported by the votes of the Negroes as a class, acting, as they would do, upon their race instincts and aversions, the impracticability of such a plan has already been demonstrated. That experiment has cost the country too dearly to admit of its being tried again. We may take the history of the Negro in politics for the last twenty years as a fair indication of the future influence of that race in our government, and it is not likely to increase in the ratio of the growth of that class of population. By whatever means their political influence has been reduced, even if it has been unlawfully reduced, it shows a want of governing power in that race that makes it a hopeless undertaking to place them in supremacy over the white race. Increase their numbers as we may in any State or political division, and leave to the Negroes alone the working out of the result, yet they will fail to achieve the political control of the white people. Unite with them enough of the or-



ganizing and governing power of the white race to enable them to reach a desired result in the elections or in legislation, and it will be temporary and fruitless. Their jealousy of the white men, or of the mulattoes, whom they permit to help them into power, always leads them to dismiss both as soon as possible from their confidence and support. They go overboard, and the Negro takes the helm. The men who lend themselves to the Negro race for such purposes perish in reputation under the silent condemnation of the white race, in virtue of a law of public opinion that they cannot escape.

Outside pressure from people who are in no immediate danger and have nothing at stake but their sentiments of justice or philanthropy, cannot change the conduct or modify the opinions of those who have at risk and in charge, as a trust imposed upon them by the blood of kindred, all that is sacred in society and in family. Such pressure must result in permanent harm to the Negro race, while it may also seriously injure the white race temporarily. If the laws of the States in reference to elections, of which no complaint is made, are evaded, or if they are not enforced, it is because public opinion sets too strongly against them. Laws of Congress which can be executed only through the assistance of the people of the States would meet a similar fate.

It is not because the southern white people were once slaveholders that the ballot in the hands of the Negro race is regarded by them as a dangerous power. If all the Negroes in South Carolina were transferred to New Hampshire, the people of that State would dread the power of the ballot in their hands far more than the southern ex-slaveholders do. The great body of southern white voters never were slaveholders; but the farther we draw away from the slave era, the greater is the aversion of the white people to Negro rule, and the weaker the Negro becomes in the use of political power. We may attribute this to the perverseness of the white race, and ascribe to the negro the virtue of integrity in his purposes and meek submission in his conduct, if we prefer to revile our own race in order to make excuses for the impotence of the Negroes as a ruling class. But, in that case, it is plainly a hopeless task to reform the white people so as to render them capable of doing justice to the Negroes as joint rulers



of the States, or to elevate the Negro race so as to make them capable, aside from mere race proclivities and race advantages, of estimating the privileges and power of the ballot. It is still more hopeless to attempt to compress into one the races of men that God has separated into great families, to each of which he gives the ideas of self-government best suited to its development into a higher civilization.

The southern people are not mistaken as to the dangers of the ballot in the hands of the Negro race. Twenty years of experience, beginning with eight years of the horrors of enforced Negro rule, has demonstrated to them that a relapse into that condition would be the worst form of destruction. They are no more amenable to moral censure for attempting to avoid that desperate fate than are the people who, in all parts of our country, punish with instant death the Indian or Chinaman or Negro who inflicts a worse fate than death upon an innocent woman. Congress can do nothing to prevent such violations of the laws, even in the Territories and against its wards the Indians and Negroes, or its *protégés* the Chinamen. Our history is full of such instances, where the laws of the United States were violated in spite of the powers of this great government. Congress has often shrunk before public opinion in such cases, and has paid the damages to the sufferers while the violators of the law, thus securely fortified, have gone scot-free.

Congress is looked to, by ambitious aspirants for office and power, as the tribunal to furnish the corrective for the alleged delinquency of the people of the States in the execution of the State laws, whereby the Negro is said to be deprived of his suffrage. If Congress has such powers and can substitute in the States a body of people who will better execute the laws, there may be a chance of the success of these interested speculators in political "futures." But if the substituted people are of the Negro race, or if they are made up of a combination of the two races, the evident effect would be to inflame the race animosities and aversions, and to base the success of the experiment upon that condition. The Negroes would enter eagerly on this plan because it would arouse their race instincts, and the white contingent would join them for purposes of plunder—such as the South suffered in



every public office, and man by man, from 1866 to 1875. The result of this forced combination would be, if it were successful, the domination of the Negro race in the invaded States. They would furnish the power, and their mercenaries would furnish the skill, through which the capture of the State governments would be accomplished. Power thus gained could not be enduring, for the Negro would insist upon the full measure of his rights, and would soon kick his hirelings out of the places of honor and profit. Then the unconquerable power of the white race, if it never raised an arm in forcible resistance to such a degradation, would so express itself through the silent but omnipotent influence of public opinion, that all who fostered such a warfare on the honor of the race would perish. But Congress has no power to force, or to make possible, such a condition of affairs. Passing by, for this occasion, the discussion of the powers of Congress in the control of the ballot in the States, the policy of such an effort would be unwise and fearfully injurious.

If this is a race question that the existing amendments of the Constitution could not settle or suppress, and if it must be solved at last by the will of the people as it shall be expressed either in support of or against the safety of entrusting political power, under our system of government, to the inferior Negro race, the question will be whether the public sentiment, or public opinion, or the laws, which shall furnish the ultimate solution of the problem, shall be those of the people of the States respectively which have this trouble to meet, or whether other States must interfere, through the action of Congress, to settle the matter in all its details.

In support of the proposition that the people of the States respectively should be left free, under the Constitution, to deal with this difficult problem without the interference of other States, it is first assumed, with evident reason, that Congress cannot successfully control the suffrage of the people in the States by any means. Military coercion would only increase the difficulties, and that resort may be dismissed as impossible. Whatever is done to secure to the Negroes the full use of the ballot must be done through State laws and through public opinion in the States. If the belief of the white race is that the enforce-



ment of these laws will destroy their civilization, the laws will not be executed, though the refusal to execute them should cost the States their representation in Congress.

It must be remembered that it was an entire race of people that we enfranchised with the ballot, and not the individuals of that race who may have been personally competent to use it with judgment for the general good of the people. Our process of enfranchising the Indians is just the reverse of this. We make citizens of them, man by man, and upon the condition of their proving their capacity for citizenship by dissolving their tribal relations and taking lands in severalty. A plan looking to some personal fitness of the Negro for the high duties and corresponding powers of citizenship would not have shocked the common sense of the people, and would have collected into the body of voters in the States those Negroes who had at least some idea of the uses and value of the ballot. The plan we adopted, of transferring the whole of this inferior race into the body of our citizenship, with the powers of government, was a rash experiment, that has not succeeded in accomplishing any good to either race.

Unfortunately it was thrust into the Constitution with inconsiderate haste, and we are repenting at our leisure the having dealt with this political and temporary question in the heat of our national animosities, as if it had been an essential part of the liberties of "ourselves and our posterity." Being in the Constitution, it must be respected and obeyed by the States, for that is the injunction and corresponding pledge of every State. But the people will take the liberty of lending their moral and material support to the States in the enforcement of this awful blunder, to the extent and in the degree and in the manner that will cause the least interference with the "rights reserved to the people" in the same Constitution, among which is the right "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," and also "to insure domestic tranquillity."

Without the moral and material support of the white people who are affected by the presence of masses of the Negro race, those State laws cannot be enforced which promote the idea of Negro supremacy. This support will never be given, and the opposition to this possible result will be so strong that it will



draw within its depressing power the Negro vote and the Negro voter, until the dread of Negro supremacy is dissipated.

If the Negroes can be worked into the representative character which every voter has, under our laws, as a useful and safe repository of such power, while in their family connections, in all social relations, and in every business pursuit they are doomed to stand apart from the white race as a class condemned to an inferiority of position from which there is no escape, it will be done through the impression they will make on those among whom they live, and not by impressions made through acts of Congress, expressive of the opinions and wishes of people who know but little about them and care less, except as the means of increasing their own political power.

Protestations of good will for the Negro race, when made by southern people, are not accepted as being sincere by those who believe that the ex-slaveholder and his posterity are incapable of sympathy or regard for that race of men. The argument, if applied to the ex-slave-catcher and his posterity, would carry with it much more logical strength. If we compare the condition of the Negro, caught in his native land and enslaved, with that of his posterity in the South as it was at the date of the 13th Amendment, simple justice cannot deny to the former slaveholding South the credit of having dealt far more generously with the Negroes than those who caught them in Africa or bought them from the slave ships.

The southern people do not desire to deprive the Negro race of any power or facility that will make freedom a blessing to them. What they seek to avoid is the consolidation of power in the hands of the Negro race that will be used, through the incentives of race aversion, to put them in control of the government of the white race.

Agitation in Congress and in political clubs will keep the prospect of such ascendancy ever before the Negroes, and will create opposition to the Negro voter that, otherwise, would be of little effect in any respect, and would never endanger the personal rights of that race. If these questions are permitted to await the solution that experience alone can provide, through the conduct of the people who have befriended this race when they



had no other counselors or guides than the slave-hunters, and who have developed this class into a condition that no African Negro ever aspired to, the solution will not, at least, cost us the shame of surrendering Anglo-Saxon civilization to the rule of ignorance and race prejudice. If they are forced into such shape as Negro instincts and the greed for power, common to them and their white leaders, shall compel them to assume, the world cannot censure the southern people if they do not welcome such a solution of the questions as will degrade the race to which we belong from its traditional prestige and wipe out the memory of its former grand achievements. This will not be expected of the South; neither will it be done.

The safe, benevolent, and wise solution of the Negro question can be left to the people of the States respectively, under the Constitution, with far greater security for every right now accorded to the Negroes, and for every blessing that may follow, than it can be to the politicians and agitators in other States.

JOHN T. MORGAN.



## REFORMS THAT DO NOT REFORM.

ASSUMING the conditions of an average community of 6000 people to be substantially as stated in the last number, we find but three ways of improving them, namely: First, by increasing the quantity of the product, and finding a market for the increase, in order that it may be converted into money and distributed. Secondly, by changing the present methods of distribution of that which is now produced, without increasing the quantity; that is, by finding a way by which those who have not quite enough for comfort and welfare may rightfully secure a share of that which is wastefully consumed by those who have too much or who spend unwisely. Thirdly, by improving the mode of using what is now produced, without increasing the quantity or materially altering the present method of distribution, so that it will yield a better subsistence to all.

What is now somewhat indefinitely called the "labor question" must of necessity consist in solving one or all of these three problems. What other way is there to improve the conditions of the community? If all that is produced by each average community of 6000 people comes within the limit of what will sell for \$1,200,000, or what that sum will buy at present prices, surely that fund constitutes the source of all earnings, wages, rents, profits, and taxes. We can consume no more unless we can re-convert into food, fuel, and clothing a part or all of the capital of the country which has been saved in our two hundred years or more of existence, amounting to less than three years' product, the whole of which, if consumed, would save us only two or three years' work and serve us only until it was exhausted. What should we do then? We cannot have more than all there is; therefore the limit of all that is produced must be regarded in all plans of social reform by all alike. This fact must be considered by the anarchist, the socialist, the communist, the advocate of the single tax on land, the representative of



the Anti-Poverty Society, the wage-earner, the co-operator, the knight of labor, the profit-sharer, the free-trader, the protectionist, the eight-hour advocate, the advocate of fiat money, the monometallist, and the bi-metallist. The theories of all these doctors of social philosophy—quacks, or regular practitioners—must deal either with what is now produced or else with plans and methods by which the gross product can be increased and more equitably distributed. The question in plain prose is, How much can you add to fifty cents' worth a day?

If, then, the average product at retail prices is what I have estimated, to wit, not exceeding fifty cents' worth per day for each person, from which sum all profits, wages, earnings, and taxes must of necessity be derived; or even if I have made an error of five to ten cents a day, which would come to one thousand million or two thousand million a year in computing the gross value of the product of the United States—not a probable error; then fifty-five to sixty cents a day is the limit, and even that limit is a very narrow one; it leaves little margin for saving either time or work.

This special community of 6000 persons would have furnished itself, according to the average of the whole country, with fifteen miles of railway; but being a more prosperous community than the average, it has perhaps twenty, thirty, or possibly forty miles. Of the 2000 persons occupied for gain, 140 may be engaged either in operating or in constructing railways, 36 as engineers and firemen or other employees, the rest as mechanics and laborers. Of the nineteen to twenty million men, women, and children now carrying on the work of this country, probably more than twelve hundred thousand men are occupied either in operating or in constructing railways. This railway force is our standing army; while other nations prepare for war we prepare for peace and plenty by opening the ways for commerce.

It is curious to observe that the only relics of the great Roman Empire which now have any actual utility among men are the Roman road and the Roman law. The one, which was constructed to open the way for conquest, remains an open way for commerce; the other remains at the foundation of our civil organization; all else has vanished except Roman literature and art. Of all the forms of capital which at the present day are



springing into existence, perhaps less will remain even a century hence than now remains of the capital or products of the Roman Empire, if we except the opening of the ways. The term "fixed capital" is sometimes used to distinguish the less perishable forms of capital from those which are useful only for the day; but there is nothing fixed except the law of change. There are factories in existence which purport to be fifty years old; but within that time the motive power and all the machinery has been changed once, twice, or thrice. Where land can be had, true economy may now consist in taking down the high building of five or six stories piled one upon another, and in reconstructing the mill only one or two stories above the ground; such changes are now being made. Who can tell when the next inventor will appear who will destroy all the rolling-stock of the railways? Who can tell how long people will be satisfied with the present crude and unscientific methods of constructing dwelling-houses? What useful factor or form of capital exists in a material form to-day that is more than a few years old? What permanent improvement have we made on the face of the land even in this country, except in leveling the hills, piercing the mountains, filling up the valleys, and laying down the ways of commerce? All that we can do is to move something; we can make nothing. And when we have opened the way, laid the rail, and brought the line to the seaboard, why do we obstruct the distribution of our own products? Why do we construct legal barriers to commerce with Canada and Mexico, for instance, more difficult and costly to surmount than any of the heavy grades over the mountains.

This community of 6000 people would have furnished itself, at the average of the whole country, with \$150,000 in lawful money, consisting of gold or silver coin, legal-tender notes receivable for taxes, convertible bank notes, and certificates based on silver or gold. The more dense the population, the greater will be the proportion of checks substituted for actual money; and the more widely scattered the population, the more actual money must be carried in the pockets of the people. All we have to do is to keep the quality of the money good and the quantity will take care of itself.



It is admitted that there may be a small margin of error in each and all of these computations. The proportion of people engaged in the different arts varies materially in different States, but it is not necessary that the proportions assumed should exactly correspond with those of any particular State. These small figures represent very nearly the proportions of the work and of the product of the whole community. In taking the United States Census returns of the occupations of the people, the margin for error is small, and the errors would alter the proportions assigned to each occupation in this small community only by a fraction.

We have become so accustomed to treat income in terms of money that a person is apt to stop at the figures without giving thought to what the money will buy. Now the money measure of the income is but an evidence that productive work has been done from which the income has been derived. The work itself varies in quantity and in quality: the income of each person depends more upon the quality than upon the quantity of his work. Therefore the apparent paradox comes within easy comprehension, to wit, that in determining the cost of any given service the rate of wages in money is no sure standard, but if the quality of the work from which the wages or earnings are derived is good, the rate of wages will be highest where the actual cost of production is lowest.

Again, the rate of earnings not commonly called wages but counted under salaries or profits, will be highest in proportion to the quality of the mental factor by which the manual or mechanical work is guided. In this, again, the paradoxical rule will hold good, that the highest earnings or salaries and the largest profits are derived from the largest product made at the lowest cost by the payment of the highest wages which the sale of the product will permit, and by the application of the most effective proportion of mental rather than of manual work. It is in this way that the function of the capitalist is justified. By his mental power in guiding and controlling the application of capital in the most effective way, he adds to the product of the community ten-fold or twenty fold what he takes from it for his own consumption. He thus reduces the cost of all production, and increases the real wages



or earnings of all the manual or mechanical workers who join with him in the conduct of all the industries and occupations of the country, because he not only assures the highest wages to those who perform the most skillful and effective work, but he is engaged in a perpetual effort to make his capital more effective, so that the proportion of his capital to the quantity or value of his product steadily diminishes. Under this imperative law the rate of wages of the workman is raised, and at the same time each dollar or unit of the wages will buy more of the product of the establishment in which he works, or more of the materials for shelter, food, and clothing for which the product of that factory may be exchanged. If such are the methods of progress under the competitive system which now prevails, we may well hesitate in attempting to reconstruct society by any of the processes submitted by ardent reformers, whether quacks or regulars.

Now, then, how can we reform, change, alter, or improve the present condition of any 6000 people consisting of a few rich, a considerable number of well-to-do, a large number of busy, fairly well-housed, and fully-nourished working people who are engaged in all the arts of life, and a moderate proportion of poor? There are Protestant and Catholic, temperate and intemperate, well-instructed and ignorant, as there are in each community wherever we take the average. It is possible that many difficulties may arise in the application of special and theoretic methods when the attempt is made to deal in a practical way with this typical community of 6000 people, which do not appear to the minds of those persons who think they can reform the whole nation by an act of legislation. Many men think themselves fully competent to regulate the operation of 150,000 miles of railway and to bring it all under very simple rules, but I have never found one who was willing to take the whole regulation, charge, and direction of the bakers' carts, the butchers' and grocers' wagons, or the job teams of a single city, or to attempt to reduce the cost even of distributing bread after it is baked. The distribution of bread after it is baked now costs the average workman in a city as much as it does to grow the wheat, mill it, barrel it, move it 1500 miles, and convert it into bread, all put together. If the theories of obstruction and regulation which have been attempted



in the control of the railway system were fully applied to the traffic even of a city of moderate size, it would almost surely happen that some of the inhabitants would starve every week unless put into the almshouse.

It is easy to imagine the conditions of a small community of 6000 persons, some of them far distant from the rest in the outskirts of the 300 square miles occupied, others living in closer neighborhood, as in villages; while in a district close to the coast-line there may be a town in which people are crowded together as they are in many of our great cities. We can also imagine in each community a certain number of "cranks," a certain number of dishonest people, a certain number of thieves who steal either within or without the forms of law; also a certain number of sentimentalists who, finding things all wrong, are absolutely certain that they can put them all right; and also a certain number who promote pauperism by indiscriminate almsgiving; finally, a good many who think they could build up a community, if they only had their own way, in a much better form than that in which this community finds itself. Would it not be judicious to apply a little common sense to some of the methods which are indicated by the names or titles already given to the several classes of social reformers and economic theorists?

We may perhaps find in each community of 6000 people one or two anarchists, who have been bred in a foreign land under a despotism, and who think that because there may be no way out from that despotism except by assassination or by the destruction of all existing forms of society, therefore the same methods should be applied in this community; so they shoot a policeman in place of a military ruler. Is there any better way of dealing with them when they become violent than the Chicago method?

There will be a few socialists, or advocates of what is called the collective method of regulating society under the control of the state, who desire to bring all the property of the community under state control, and to do away with private enterprise and private property both in land and capital. They present a grand scheme under which every one shall have enough and none shall have too much. Suppose this grand scheme limited to the conditions of any 6000 people, 2000 of whom—men, women, and



children—are occupied for gain, perhaps one in five of whom may be a voter or a man of arms-bearing age, and of whom 800 may sometimes vote. Now in what community of 6000 people will any considerable part of the 800 men who vote, or of the 800 women, a part of whom want to vote but who are not permitted, ever agree to put the conduct of all the business and the control of all the capital, all the farms, factories, forests, and mines into the hands of the town officers by a majority vote? Who would be the aldermen, the councilors, or the selectmen chosen to become the managers of all the railways, factories, shops, and warehouses? How would they be selected? What would be the condition of the civil service of that community? Who would be “boss”? Would such a method of controlling the capital of the community increase the product so that there would be more than \$200 worth per head each year, or about fifty cents’ worth a day per head? Would this plan be apt to improve the methods of distribution? If it did not, who would be any better off? If, on the contrary, it were to diminish the present product and put the distribution under the control of the superintendent, might not a good many people starve who now get some sort of a living? Is not despotism, either of one or more, the necessary complement of socialism? Fully admitting that there are many functions of society which the state or the municipal corporation can perform for the citizens better than they can perform them for themselves, yet if it would be manifestly impossible even for a small town of 6000 people to charge the officials with all that the advocates of socialism or of the collective system propose, is it not yet more impossible for the Congress of the nation to interfere in the direction of many of the functions now attempted by it?

The communist, of whom a few examples are always to be found in every community, proposes to divide the annual product equally among the members of the community—to have all things in common. There have been some examples of successful communism in a limited way; as for instance in the Shaker communities; but the Shakers impose a strict limit upon population, besides requiring an equal distribution of the products of labor. This is logical. The general application of their principle would lead to complete success; that is, there would be



enough for all, for the reason that all would soon be none. When we ask a communist whether or not the application of the policy suggested by him would lead to a product exceeding that of the present day, about fifty cents' worth daily per head, he is incapable of giving any affirmative answer; all such undertakings, except that of the Shakers, having failed and broken up.

Of late the renewal of the proposition long since presented by the economists who were known as the physiocrats of France, that all value comes from land, coupled with a plan for collecting the entire revenue of the country by the imposition of a single tax upon the value of land, has led many hopeful persons to believe that the panacea had been found, and that all that is needed to bring about uniformly better conditions is to adopt the single-tax system and to organize anti-poverty societies. It is held by them that the rent of land would be more than sufficient to meet all the expenditures of city, town, State, and nation combined, and that by so converting what is now paid as rent into taxes, no rent could thereafter accrue to the benefit of private persons. The advocates of the single-tax system admit that the private possession of land is necessary to its productive use; they only propose to tax land more and other property less, and they object only to the private possession of land under any other conditions than their own. There is no absolute private ownership of land in this country. All land is now held in conditional possession only. It is subject to the right of eminent domain, subject to be taken for public use, and subject to the condition of paying taxes lawfully assessed upon it. It therefore follows that the advocates of the single-tax system propose only to change the conditions under which land shall be held in private possession hereafter, as compared with the conditions under which it has been so held heretofore. Will this change increase the product? Will it tend to the application of more capital or of less capital to the improvement of land? Raw land has no value. When a high price is paid for a corner lot in a city it is paid for the choice of position, not for any inherent value in the land itself. Until the town house is built upon it the corner lot will yield neither rent nor tax. Where land can be occupied and used the highest price is paid for the selection, in order that



the occupant or possessor of the corner lot may distribute the greatest amount of products at the lowest charge for the service. Land attains value only in proportion to the labor and capital which are applied to its use and occupancy. There is more free land waiting to be used at this time in this country than ever before, for the reason that capital applied to the construction of railways has brought the whole country within the reach of settlers at the lowest possible cost. In the older seaboard States land is available for use on better terms than it could have been obtained by the original settlers, who paid nothing for it and who were not subject to any rent, for the reason that the greater part of the agricultural land of the Eastern States could now be purchased at much less than the cost of clearing and improving it, or at less than the cost of the buildings upon it.

It is also probably an error to suppose that the present rental value of land, taken by itself, including that somewhat indefinite factor, the so-called "unearned increment," even if it could all be converted to public use in payment of taxes, would suffice to meet the necessary expenses of government even for State, city, and town purposes. For several years the assessors of the city of Boston, where the present valuation of land is very high, have kept the valuation of land for the purpose of taxation separate from that of buildings and personal property. The valuation of the city for the year 1888 was \$764,000,000, on which a tax is to be assessed of \$10,000,000 for city, county, and State purposes, at the rate of \$13.50 on each \$1000 worth of property. Land and buildings are assessed nearly if not quite up to the market value. Personal property is reached by the assessors of the city of Boston in larger measure than in any other city in the country. At the average of recent years, the value of land is \$333,000,000; of buildings and improvements, \$230,000,000; of personal property, \$201,000,000. In order to raise \$10,000,000 revenue the tax upon the whole must be \$13.50 on each \$1000. If the assessment were made upon real estate, including land and buildings, the rate would be \$17.75; or, making allowance for abatements, \$18.50. If assessed on land value only, the assessment would be a little over \$33, allowing for abatements about \$35, on each \$1000. It is doubtful if the rental now obtained by



the owners of all the land of Boston would more than meet the \$10,000,000 expenses of the State and city, omitting wholly the amount required by the nation. It must be remembered that our national taxes amount to a sum as large, if not larger than all the State, county, city, and town taxes combined.

Let it be assumed that all the taxes are levied upon land at \$35 per \$1000; the first question which arises is, would not this heavy rate immediately depress the value of land? It has done so in other cases where even indirect taxes on land customarily assessed upon occupiers and not upon owners have become excessive. I heard of good land in England last summer on which the rates and tithes were so heavy that its market value was only five shillings an acre. The rates, tithes, and other burdens upon wheat land in Great Britain, where there is almost no direct tax upon land value, come to more than the entire cost of producing wheat in Illinois, Minnesota, or Dakota. If the value of land were thus reduced, the revenues would of necessity be derived in some other way than by an assessment on value. It would then become necessary for the city assessors to determine the relative rental value and not the salable value of each parcel of land; they must then assess a tax on it in the form of rent without regard to what it would bring in the market. The end of that would be that the city would become the landlord and the assessors would fix the rent. How would they change the rental from time to time, to meet new conditions as the value of each particular site for use or occupation changed, permanent possession of land being admittedly necessary to its productive use and occupancy? When the rental tax had been fixed for a long term—without which fixity of tenure no permanent buildings would be constructed—if the site value increased the tenant would sell his lease for a bonus and thus secure the unearned increment. If the site value decreased, he could no longer pay the tax: who would compensate him for the unearned decrement? Witness the failure of the attempt to fix judicial rents in Ireland by the decision of a court. In many cases the tenant has secured a reduction by representing to the satisfaction of the court that he could pay no more. As soon as the rent has been fixed, the tenant has sold his new lease at a large bonus or premium. Who would put a building upon land



under such a no-private-rent and single-tax tenure, unless he could obtain a permanent lease from the authorities at a fixed rental or an agreement for taxation at a fixed rate? Who would then put a building upon such land unless he could obtain the average income from his capital, and unless he could recover in addition thereto the rent or taxes due to the city, from those who should occupy or use the buildings upon the premises? Would land subject to an annual tax of \$35 per \$1000 on the present value be more widely distributed than it now is? This tax must be the first lien upon the land; could any man except a large capitalist afford to occupy land on such terms? How would a single tax on land affect farmers, who can now barely earn the tax imposed on their land and who seldom get more than a fair return for their labor out of their land, as compared with the returns from other occupations? Most of the farm land of this country is no-rent land; it yields no more than a fair return for labor. How would country towns obtain any revenue, where all the land yields but a meager support to those who either occupy or cultivate it?

The fallacy of this proposition lies in the fact that land is only the source of primary production, and is not the only source of income. If taxes are to be strictly assessed on land in ratio to its capacity to yield rent or a rental tax, then the possession of land in the hands of those most capable of using it as an instrument of the utmost production must become necessary in order that the tax may be met. Low-taxed land now serves for the support of many who have neither the capital nor the capacity to get the utmost production from it; but if all taxes are put upon land only and the rate thus becomes very high, it can be used or cultivated only in the most productive way, and this implies large capital and full capacity. Would not this again tend to the concentration of land in fewer hands than now possess it? Would not the capitalist, or any other person who might possess the land under the new conditions, be enabled to distribute the whole of the single tax among the consumers of all products more surely than he does now?

Finally, would this change in the system of land-tenure lead



to an increase of production? If the present product is fifty cents' worth per head of the population, more or less, what would be the effect of the single-tax system in increasing or diminishing this product? When the advocates of this system put their proposed measure into the form of a bill to be submitted to any legislature, their difficulties will begin and the fallacy of their reasoning will at once become plain. I may suggest that it is often a sufficient test of an *à priori* theory to ask the proponent to put his proposed system in the form of a bill to be passed upon by any legislature. This brings the subject to a practical issue, and in nine cases out of ten the theorists are incapable of framing an act that will work, because their propositions are impracticable.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## INTERNATIONAL EXTRADITION.

IT is a well-established principle of law that criminal prosecutions are local and not transitory. A wrong-doer whose wrong consists in a civil injury, or arises out of a breach of contract, can ordinarily be required to answer for the wrong done wherever he may be found. But a different principle is applied to the case of one who has committed a crime. As one nation does not enforce the penal laws of another, and as the process of the courts of a state can confer no authority beyond its own territorial limits, punishment can be avoided by escaping from the boundaries of the government where the crime was committed, unless the state whose asylum is sought shall decline to harbor the offender. That international law imposes no obligation to surrender the fugitive is now understood, although at one time so distinguished an authority as Chancellor Kent contended that every state is obliged, by the law of nations, to refuse an asylum to such persons, provided their surrender is asked for by the offended government. But inasmuch as no such obligation is imposed by the law of nations, the right to require such a surrender to be made can be secured only under treaty stipulations. It is quite true that there have been instances where fugitives from justice have been surrendered by one nation to another without any treaty on the subject. Such instances are few, and the surrender has been made on principles of comity. The surrender of Argueles by the United States to Spain in 1864 was a case of this kind. At that time there was no extradition treaty between the two countries, but Mr. Seward, then secretary of state, made the surrender with the consent of President Lincoln. A few years later there was another case of the same kind, when Spain surrendered to our government the notorious William M. Tweed. The action of our government in the Argueles case has been generally and unsparingly condemned as a naked usurpation of power on the part of the executive. A matter of such grave im-



portance must be governed by established rules, and not left to the arbitrary fancy or whim of a department of government. Moreover, if the executive department of our government has no right to surrender a fugitive on principles of comity, neither can it with any propriety ask a foreign power to make such a surrender to us. It ought not to ask a favor which it cannot return.

In 1791, Governor Pinckney, of South Carolina, asked President Washington to request the surrender of a fugitive who had sought an asylum in a foreign state. The matter was referred to Mr. Jefferson, then at the head of the State Department. At that time we had no extradition treaty with any nation. Mr. Jefferson, replying, said:

“The laws of the United States, like those of England, receive every fugitive, and no authority has been given to our executives to deliver them up. If, then, the United States could not deliver up to General Quesnada fugitives from the justice of another country, we cannot claim as a right the delivery of fugitives from us. And it is worthy of consideration whether the demand proposed in Governor Pinckney’s letter, should it be complied with by the other party, might not commit us disagreeably and perhaps dishonorably.”

Accordingly no request was made, and the matter was allowed to drop. Mr. Bayard appears to have acted on the same principle in not requesting the surrender of McGarigle, who, under exasperating circumstances, had escaped from Illinois to Canada. Under our treaty with Great Britain we could not demand his surrender as a matter of right, and we therefore declined, and very properly, to request it as a matter of favor. If we wish to obtain from foreign nations a surrender to our jurisdiction of those who have broken our laws and fled from punishment, there is only one legitimate and honorable way to accomplish it; it must be attained under extradition treaties.

It is to be observed, too, that the British crown is as powerless in such matters as the executive of the United States. The sovereign has no inherent authority to surrender to a foreign country fugitives from justice, it being no part of the prerogative of the crown to expel a foreigner from the realm, even though he may have entered it red-handed from the blood of a murder committed on foreign soil. That such surrenders can be made only



in accordance with treaties or statute law, is as true a principle of English law as of our own. In France, on the contrary, the right to order an extradition was deemed, at one time at least, a prerogative of the chief executive of the state.

The policy of the United States government on this subject has been somewhat extraordinary. The Constitution confers on the president the power to make treaties, subject to the approval of the Senate; and a treaty so made is declared to be the supreme law of the land, the judges in every State being bound thereby. Congress is also empowered to make all laws which are necessary and proper for carrying into execution any treaty which may be made and confirmed. The government has thus been possessed of plenary power from the beginning to enter into satisfactory arrangements with foreign nations for the surrender of fugitive criminals. Not only has it had the power, but every consideration of the public interest should have induced its exercise in a liberal way. It is the duty of government to provide that laws enacted for the protection of life and property, and for the maintenance of peace and good order among men, shall be enforced. The principle should not be tolerated which would allow any one to violate the laws on condition that the offender retire beyond the boundary line.

If the interests of good government lead a nation to desire the surrender of those who have violated its laws and escaped from its jurisdiction, there are reasons equally strong leading the country whose asylum has been sought to consent to the surrender of such persons. The same reasons that incline one nation to ask for the surrender of its fugitives, operate to incline other nations to desire the surrender of theirs, so that in matters of this kind there may be a reciprocal giving and receiving. Moreover, no nation can be desirous of having added to its population a colony of murderers, assassins, incendiaries, burglars, highway robbers, and embezzlers. Their very presence in any particular neighborhood conduces only to make life the less desirable in that vicinity, and persons of that description would not have received a very cordial welcome at the hands of the tithing or the hundred in the days when the law made the whole district liable for a crime committed by any one within its boundaries, and when every



freeman had to be able to name his tithing or be considered an outlaw whom anybody might put to death.

The power of the government being ample, and the inducements to its exercise being great, we may now consider to what extent the government of the United States has made use of it. The first treaty provision on this subject which the government of the United States secured from any foreign power was contained in the treaty negotiated with Great Britain in 1794. It covered only two offenses, murder and forgery. The treaty was not confined to the subject of extradition, but included other matters as well, the provision relating to extradition being contained in the twenty-seventh article; and while the rest of the treaty was to continue in force for an indefinite time, it was expressly provided, for some unaccountable reason, that this article should expire in 1806. It was not renewed on its expiration, and from that time down to the year 1842, although we negotiated treaties with all the important nations of the world, not one of them contained a syllable relating to the surrender of fugitives from justice. Only one case arose under the treaty of 1794, and the experience which the administration had with that was not encouraging. The case occurred in 1799, and was that of Robbins, *alias* Nash, who had committed murder on board a British ship upon the high seas. He was a citizen of the United States, and his extradition having been demanded by the British government, the administration of the elder Adams surrendered him. The surrender was the occasion of much bitter criticism on the part of the opponents of Mr. Adams, it being strongly contended that the treaty was, in its article of extradition, contrary to the Constitution of the United States, that it could relate only to foreigners, and that Robbins should never have been given up. The case occupied the attention of Congress during a large portion of the winter of 1800. It is considered to have been one of the causes of the overthrow of the Adams administration, and it prevented the United States for almost half a century from considering another treaty of extradition.

But in 1842, what is known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was negotiated with Great Britain, and it is still in force. Its tenth article provides for the surrender of persons charged with



“the crime of murder, or assault with intent to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper.” For other crimes than those enumerated above the United States cannot obtain the surrender of any criminal who has fled from our shores to those of Great Britain or any of her provinces. The result has been that persons could commit the common crime of embezzlement, and escape punishment by simply crossing the Canadian frontier. Many there are who have not been slow in making that journey. It would be a long catalogue of names, longer than Homer’s catalogue of ships, were one to enumerate those who thus have taken their departure. We may say that they left their country for their country’s good, and that the Canadian Dominion is welcome to them. But there is more than this involved. It is little less than an encouragement to embezzlement when an officer of a bank at Buffalo or Detroit, for instance, who handles hundreds of thousands of dollars, can help himself to so much of this money as he covets, and escape the penalty of our laws by crossing the Detroit or the Niagara River into Canada. During all these years we have had no arrangements with Great Britain for the surrender of persons charged with the common offenses of larceny, embezzlement, perjury, bribery, burglary, bigamy, false pretenses, and counterfeiting. In a great many cases it might not be worth while to ask for the surrender of persons charged with some of the above-enumerated crimes, but it should be possible to make this demand in any case where the circumstances seem to warrant it. Indeed, one may well ask why it should be thought necessary to embody any list of extraditable offenses in such treaties. What objection can there be to an agreement (political offenders being excepted) that each country shall hand over to the other any fugitive from justice whose offense is a crime under the laws of the state from whose jurisdiction he has fled? This is the rule as between the States of the Union, and it might be well to extend the principle to cases of international extradition, if for no other reason than to avoid difficulties like those encountered in the Eno case. Eno had been guilty of forgery, and that, under the treaty of 1842, was an extraditable offense. He was not given up because the courts held that the term “forgery” meant



the act or acts known as forgery when the treaty was made, and that it was immaterial that the acts done by Eno amounted to forgery under the statutes of both countries thereafter enacted.

On the 8th of December, 1885, President Cleveland transmitted to the Senate what he proposed as a new treaty of extradition with Great Britain. In the message which accompanied it he said: "The inadequacy of the existing arrangements for extradition between the United States and Great Britain has been long apparent." The proposed treaty, known as the Phelps-Rosebery Treaty, makes comprehensive provision for the extradition of offenders. It has been allowed, however, to lie on the table of the Senate for three years without final action. The Senate cannot be unaware of the fact that the existing extradition relations of the two countries are inadequate, and a constant menace to the business interests of both nations, particularly so to all financial institutions in either country. Neither can the Senate be unaware, for its attention has been called to it in a memorial, that between the time when the treaty was sent in, and February, 1888, when action was again deferred, postponing it to the present session, a partial list of embezzlements committed in the United States, by persons who fled to Canada, amounted to \$3,840,570. Most of the embezzlements noted had taken place within a single year. The largest of them was that of an insurance man of Hartford, for \$1,000,000.

The failure of the Senate to take action on this treaty seems to many scarcely creditable, and the friends of the Cleveland administration have professed to see in it an unworthy partisan purpose. But whether or not there are any just grounds for this opinion, it does not concern us here to inquire. The important fact confronting us is that nothing has been accomplished, and that our extradition arrangements with Great Britain are to-day no better than they were in 1842. Those relations are wholly inadequate and strangely prejudicial to the best interests of both nations, whose criminal law is weakened because the scoundrels of either country can enjoy impunity for all but a few crimes, by escaping from the jurisdiction of one to the jurisdiction of the other.

That the blame for this state of things has for some time past rested upon the government of the United States rather than



upon that of Great Britain, seems to be evident, although the acknowledgment is not a pleasant one to make. In earlier times the two nations did not differ widely in opinion on this subject, neither being favorable to the extradition of offenders. In Lord Coke's "Institutes" will be found strong denunciation against the surrender of such persons to foreign governments, with or without treaty. And in his time the feeling was pronounced in England, and on the European continent as well, that "all kingdoms were free to fugitives," and that it was the duty of kings "to defend every one of the liberties of their own kingdoms, and therefore to protect them."

At the time of our Declaration of Independence England had no treaty of extradition with any foreign power. That it has finally outgrown its ancient and narrow prejudices on this subject appears sufficiently from its extradition act of 1870, and its treaties negotiated within recent times. In the United States the history of opinion on this subject has not been very different from what it has been in England. The views of Mr. Jefferson, our first secretary of state, seem to have differed very little from those of Lord Coke, above referred to, and many of his successors in the State Department apparently imbibed something of his prejudices. However, the treaties which this country has negotiated of late show that we, too, have largely outgrown those old and narrow notions. But while we have negotiated comprehensive treaties with other nations, extradition between the United States and Great Britain and her provinces is still left, through the Senate's inaction, to the meager provisions of the treaty of 1842, although it is more important to this government to have a liberal treaty with that country than with any other European power. The failure to negotiate such a treaty was for a time due to a misunderstanding between some of our statesmen and the British government as to the construction to be given to the treaty of 1842. That treaty contains no express provision against the trial of extradited persons for other offenses than those for which they are surrendered; and the question was raised whether a person who had been extradited, charged with a specified crime, could be tried for a totally different one, without having an opportunity to return to the country from which he was removed.



In 1876 this question involved the two governments in a sharp diplomatic correspondence, carried on by Mr. Fish, then secretary of state for the United States, and Lord Derby, at that time the British foreign secretary.

It is necessary to bear in mind, for the better understanding of the matter, that it had happened in several cases that persons surrendered to this country under the existing treaty had not been tried at all on the charges upon which they had been surrendered, but had been indicted, tried, convicted, and punished for totally different crimes, and crimes for which they could not have been extradited. The right to do this had been maintained by certain of our courts. For instance, in 1870, Canada had surrendered to us one Caldwell, charged with forgery. Once within our jurisdiction, he was put on trial, not for the forgery, but for bribery of an officer of the United States—an offense for which he could not have been extradited. The United States Circuit Court, in "*The United States v. Caldwell*," \* sustained the right to do this, asserting that while abuse of extradition proceedings and a want of good faith in resorting to them constituted a good cause of complaint between the two governments, yet it was not an abuse of which the prisoner could avail himself in order to defeat the jurisdiction of the courts. There have been other cases to the same effect.

This was the situation when, in 1876, the government of the United States asked Great Britain for the extradition of Winslow, who was charged with forgery. In reply, the British government, through Lord Derby, asked of the United States a guarantee, as a prerequisite to the surrender, that Winslow should not be tried for any offense other than the one specified in the extradition request. To this Mr. Fish replied that there was nothing in the original treaty which precluded our government from trying a criminal, once surrendered, "for any offense other than the particular offense for which he was extradited," but that, on the contrary, the right to do so under the treaty was fully sustained by judicial decisions. Much correspondence passed between the two governments without either of them receding from its position. The result was that Winslow escaped prose-

\* 8 Blatchford, C. C. R., 131.



cution, the British government declining to give him up. President Grant, treating the extradition stipulation as practically inoperative, thereupon announced to Congress that the United States would thereafter wholly refrain from asking the surrender of fugitive criminals from the government of Great Britain. The surrender of such criminals has, however, since been made, the British government simply ceasing to insist on a guarantee, without abandoning its view of the legal effect of the treaty itself.

That the United States government was wrong in the construction which the State Department undertook to put upon the treaty is evident from a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in "*The United States v. Rauscher*." \* The court in that case said:

"We feel authorized to state that the weight of authority and of sound principle is in favor of the proposition, that a person who has been brought within the jurisdiction of the court by virtue of proceedings under an extradition treaty can only be tried for one of the offenses described in that treaty, and for the offense with which he is charged in the proceedings for his extradition, until a reasonable time and opportunity have been given him, after his release or trial upon such charge, to return to the country from whose asylum he had been forcibly taken under the proceedings."

In the light of that decision the atmosphere surrounding the State Department at Washington began to clear, and it was discovered that the miff at Great Britain, in which some of our statesmen had been indulging, was based on erroneous grounds. Whereupon the Cleveland administration at once set itself to the task of negotiating a new and much more comprehensive treaty than any we had previously had with that country. The administration seems to have experienced little difficulty so far as Great Britain was concerned, but it has encountered an opposition in the Senate which it hardly anticipated.

It is understood that the treaty in question contains an express provision that political offenders shall not be surrendered by either government, but it is alleged that the terms of the treaty are so comprehensive that persons guilty of dynamite outrages and the like may be surrendered thereunder. Consequently there has been a demand on the part of certain Irish "patriots"

\* 119 U. S., 407 [1886].



that the treaty be rejected. No doubt the people of the United States thoroughly sympathize with the cause of home rule for Ireland, but no lover of his kind can tolerate for a moment the dagger of the assassin or the dynamite bomb of the anarchist. Men who resort to these means to promote any cause, however worthy, are inhuman, and they commit high treason against humanity and civilization. It is little less than an insult to ask the government for their protection. They are not political offenders, but outlaws and the enemies of human kind. A protest on behalf of such persons is not less unwarranted than is that of "Stepniak," the apostle of Russian nihilism, who has taken it on himself to address to the Senate of the United States a protest against the ratification of a treaty which the President has negotiated with the Czar of Russia, under which a person who should attempt the life of the Czar could be extradited. Law and justice are a mockery if anarchists, nihilists, assassins, and dynamite fiends are to be harbored by civilized governments. Why should the enemies of law and the foes of humanity call upon law and humanity for protection?

HENRY WADE ROGERS.



## A UNIVERSITY AT WASHINGTON.

REGARDING the position of Washington as a center in which are brought together great educational resources, and from which are radiated vast influences upon American life, the first main point is that it is the permanent or temporary residence of very many leading men upon whom a university might draw for its lecture rooms or council chambers. In Congress, from which most people expect little of the sort, are many who can speak with acknowledged authority on subjects which every university worthy of the name has to consider. We sometimes hear sneers at western congressmen, and yet, out of the small number I have the honor to know, I can at this moment recall two who, apart from large diplomatic experience, stand in the highest rank of American scholars.

Next, as to men specially known in literary pursuits, the veteran historian and statesman who years ago chose Washington as his residence has proved to be a far-sighted pioneer; others have followed him, and the number consequently increases. Everything combines to attract them: the salubrity of the place, save in midsummer, the concourse of men best worth knowing from all parts of the world, and the attractiveness of a city in which intellectual eminence has thus far asserted itself above wealth. So well known is this that the various societies of a literary tendency are more and more making Washington their annual place of meeting; the American Historical Society was one of the first to do this, and others are following its example.

But it is more especially as a source of scientific activity that Washington has taken the foremost place in the nation; it is rapidly becoming one of the great scientific centers of the world. The Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, the great government surveys, sundry government commissions and bureaus whose work is largely scientific, and many retired officers



of the army and navy who have interested themselves in scientific pursuits, all combine to lay strong foundations for scientific activity. About the year 1870 was established the Philosophical Society of Washington, under the presidency of Joseph Henry. In the number of its meetings as well as in the variety, range, and importance of the papers presented, this society soon took a leading place. Neither in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, nor elsewhere in our country are meetings of similar societies held with the frequency and regularity which characterize these; nor are the papers presented elsewhere on the whole of as much consequence in promoting research as those thus brought out at Washington.

Owing to the development of scientific work which has followed its establishment, the Philosophical Society has been found unable to meet the demands upon it, and five more special scientific organizations have been successfully established as off-shoots. The latest of these, the National Geographical Society, has already a membership of five or six hundred. The natural effect of bringing together the large body of scientific workers employed in the various bureaus of the government is not only to give vigor to these societies, but to create a liking for the pursuits of science which extends far beyond the society limits. And another effect of the spirit thus engendered is to attract various other national scientific organizations to Washington as the best place for their annual meetings.

This aggregation of so many investigators in so many fields has naturally led to the gathering of apparatus and means for carrying on scientific inquiry, and these may be considered under the headings of Libraries, Laboratories, and Collections.

As to the first, I give from the "Report of the Commissioner of Education" a few statistics of the principal libraries in the city. Some of these libraries, such as those of the Patent Office, the Bureau of Education, the Geological Survey, the Naval Observatory, the Museum of Hygiene, the Surgeon-General's Office, and the Departments of State and Agriculture, as well as the Toomer and other special collections in the Library of Congress, are particularly valuable by reason of their strength in certain definite lines of research.



## LIBRARIES IN WASHINGTON.

	No. of Vols.
American Medical Association . . . . .	7,000
Bar Association (subscription) . . . . .	4,500
Bureau of Education . . . . .	17,500
Columbian University . . . . .	7,000
Department of Agriculture . . . . .	18,000
"    of Justice . . . . .	20,000
"    of State . . . . .	22,625
"    of the Interior . . . . .	8,000
Gonzaga College . . . . .	10,000
House of Representatives . . . . .	125,000
Howard University . . . . .	11,509
Light-house Board . . . . .	2,711
Museum of Hygiene . . . . .	13,000
Navy Department . . . . .	17,000
Patent Office . . . . .	50,000
Signal Office . . . . .	10,540
Surgeon-General's Office . . . . .	76,733
Treasury Department . . . . .	18,000
U. S. Geological Survey . . . . .	17,255
Coast Survey . . . . .	4,500
Congress . . . . .	565,134
Hydrographic Office . . . . .	2,306
Naval Observatory . . . . .	12,000
Senate . . . . .	30,000
War Department . . . . .	17,500
Georgetown College . . . . .	35,000
Total . . . . .	<u>1,122,813</u>

## PAMPHLETS.

Bureau of Education . . . . .	45,000
Library of Congress . . . . .	191,000
Total . . . . .	<u>236,000</u>

Here we have, then, a library of over a million volumes selected by the foremost specialists in every field, easily accessible, maintained, enlarged, and administered without any cost to the proposed university, and ready for its work at the moment of its organization. All that would be needed by such an institution would be a small library for reference, similar to that so admirably planned for Johns Hopkins University by President Gilman.

Next, as to laboratories. For chemical work the government has at least eight: the laboratories of the United States Geo-



logical Survey, of the Agricultural Department, of the Surgeon-General's Office, of the Navy Department, of the Museum of Hygiene, of the Internal Revenue Bureau, of the Mint Bureau, and of the District Chemist. There is also a small chemical laboratory in the Smithsonian Institution, which was originally organized for work connected with the Fish Commission. Most of these are organized for special work in testing materials or supplies, but the laboratories of the Geological Survey and of the Agricultural Department are necessarily so carried on that a large amount of work is also done in the line of purely scientific investigation. In the laboratory of the Geological Survey the work mainly relates to the chemistry of the mineral kingdom, while in the laboratory of the Agricultural Department investigations are undertaken relative to agricultural problems and to various adulterations of articles of food. In both, much research is conducted which results in the improvement of analytical methods. In the physical laboratory of the Geological Survey, which is immediately connected with the chemical laboratory forming part of the same division, physical investigations relating to geological problems are actively carried forward; for example, the physical constants of rocks are determined, and investigations have been made upon sedimentation. Here, too, researches have been made on the physical properties of iron and steel, on the formation of alloys, and on methods of measuring high temperatures. These different chemical laboratories of the government, including the force of chemists in the Patent Office, represent at least forty skilled men actively engaged in chemical work.

Besides this, within an hour's distance northward are the chemical, physical, and biological laboratories of Johns Hopkins University, in which advanced students could make frequent observations, or even take steady work. A little more distant southward is the University of Virginia, which could easily be brought into relations with the proposed institution in a manner profitable to both; and at various points more or less remote are institutions which would doubtless afford some supplementary facilities, and among them is the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Here, then, are laboratories affording the most admirable opportunities for just those kinds of advanced investigations,



methods, and processes with which a university, as distinguished from an intermediate college, has to do. The proposed university should indeed have large general laboratories and probably some special laboratories of its own, over which it could have complete control; but these outlying special laboratories, in which the most advanced work is constantly conducted by leading specialists, would give a university character to the work such as could hardly be attained at any other point in the country.

I come next to illustrative collections. The chief of these are to be found in the National Museum; and these, already great, and in some respects unequaled in the world, are steadily increasing. They embrace the results of man's activity in almost every form in which such results admit of representative exhibition. To enumerate them would be impossible in any space which I could claim, and useless in view of their rapid increase. Under the existing laws the collections made by the Geological and other surveys are deposited in the National Museum after they have been used by the organizations collecting them. This has been the practice for years, so that there are already gathered a number of very valuable special collections, such as those of the Fortieth Parallel Expedition, the Washoe Expedition, and others, besides an immense amount of ethnological, archæological, palæontological, and mineralogical material.

The palæontological collections of invertebrate fossils are extensive, and embrace all the material collected by the various government expeditions in the far West, and also large collections made by the Geological Survey in the East to illustrate the study of stratigraphic geology in connection with the faunas. The collection of vertebrate fossils is at present in charge of Professor Marsh, of Yale University, but will ultimately be deposited in the National Museum. It is of such interest that some of the foremost naturalists of Europe have made a study of it their main object in visiting our country. The collection illustrating palæobotany is the largest and most complete in the United States; this may also be said of the collections from the Cambrian system and the Mesozoic and Cenozoic rocks.

The mineral collection of the National Museum may be divided into three parts: first, a large exhibition series; secondly,



a reserve or study series; and, thirdly, a duplicate series which is used for purposes of exchange. Incidental to the mineral collection there are two special collections; one a collection of gems and ornamental stones, mostly cut and polished; the other a collection of meteorites, which is already one of the larger collections of the world. The policy of the mineral department is to encourage research, and to well-accredited students are always given opportunities for work and assistance as far as possible. Immediately related to the mineral collection is the collection of rocks and building-stones, the geological collection proper, and the metallurgical collection, consisting mainly of ores, fuels, furnace models, and metallurgical products generally. Taken altogether, the facilities for mineralogical investigation in Washington will compare favorably with the opportunities offered anywhere in the world. All these collections are increasing with very great rapidity.

But these are by no means all the stores of material for illustration and research available for university purposes at Washington. There must also be named the Museum of the Agricultural Department, which affords fine opportunities for study, some of the collections being unusually complete and well-arranged. So, too, the large Botanical Conservatory, generally supposed to have as its sole object the supply of bouquets to enterprising congressmen, already carries on the more serious business of botanical research, and would do so to still higher and broader purpose were a university to organize study in connection with it.

Next may be named the United States Fish Commission, which maintains its principal station at Washington, where subjects through great ranges in zoölogy may be well studied. As for the supplementary facilities offered for summer work in the government establishment at Wood's Holl, they are simply the most complete in the world. Few Americans know how creditable this work has been, and how useful to their country. It was once made the duty of the writer of this article to conduct the late Emperor Frederick of Germany through some of the collections made by this commission. He was a competent judge. His exclamations of admiration were unaffected and hearty, and it was no surprise that at the close of the Berlin Fisheries Exposi-



tion the first great prize should have been awarded to Professor Spencer Baird, who had organized this service.

The collection of models in the Patent Office also presents great opportunities for those who would study the development of the vast industries represented in it. The collections at the Museum of Hygiene and the Surgeon-General's Office are noted throughout the world as in all respects precious, and in some respects unique. And, finally, the Corcoran Gallery, though only in its beginning, can easily be made to stimulate study in art, and to afford facilities for carrying on such study.

I have by no means exhausted the list of collections, but what is already given will serve to show that few universities in Europe, and none in America, have such a mass of the best material for the training of students and for the advancement of knowledge as one which might be created at our national capital, and brought into proper relations with what already exists there.

I come next to the observatories. Under this head are several centres of scientific activity, but I will name only one, the Naval Observatory. It is one of the foremost in the world, and connected with it is a chart and chronometer depot, an extensive collection of instruments used in taking astronomical photographs, and a magnetic observatory, besides the celebrated telescope and transit instruments used in carrying on its ordinary work. The proposed university would indeed need an observatory of moderate size for training purposes, but in the work of research by young astronomers likely to be of use and honor to the nation all this ample provision would be immediately available.

So much for the literary, scientific, and technical side of the university; and a brief exhibit may now be made of the opportunities Washington offers to the students of what were formerly known as the "learned professions"—to the students of law, medicine, and, I might add with Faust, "*und leider auch Theologie*," had other religious bodies in the country shown anything of the foresight and zeal exhibited in the preparations for the theological school of the new Roman Catholic University.

Among the facilities for the study of medicine the city offers at least six hospitals, at each of which clinical instruction is given, and one of these, Providence Hospital, has over three hundred



beds. The Army Medical Museum is declared by a competent and unprejudiced authority to comprise the most complete collection of recent pathological specimens in the world, and is open to the public every week-day. In the National Museum there is the most complete collection in the country illustrating the *materia medica* of the United States pharmacopœia, and that of foreign countries; and the whole is arranged and classified so as to be immediately available for studies. The immense library of the Surgeon-General's office is also available for the use of medical students and practitioners.

For a university law department Washington presents almost unparalleled advantages. The Law Library of Congress contains over 50,000 carefully-selected volumes, exclusively legal in character, and provision is already made for the accommodation of students in using it. The State Department has, by a wise policy steadily pursued during many years past, accumulated the most valuable collection of works relating to international law in the western hemisphere—a collection undoubtedly superior even to that of All Souls' College, Oxford, which is becoming one of the boasts of that university.

In the Supreme Court of the United States, and in the Court of Claims, the foremost American lawyers may be heard making arguments on the most important questions. The Supreme Court of the District has the common law, equity, and probate jurisdiction of a State court, besides that of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States. The absence of any code, even of one governing procedure, encourages the study of the common law in exceptional simplicity; and already sundry institutions, notably the Columbian University, have endeavored to bring these advantages to bear upon the country. But these institutions, though embracing men of high scholarship and ability, are greatly hampered by the want of the means necessary to provide full university instruction.

So much for the assemblage at Washington of men, books, apparatus, and material necessary for the highest university instruction. I come now to the two questions: What shall the proposed university be? How shall it be organized? I will suppose that some great millionaire or combination of millionaires



has given the five or six millions required. Certainly such a supposition is by no means beyond the possibilities, in view of the sums, even larger than these, either given or to be given by some of our wealthy fellow-citizens for similar purposes.

The first duty will naturally be to choose with care a board of trustees, and these should be men who will give the institution a national but not a partisan or sectarian character. There should be, as a fundamental feature of its organic law, a provision that persons of every party, and of every religious sect or of no religious sect, and of every nationality, shall be equally eligible to all offices and positions of every sort in the institution; and that neither for service in the board of trustees, nor for service in the faculty, nor for any other service in the university shall any candidate be accepted or rejected on account of any political or religious views which he may or may not entertain.

The board of trustees will have to erect necessary buildings, which should be in some central position, giving ample space. Having visited almost every university of any note either in our own country or in Europe, I may be allowed to say that the new university buildings at Strasburg and Zürich will probably afford more valuable hints and suggestions than any others. But buildings should not be undertaken until a considerable faculty has been called together who can suggest, advise, plan, and superintend the accommodations necessary for their respective departments.

Here comes in the most important duty imposed upon the trustees—the calling together of the faculty. This body should be made up of men who lead the country in power to investigate and teach. There should be resident professors, non-resident professors, associate and assistant professors, instructors, and lecturers, with such other grades as experience may show to be required. With suitable means within the control of the trustees, all the foremost universities of the world might be laid under contribution for courses of lectures by men standing at the heads of their respective departments of knowledge.

With all the vast material for investigation and illustration at its disposal, the proposed university will be no better than its faculty; and its income should be so used as to secure the men



who either have taken or may fairly be expected to take a foremost place in their respective fields. Of these, the resident professors will, in the lecture-rooms, laboratories, libraries, and collections, direct, lead, and organize instruction and research in the highest sense; the non-resident professors and lecturers will give stimulus, suggestion, and force to the work.

As a rule, I would have a reasonable fee charged, but I would have the experiment tried of competitions in various parts of the United States, the persons passing the best examinations being entitled to scholarships giving them free instruction. In spite of the present outcry in England against competitive examinations at the universities, they have in this country succeeded well. They need not be carried to the pedantic extreme which has disgusted so many people with them in the Old World. Practical common sense will easily obviate the difficulties complained of. I would also have elections to fellowships made upon the basis of merit, as is at present done in various American universities; indeed, I would gladly see grafted upon this teaching university the system of fellowships and scholarships sketched out in the first of this series of articles.

One point as regards election to trusteeships, professorships, and fellowships should be carefully guarded. All such elections and appointments should be made by ballot. A provision for this should form part of the organic law of the university. In this way alone, as experience has shown in some of our existing institutions of learning, can a firm and lasting barrier be erected against overweening personal influence.

I fully believe that within a few years such a university would be one of the most useful and flourishing in the world, and that it might fairly expect finally to equal in the numbers and character of its students, as well as in the attainments and reputations of its faculty, the University of Berlin—the highest point which any university organization has yet reached.

It is true that objections will be raised; and first, that such an institution will draw somewhat from those now existing. I grant that at first this may be the case in some slight degree, but would stake everything on the belief that within a few years every other college or university in the nation which has any



real vitality will be strengthened by it. It will be one of the three or four universities in the country to set high standards of qualification and attainment; it will send back strong men into the faculties of the existing universities; it will be a perpetual incentive to the best men in the existing institutions throughout the country to do their best in view of possible promotion to lectureships and professorships at Washington.

It will also doubtless be said that Washington, as a great capital, is not the best place for young men; that there are too many distractions and temptations. This is true as regards what may be properly called collegiate or intermediate students, but not true regarding men ready to undertake university work. This is proved by the fact that while the ordinary undergraduate work thrives best at institutions in small towns, the advanced and post-graduate work, such as is undertaken in schools of technology, of mining, of mechanical, civil, and electrical engineering, of architecture, and of law, medicine, and theology, is equally well carried on in our great cities, as is already shown at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, and New Orleans.

Again, it may be said that Washington has disadvantages of climate. To this I answer that they are no greater than those at very many other seats of learning. By pursuing the plan of Johns Hopkins University, the extreme hot weather can easily be avoided. There is, indeed, an impression that Washington is hopelessly malarious, but it is certainly more favorably situated in this respect than English Cambridge, in its region of fens; or than at least two of the most important colleges at Oxford, situated close to the unctuous, slimy, reeking banks of the Isis; or than the University of Berlin, in an ancient marsh, and in the immediate neighborhood of the dark and sluggish Spree. I have observed that the talk about the malarial character of Washington is periodical, and comes usually when newspaper correspondents and subordinates in the public service think it about time to enjoy leave of absence. As a matter of fact, the statistics of the Health Department, which are very carefully kept, and which present comparisons of the mortality rates in Washington and other cities, clearly show our national capital to be an unusually healthy city. About one-third of the population are



Negroes, and among these is generally about fifty per cent. of the mortality. The mortality rate among the white population is low. There is no need to place the university buildings in any particularly insalubrious spot, or under any especially unsanitary conditions, like those in which we compel the President of the United States to live. And even here matters are becoming better; the Potomac improvement, with the filling in of the miasmatic region adjacent to the White House grounds, will give even the President healthy surroundings.

There is no need to dwell upon all the advantages accruing to the country from such an organization; most of them can be easily seen; but I will touch on one which might, at first sight, not be thought of. The city of Washington is rapidly becoming a great metropolis; it is developing the atmosphere which is to give character to the executive, the judicial, and especially the legislative business of the nation. What shall that atmosphere be? Shall it be made by luxurious millionaires, anxious only for new fields in which to display their wealth? Shall it be an atmosphere of riotous living, without one thought of better things? Shall it be redolent merely of political scheming and stock-jobbing by day, and of canvas-backs and terrapin by night? In such a future, legislative cynicism and corruption, and eventually, perhaps, executive and judicial cynicism and corruption, will be of course; for they will present the only means by which men can adjust their lungs to the moral atmosphere. Shall it not rather be a capital where, with the higher satisfaction and graces of civilized living, there shall be an atmosphere of thought upon the highest subjects, of work in the most worthy fields, of devotion to the noblest aims? Such an atmosphere a great university with the men and work involved in it would tend to develop, and in it demagogism would wither and corruption lose the main element of its support. We may well suppose that some considerations of this kind passed through the mind of him whose great name our capital bears, and that these were among the thoughts which prompted him to urge, again and again, the founding there of a university worthy of the nation.

ANDREW D. WHITE.



## OBSTACLES TO ANNEXATION.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH has lately written in the *FORUM* one of his interesting articles on the subject of the relations between Canada and the United States. As usual his English is as good as his matter is un-English. He has long desired to live in Canada as a citizen of the United States, although he has chosen to quit the republic and to live only in intellectual communion with her. He is so good a citizen of Toronto that all who know him there will hope that his present domicile may continue to be his choice, even though he may occasionally be annoyed by a passing visit to that city of the Britisher who is sent to represent the Queen in Canada. The gentleman filling this office is regarded as a "social fetich" by the Professor, and always provokes bitter language from him. It is difficult to see the reason, for the Governor is described by his detractor as politically powerless, generally ignorant of the condition and feelings of the people, and a mere mouth-piece of the ministry of the day. It would be cruel to make the Professor more annoyed with this functionary than he is at present, so we will not dispute with him; rather would we soothe him by denying to the Governor-General even the power of "fetichism," for this surely implies a very debased state of mind on the part of the worshipers of the fetich. We are willing to believe that the Professor ranks the unamalgamated Canadians higher than the untaught tribes of the Congo. A reassurance on this point would tend greatly to inspire fresh confidence in the breasts of his friends of the North. Seriously speaking, why cannot the Professor leave himself and his fellow-citizens in peace? Does Canada want a change? Does England want a change? Do the United States want a change? All three are getting on very well, are well satisfied with their political condition, and are not anxious to come together "like two drops of water." May there not be reasons discernible from both sides of the line why Canada



should continue to govern herself? It may be worth while to talk a little about these.

Much is said, and justly, of the extraordinary growth of the French population of what was called Lower Canada, and is now called Quebec Province. "Families of twenty are known." Families of twenty! why we have heard of a family of thirty! Of course this number is not common, but children are very numerous. They swarm. Jean-Baptiste's first thought has always been, greatly to his credit, to build a church, to place an excellent priest in a good house alongside, and then to proceed with all speed to give the reverend father the very largest youthful congregation that can be provided. And the system pays well, thanks to the elbow-room afforded in the new world. The race seems to become more vigorous as generation after generation thrives and multiplies. The Bretons and Normans are a hardy folk, but they are equaled if not surpassed by their cousins in Canada. Two centuries and a half have passed since the first military settlements were made, so that the effect of climate on the race has been amply proved to sustain it in increased vigor. Not long ago a Scots physician in Montreal reported that after making examination for a long series of years into the physical powers of the young men of different blood in that city, he had found the French Canadian youth to excel all the others—English, Scots, Irish, or Scandinavians—in general muscular power. This, from a Scot, was striking testimony, and I have no doubt of its accuracy. A strong people is growing up, purely French in thought, language, and religion. They keep together as a political force. With them it is always "*notre nation*," "*nous Canadiens*"—a homogeneous population, allowing no mixture with others of different religion. Their church is against mixed marriage, and that is enough. What they must have is "*nos institutions*"—French law, French customs, none other. These were guaranteed by treaty, and remain protected by the inviolable honor of British law within the great Province of Quebec. This territory used to be regarded as a mere strip of land, at its widest embracing the St. Lawrence and the moose-head-like projection of the country bounded on the south by the great Bay of Chaleurs. But now populous settlements have been formed one



hundred miles to the north of Quebec city. There is land along the Lake St. John quite as good as that which satisfies the "*habitans*" in many of the older portions of the eastern seaboard. A back-country is thus being quickly filled, and it will in time join the colonies on the affluents of the Ottawa, and be a territory largely contributing to the numbers of the French. Southward, as it is truly remarked, they are Bretonizing New Britain. New England's factories are full of French, invited because their labor is cheap, and settled in many a Puritan village and farm because satisfied with land from which the more ambitious man of English blood has gone, to seek better in the West. I have heard Scotsmen speak quite angrily and half contemptuously of the poor soil that will give content to a French Canadian. "Just look at that! Can you conceive of any intelligent man being satisfied with that?" would be the remark. But it is surely an advantage to a country to have people content to fill the barren places, as well as to have others who move to master fresher fields. Nor is it to the south only that the peaceful conquest of English farms is made. To the west also, along northern Ontario, a steady stream is flowing in to occupy the rougher parts of that forest-covered country. The church, the school, and the priest, to guide and subdue the people who shall subdue the earth, arise; and on the paths of the first explorers, who were of their race, a new French nomenclature covers the spaces between the old portages and trading places which were named long since by the *coureurs des bois*.

As compared with the increase of the other races, not excepting the Irish, the progress of the French Canadian is most notable. Nothing can stop it. The crowding on the banks of the St. Lawrence never tends to make the sturdy American Breton adopt those baleful precautions which are sapping the energies of France, and causing her numbers to recede rather than to advance. The Canadian villager and small farmer knows there is ample room. The "repatriation" societies organized to entice him back to the old homestead have, as has been truly said, no power to prevent him from wandering. Wherever he goes he congregates to a greater degree than even the Irish, but unlike them he prefers the country to the town. The Irishman leaves



his earth-hunger behind him when he leaves Ireland and the spongy mosses which there absorb his love and energy, and with characteristic light-heartedness he does not care for good land in the States, but crowds the cities. The Canadian keeps to his liking for the woods and the country. When he becomes an inhabitant of cities, it is because he is tempted thither by American capitalists who desire his cheap labor. He goes to earn a living and the power to take up land before he dies. These tendencies keep him sober, industrious, thrifty, and retain him under the wholesome influence of his spiritual guides.

He remains, too, a conservative of conservatives. During all the last hundred years, it has been the steady effort of his church to keep from him, or to counteract within him, the "Voltaireian" thought of modern France. The old Legitimist feelings in church and state prevailing in Europe during the best times of the French monarchy, are the ideals after which he is taught to strive. There is also, it is true, much sentiment for the "*mère patrie*" of to-day. The tricolor, as its emblem, is a flag hoisted with even greater pride than the union jack. As for the stars and stripes, that is a flag which is regarded with utter indifference, for it does not as a rule present to his mind even the idea of "*écus*." But the tricolor is that adopted, mistakenly perhaps, by his kinsmen, in lieu of the old and revered white ensign with the golden lilies under which his fathers fought. His own immediate ancestors rallied under the lilies when "*les Anglais*" were undivided, and the guns of Louisburg and Quebec thundered equally against the "Britishers" and the "loyal Americans." Since those days "*les Anglais*" had an incomprehensible quarrel about a teapot. The result was that the union jack continued to protect his religion and usages, and that the "*étoiles*," although accompanied with "stripes" for the English, seemed to fight in their courses against him. He has seen his brethren in Louisiana stamped out so far as their sentiments of separatism are concerned. He knows that American institutions do stamp out any nationality but that of the English-speaking republicans, who look to Washington as their regulating governor in any general shock to legislative machinery. He knows that the Union is one big amalgamation



mill, and he does not like to be amalgamated with anybody. Rather than this he would welcome aid from France. Even now does he not like to christen his child "Napoléon," and are not the victories of the grand army dear to his imagination? Indeed, were it not that his own people had greatly helped the English royal government in the early wars of this century, would not Quebec, the sacred Quebec, be American to-day? If the royal English have to be watched in Canada, how much more to be watched, nay how much to be dreaded would the republican English to the south of the border be, if they were to become masters of "*La Nouvelle France*." No, the Canadian of Quebec is still a Frenchman, and is not even sure whether he ought to go on board such a British war vessel as the "Bellerophon." Why? Because it was a ship bearing this name that carried the great French hero to his island exile. The sentiment is there. The power is growing to assert a separate policy and to have a French state in the northeast, conserving its "national" traditions apart from those of the rest of the continent. Would the United States allow the assertion of such "home rule?" Never! This Jean-Baptiste knows. Very sensibly he continues to make the best of present circumstances. He advances in numbers; he remains exactly where he was in his sturdy belief in God, in his church, in the virtue of his laws, in his determination to assert his freedom and to use his own language over as wide a territory as his children can possess by the divinely-given power of increase.

"Oh, but they can be changed," say you? Not unless they forswear all that they hold sacred. No; the church forbids. Even in local elections it is told how a good priest once opened his discourse on the eve of a trial of strength between two political parties:

"My children, you know the church never meddles with politics. Her sons are forbidden to speak of the worldly contests that engage your attention, unless, indeed, impious hands be raised against the foundations of faith. But oh, my children, remember—what is the color of the sky? Is it not the serene and glorious blue? What, my children, is the color of the flames of hell? Is it not the dreadful and satanic red?"

The local Conservatives were called "Blues," their opponents "Reds."



It is only because the fullest exercise of the freedom which his people in olden days gained by their blood is assured, that the old Canadian consents to be a citizen of the Dominion. When, in 1837, it was thought in Lower Canada that despotic use was to be made of the power of the majority, and a fear arose that constitutional government would be withheld from them, a formidable rising took place. The man who afterward became the French Canadian leader, the trusted and honored colleague of the present prime minister, Sir John MacDonald, and the devoted friend of British rule, was then a youngster named Cartier. He died a privy councillor. He fought against the government troops at St. Eustache as a young rebel. Men tell how hotly the fire poured into a farm-house held by the insurgents under Nelson. The boy Cartier saw that more ammunition was needed for the defense. He knew that some was to be obtained near at hand, but that it could not be got except by crossing open ground under the full fire of the British regulars. "May I go and fetch some more ammunition?" he asked of Nelson. "Go, my boy," was the answer, "go back to your mother." The leader naturally thought that his young follower had had enough, and that he made a pretext for retreating. Cartier said nothing, but quietly traversed the dangerous ground, reached the cartridges, strung them around his neck and body, coolly walked back, thus laden, to his friends, and supplied them with the fresh ammunition. This young hero was a type of the French Canadian spirit. They would die to a man rather than yield the proud privileges they have won, and which they well know how to use. Whatever the future may bring, there is no doubt that this large and rapidly augmenting people, of one faith, one blood, and animated by so intense a feeling of nationality, will exist as a factor largely influencing the condition of the northeastern corner of the American continent.

When Englishmen visit New York they are so hospitably received and become so enchanted with their hosts, that it is not too much to say that they are often dined and wineed out of all consciousness of national existence. Not so the citizen of the Dominion. Many, very many emigrate to the United States and become naturalized, and get to regard the great republic as their



country; but they who remain north of the line have an abiding consciousness that they have a country of their own that they mean if they can to keep as theirs. The exceptional Englishmen of whom I have spoken may care little to see their flag to the north of the lakes, but the people over whom it waves have a passionate love for that emblem, because it signifies to them that

“ We are a people yet,  
Though all men else their noble dreams forget.”

And a dream it did appear for some time, when Canadians spoke of becoming a nation. But now it is no longer a dream. The Professor whose writings have led to these remarks cannot have shut his eyes and ears to the evidences that his neighbors now know that they have a country well capable of supporting a nation. It is always supposed by him that “natural markets of the continent” must force all trade along lines leading north and south, and that political union must follow. He might as well write that Scandinavia must become Russian and German, that Holland must become Prussian, or Belgium French. If there be no visible frontier, there is the abiding difference between the institutions of the countries to account for the friendly separation that divides them.

It may seem strange to the ear of most citizens of the United States to hear the undoubted truth, namely, that every Canadian regards his political system as securing far freer play for democratic institutions than does that prevailing to the south. A vote—an adverse vote—of the House of Representatives, can in Canada at once dispossess the existing government of power, and it must be succeeded by one more in consonance with the opinion of the country. Ministerial responsibility, represented by the presence of the ministers in the popular Assembly and their easy removal from office, is regarded as a system that brings the people more immediately into touch with the executive than does the American. The Canadian would never consent to sacrifice this greater freedom. He knows that the Governor-General represents only the sovereign, who reigns but does not govern. He represents only the good will, countenance, and support of the imperial government. He imposes no laws, no taxes, no obligations. He counsels only as a friend, he acts only through min-



isters responsible to the nation and removable by them. He is at once the ambassador of Britain, and the first champion of Canadian nationality. He no more inoculates Canadians with aristocratic ideas, as feared by the Professor on account of the knighting of some eminent men, than the Professor himself might be inoculated with vanities were his admiring lady friends to present him with a new silk gown or a pair of gold spectacles. In these cases the ceremony is the recognition of undoubted merit, acclaimed by the popular voice, as shown in the bearing of popular office. America is not supposed to be a devouringly military conglomerate, because military titles are not unknown among her citizens. This alarms no one, and knights among Canadians are men who have achieved fame and who lay down their honors in their graves, whereas an "aristocracy" involves the idea, in modern parlance, of the devolution of titles to sons. The title of "honorable" is one familiar in America, and should be enough to throw the Professor into an ecstasy of terror. It is probable that as long as the descendants of colonels and "honorables" are not bred to inherit what they have not earned, the assumption of distinctive prefixes will be held to concern only the individuals so burdened. Thus, the social action of the Queen's representative is confined to making himself as agreeable as he can in an innocent manner. He no longer represents what used to be known as "Downing-street government," because London has ceased to dictate to Ottawa.

In all foreign negotiations affecting Canada, the Dominion is represented by one of her own trusted servants. The "British Provinces" are therefore in the enjoyment of one of the most untrammelled constitutions, if not the most independent, known among civilized peoples. Its independence is moreover guaranteed by the alliance with Britain. Ignorance of her great dependency was of old common "at home." All this is altered now, and the assertion of the Canadians that they possess one of the best sections of the continent is admitted to be true. The political separation is no bar to the employment of capital by Americans. On the contrary, American capital is employed in Canadian Provinces quite as much as in many of the western Territories. There is also no stint in the amount of British gold



invested, and the finances of the country are in so good a state that the Dominion government can borrow in London at the cheapest rate.

Free commercial intercourse with America is desired, for the old reciprocity brought gain and good all round, and the volume of trade increased steadily during its continuance. Any non-intercourse promoted by tariff or temporarily imposed by political motives, would throw the trade of Canada yet more and more along lines of latitude instead of along lines of longitude—with Britain and Asia rather than with the United States. Such policy would injure to a certain extent both countries. It is certain that Canada would not desire to lessen her intercourse with her friends and neighbors. Her desire has consistently been to act the friend and neighbor. Of course she does not wish to furnish in her own person "a square meal" for her big brother, but short of this she would do almost anything to oblige him.

Nor must it be thought that Great Britain is a loser by the existing relations. Her commerce is enormously greater with her colonies than with any people under foreign flags. If the Canadian tariff seems hard upon her, it is less hard on her by one-half than is the American. She may groan and shudder at her children's taking to the repudiation of her own favorite nostrum of free trade, but as she cannot help herself in this respect, and as the Canadians have their own ideas in favor of raising their revenue by indirect rather than by direct taxation, she submits. Does she refuse to send her goods to such a Chinese-walled country, as John Bright calls it? Certainly not. The new country forms, too, an excellent field for her emigrants, although she sends more to the States. But every man sent to Canada consumes three or four times as much of her manufactures as does his fellow emigrant who has landed at Castle Garden. It is therefore not her interest to lose the political connection which brings in money as well as honor. The British politician who now-a-days might advocate separation from the colonies, would have many a black mark scored against his name, to be remembered on the next election day.

May these not be considerations which should weigh with Americans in preventing them from desiring the acquisition of



Canada? Would it be advantageous to have a big home rule French Canadian question within the borders of the United States? The sagacious instinct of the United States people has led them to reject plans and schemes for adding territory occupied by incurably "foreign" populations. It is not to be expected that the great French section in the north-east will ever become anglicized, and it forms too large a stone to break up in any amalgamation mill.

The swallowing of a country is no easy matter, and digestion is yet more difficult. There is no doubt that the balance of political parties in the United States would be overthrown forever were Canada to be compelled to take part in the ever-recurring presidential election. She finds, by the way, that her own parliamentary elections come often enough, and she would hate the idea of having scarcely two years free from the pest to business that electioneering involves. Once in, however, she would lead party managers a pretty dance in voting for a president. Finally, is not the territory already comprised in the Union large enough for safety? Would not a greater spread of the fabric increase dangers which have cropped up already? The federal government at Washington has enough on its hands for many a year to come. There are reasons on all sides why we may see with pleasure the northern Provinces run their appointed career. They know how to shape their own destinies. Their sentiments of pride in what they have dared and done, in what they possess, and in what by perseverance they shall attain, are likely to be the most potent elements in providing that peace which is born of mutual respect and toleration—qualities of which the history of the United States displays the greatest example in history.

LORNE.



## ARE GOOD WOMEN CHARACTERLESS?

THE world is never weary of talking about women, dissecting and discussing them, as if each fresh generation had found a new creature whose "life history" had hitherto been as unknown as that of a monad never before discovered. In this discussion men degrade them or adore them, according as the individual humor runs; describe them with bitterness or address them with adulation, as their own love affairs have been fatal or propitious. The satirists of olden times likened them to all manner of uncomfortable beasts, and placed them on the same level. The poets of all times have exalted them above the angels, and the modern method holds them as the sole proprietors of all the virtues. To their detractors, their supreme qualities are those of the bee, in the industry and economy which make for the advantage of men; and their highest claim to moral merit is to be found in utter slavishness and self-effacement. To their adulators, their worst vices are but regrettable follies; their waywardness is as a charm which renders their amiability more delightful. In any case they are treated as of a human nature different from that of men; and this difference is not one of degree nor of angle, but of kind and original structure. Mrs. Poyser's shrewd remark that God Almighty made the women to match the men, does not hold water with these analysts of the feminine character; and the fact that every man has been born of woman—has been formed out of the very substance of her body and has received from her his first impressions and instruction—does not incline them any the more to accept the doctrine of identity, modified by differences in degree and direction.

Many men have agreed to hold the faith that the better the woman the more entirely she is destitute of distinctive character. This faith they maintain in face of the splendid examples given to us by history, through all times and in all countries, as well as in face of the known biographical fact that, though clever fathers



have seldom had clever sons, almost all great men have had superior women for their mothers. Milton's well-known phrase struck the keynote, which however had been struck before as well as after. The echoes have vibrated powerfully through literature ever since, and those echoes have only lately died away. We must in fairness confess that they have wholly died away in this generation, and that the charm of self-effacement, of modesty, of devotion to love, and of obedience or respect to man, is now made a reproach, not a virtue. This charm ranks with the forgotten arts of spinning and weaving, with Penelope's web and the Bayeux tapestry. Milton's Eve is the ideal goddess, with one human frailty superadded; but who will say now that this is a desirable division of function?

"For contemplation he and valor formed,  
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace;  
He for God only, she for God in him."

What woman among us would hold that phrase as indicative of her true honor or her natural attitude? Far from seeing her God in and through her husband—making him her priest, her guide, her director—the nineteenth century woman is more likely to hold meetings "for women only," where the young Eves are instructed to despise their Adams; to regard the institution of marriage as a mistake, and the function of maternity as a disgrace; and to consider themselves the salt of the earth, and men—well, men as the meat not salted. The result of which is, of course, corruption and abomination.

Pope's more stinging words gave women as much plasticity of habit but less grace of mind. His famous libel robs even their softness of its beauty, as it takes from their self-assertion all true dignity, all nobility of pride. He starts off with a bold twang of his disturbing lyre, and goes on with notes as smooth in execution as they are harsh in intention.

"Nothing so true as what you once let fall,  
'Most women have no characters at all.'  
Matter too soft a lasting mark to bear;  
And best distinguish'd by black, brown, or fair.

\* \* \*

"In men, we various ruling passions find;  
In women, two almost divide the kind;



Those, only fix'd, they first or last obey;  
The love of pleasure and the love of sway.

\*       \*       \*

“By man’s oppression curst,  
They seek the second not to lose the first.

\*       \*       \*

“Men, some to business, some to pleasure take;  
But ev’ry woman is at heart a rake;  
Men, some to quiet, some to public strife;  
But every lady would be queen for life.”

And, when all is said that can be said in favor of these puzzling Cynthias of the minute, these charmers who now sinner it and now saint it, the disappointed lover of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who laid the lash so heavily on the white shoulders of the fair Follies he judged so harshly, sums up the question with this not very consoling assertion:

“And yet, believe me, good as well as ill,  
Woman’s at best a contradiction still.”

For the matter of that, so is human nature generally, because of its complexity of motives and our inability to trace events to their causes or to know the feeling which gave rise to certain actions, tempers, moods, words. But Pope’s reasoning somewhat contradicts itself. His characters, in their sharpness of outline and boldness of modeling, give the lie to his first assertion; and Narcissa, Atossa, and the others are certainly not of that protoplasmic quality he speaks of in the beginning—creatures fashioned out of so much variously-colored wax, too soft to bear a deep or lasting impression. But poets have always had the trick of sacrificing truth to an epigram; and Pope was nothing if not epigrammatic, and as aphoristic as epigrammatic.

We do not find the idealization of characterlessness in the greatest poets. Homer’s women are all strongly individual; so are the women of the Greek dramatists. Chaucer’s Prioress is made of flesh and blood, and as gentle as she is in her own way strong. In Shakespeare, too, though much is said in praise of gentleness, tenderness, modesty, and the like, there is no idealization of colorless and characterless wisps of straw and muslin doing duty for living women. Shakespeare’s most essentially feminine



creations have their own distinctive characteristics, and Miranda, Imogen, Ophelia, and Juliet are by no means casts run out of the same mold differently labeled. Nor is one what can be called characterless. Grant the faults and crimes which stain the record of the stronger women; grant the fell tenacity of purpose of Lady Macbeth, the virago-like violence of Constance, the luxurious love of Cleopatra, we yet have strength and softness, character and loveliness, in Portia, in Beatrice, in Rosalind, and even in "Kate the Curst," in Isabella, in Hermione. In none of his utterances nor of his characters can we see that the distinctive charm of womanhood, as Shakespeare conceived it, was simple negation and colorlessness. The thesis maintained by Coleridge, that "the perfection of woman is her characterlessness," is not borne out, turn where we will, either in historic fact or poetic fancy. All history disproves the idea that the virtue of a woman is commensurate with her want of character. The best and the most purely womanly women have had strong individuality and marked character. In this, however, are not included aggressive energies nor contentious opposition. But it seems to us that, master of words and logical subtleties though Coleridge was, he has somewhat confused these two ideas of aggressiveness and character. He has not separated strength from rudeness, and softness he has made synonymous with weakness and flatness. How can we reconcile the following extract with the short, sharp aphorism already quoted, if not by this confusion of ideas? Is what he praises here to be classed under the head of characterlessness? Surely not!

"In Shakspeare all the elements of womanhood are holy, and there is the sweet, yet dignified feeling of all that *continuates* society, as sense of ancestry and of sex, with a purity unassailable by sophistry; because it rests not on the analytic processes but on the same equipoise of the faculties, during which the feelings are representative of all past experience—not of the individual only, but of all those by whom she has been educated and their predecessors, even up to the first mother that lived."

What a long periphrasis to express environment and heredity!

Shakspeare saw that the want of prominence, which Pope means for sarcasm, was the blessed beauty of the woman's character, and knew that it arose not from any deficiency, but from the more exquisite harmony of



all the parts of the moral being, constituting one living total of head and heart. He has drawn it, indeed, in all its distinctive energies of faith, patience, constancy, fortitude—shown in all of them as following the heart, which gives its results by a nice tact and happy intuition, without the intervention of the discursive faculty—sees all things in and by the light of the affections, and errs, if it ever err, in the exaggeration of love alone. In all the Shakspearian women there is essentially the same foundation and principle; the distinct individuality and variety are merely the result of the modifications of circumstances, whether in *Miranda* the maiden, in *Imogen* the wife, or in *Katherine* the queen."

Does not the fallacy here lie in making identity of principle do duty for likeness of character? The passion of love which possessed *Cleopatra* and *Juliet* did not make the same women of them, as—leaving *Shakespeare* and going into the world of fact—the self-devotion of *Joan of Arc*, of *Catherine of Siena*, and of *Mrs. Fry*, though the one same energizing principle in each, did not make identical characters differing only by the outside circumstances which gave the one to patriotism, the other to religion, and the third to philanthropy. The difference was more elemental than in the mere direction of energies; and the commanding beauty of each was certainly not in characterlessness, though two at least were purely and especially feminine. Some of the loveliest women in history were also purely and essentially feminine, and yet they had abundance of character, of distinctive force, of pronounced moral and mental qualities. The antique Roman matron was certainly somewhat hard and granitic, but the Greek women were as soft as flowers even when they were most heroic. *Panthea*, the fair wife of *Abradates*, is as lovely and seducing as *Bathsheba*, and purer; as sweet and tender and gentle as *Ruth*, and more self-respecting. And where have we more pathetic figures than we find in the mother and grandmother of *Agis*; they who met death with so much heroism, so much passionate patriotism, and yet with the true dignity of noble, modest, womanly women? Were these women characterless? Yet they were soft and sweet as women should be. *Arria*, the wife of *Poetus*—"It does not hurt much, my *Poetus*"—*Lucretia*; *Agrippina*, the wife of *Germanicus*; *Plotina*, the wife of *Trajan*—she who, as empress ascending the steps of the royal palace, where her husband had been already hailed as emperor, turned



round to the assembled people, and took them as witnesses to her oath to be always the true, simple, clean-handed woman she had ever been; many English queens; many of the heroines of the mediæval times—the beautiful countess of Salisbury as one example only; Lady Fanshawe; Lady Russel; Lady Nithsdale; Madame Roland; these and countless more—had they no character? Yet were they not supremely feminine, supremely beautiful and good; lovely to a proverb and as womanly as they were strong? Surely Coleridge had forgotten both his classics and his history when he flashed out that fallacy, and was thinking only of his own *Christabel* and *Genevieve*, who, we admit, have no more distinctiveness of character than we find in a couple of wax dolls. The dolls are pretty, and these two creations are lovely from the first line to the last; but they have no distinctive character, for all the maidenly modesty of the one and the maidenly innocence and frankness of passion in the other.

In fact, characterlessness, as Coleridge conceived it, is simple weakness; and weakness is by no means synonymous with goodness in a woman. Quite the contrary. The weak and negative and colorless women may be incapable of large crimes, but they are invariably given up to small sins. They are untruthful, for want of courage to be sincere; they are selfish, for want of strength to be self-sacrificing. They are dishonest to their husbands in money matters, and pilfer from them and from the housekeeping allowance the margin for their own expenses, which they have not the boldness to claim as their right. When they are pretty and besieged they yield to temptation, because they have not enough backbone to stand firm. When they give way to coercion, as they must, they never give way with the grace of voluntary submission, but writhe and whine like a reluctant dog held down by the collar. They cannot render obedience, which is the willing act; they only submit to the stronger hand and the harder will, which is quite another thing. They are characterless, if you like, but they are not temperless; and the negative qualities which it has been the fashion to idealize, are in most cases the direct causes of active evil. Too flaccid to resist, too plastic to resent, they submit to indignities which make them weep, but which they are powerless to prevent. Jealous and



wounded to the core, they receive their husband's mistresses, and kiss the Delilah who has robbed them of their happiness and who despises them in proportion to their complaisance. But they indemnify themselves by confidential complaints over the tea table, and Delilah's reputation in rags is the form their weak revenge takes. As mothers, they leave their children in full liberty to grow up as chance and natural inclination may determine. They have not character enough to direct, to guide, to instruct. From early infancy these children govern themselves and set their mother at defiance; as time goes on they govern her and reverse their respective positions. As mistresses, if these weak women have more temper than fear, they quarrel with their servants and are bullied even as they themselves bully. If they are more timid than contentious, the servants have it all their own way, like the children; and the mistress is their moral prisoner, to be treated as badly as they may desire. Intellectually these women never grow up. They grow old with the rest of the world, which is another matter. But the Doras of David Copperfield's young love are transformed into the Floras of antiquated feebleness and imbecility, and the beauty of characterlessness becomes the deformity of folly. This want of character, of which the poets make so much account, is about the very worst working quality that a woman can have; and Medora, after a week, would have sent Conrad back to his piracy out of sheer weariness of her society.

Far better than this sickly sentimentalism, this invertebrate and molluscos plasticity, is the womanly grandeur which possesses those two characteristics of strength, the power of self support and that of voluntary obedience and self-effacement. If all women were kept in harems, protected by men and provided for by men; if they were only playthings or slaves, creatures to be caressed while young and beautiful, and made useful drudges when old or impersonal; if society denied them freedom and gave them in return absolute protection, then the doctrine of molluscos plasticity might have something to say for itself. But as things are, it carries its own contradiction and its own refutation with it. The hypothetical beauty of characterlessness includes the positive deformity of helplessness; and helpless women,



thrown on their own resources, are no better than so many jelly-fishes cast up by the storm on the sands. What can they do to help themselves? Absolutely nothing. The consequence is, they must either sink in the social scale till they come to the dust, or accept that outside aid which degrades them into pauperism. Far better that they should have so much character and faculty as would enable them to "fend" for themselves when thus cast on their own resources, and that they should fail to be paupers while not ceasing to be women. And, indeed, the best women are those who have this faculty, this character, but always covered over by the satin softness of sex; as the most really intellectual women wear their skirts long enough to cover their blue stockings.

No greater mistake was ever made than to suppose that the sweetest virtues are the product of the weakest natures. Virtue means strength; and even in patience, that distinctive feminine quality, is more conscious endeavor than negative acceptance. Patience is not the same as supineness; but the panegyrist often confounds the two, and gives to weakness and characterlessness the credit of a beauty belonging emphatically to moral force. That brutish submission to brutal strength which Zola has used as one of the hereditary traits in his "Rougon-Macquart" series, is a very different thing from the grand and noble patience in the presence of the inevitable, the irresistible, which is so divine a quality, so Godlike an attribute. Adelaïde's subservience to Macquart, Nana's cowering under the blows of Fantin—are these the same as, say, a strong, brave woman's endurance of contumely for the sake of her children, her name, her dignity; endurance voluntarily undertaken, contumely accepted of free will for the better portion lying behind? And what is true of patience is true of all the rest. Virtue has no dealings with weakness while it is one with strength. The characterless have no merit because no conscious struggle. Only to those with will and intelligence belongs the meed of praise for self-control and the forcible bending of the inclination. Without character there is no courage, without courage no truth. Justice, magnanimity, self-devotion cannot be found in the dun-colored web of a colorless material; and the facile whimpering of an



anæmic constitution can scarcely be ranked as belonging to the noble force of heroic forgiveness. It is absurd to think that qualities which men obtain only by long and toilsome self-culture are integral to womanhood, *quâ* womanhood; and that woman does by the grace of nature, without difficulty or training, things which men touch only after years of endeavor. But this is what people mean when they speak of the superiority of women in proportion to their characterlessness, when they make the strange discovery that plants can grow without roots and fire burn without fuel. No; rather than characterlessness ought we to laud that infrequent possession of woman, her reasonableness. By this she is able to estimate comparative values and to understand relative spheres, duties, and responsibilities. By this she would know when to yield was to conquer, when to submit was to be strong, when patience was heroism, when self-effacement was dignity. Reasonableness, not colorlessness; judgment, not want of character: this is the grand desideratum for woman, coupled always with love, without which indeed her life has no meaning and her nature no charm.

E. LYNN LINTON.



## THE CHURCH AND THE WORKING-MAN.

“Superfluity on the one hand, and dire want on the other—the millionaire and the tramp—are the complements of each other. . . . As the two classes of rich and poor grow more distinct, they will become more estranged; and whether the rich, like Sydney Smith, come to regard poverty as ‘infamous,’ it is quite certain that many of the poor will look upon wealth as criminal.”\*

“The disproportion between the few who are attendants at Christian churches, and the multitude who never cross the threshold of one, is a terrible reality. The churches are united in admitting the unwelcome fact.”†

THE issue is clearly defined, the proposed remedy vague and indefinite. The opinion of Christian teachers, as expressed on the platform and in print, seems to be that our social and industrial systems are beyond criticism; that the wage-earner, ignorant and unthankful, despises his employer; and that the moral reformation and eternal salvation of the working classes depend upon the erection of chapels and the employment of missionaries by those whom “God has blessed with wealth.” If the exponents of the thought of the churches are correct in their premises, their conclusions may be admitted; but if they are ignorant of the real cause, of which the condition they discuss is simply an effect, we have an explanation of the failure to solve the problem.

The time was when in our land there was no recognized antagonism between the working classes and the churches. It is a new problem in our civilization. The cause should be easily discovered by unclouded eyes. Fifty years ago, aristocratic pretensions were looked upon as vagaries and treated with contempt. In the churches people felt nothing of the chill of caste. A glance at the centers of population must convince us that now all is changed. There is an evident rivalry in the erection of splendid edifices and in the social and oratorical qualifications of the ministry. The poverty of the working-man’s home is accentu-

\* “Our Country,” by Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D.

† Bishop John F. Hurst, at the General Christian Conference, 1887.



ated by comparison with the richness of the sanctuary. The chief seats are vivid with purple and fine linen. Outside the house of God exists a social aristocracy, bulwarked by inferior cliques, and governed by unwritten rules marking distinctions between man and man. We have a moneyed aristocracy, a political dictatorship, landed proprietors, a rapidly-increasing tenant population, the "working-man" and the "tramp." With the vast augmentation of wealth in the possession of the few and the increasing pressure of poverty in the homes of the many, the time is at hand when there will exist between classes gulfs as impassable as that between Dives and Lazarus. Intensifying social struggles are working a transformation in the character of the church, as is manifest from the new terminology coming into general use, such as "star preachers," "first-class churches," "wealthy congregations," and "our poor charges." The obverse of this is found in the expressions of the working-men: "We can't dress well enough to go to church"; "your leading members don't notice us on the street"; "your preachers run after the rich"; "the ministers side against us in the matter of strikes." If present social conditions can be justified, these phrases, caught from the lips of the toilers, are simply excuses inspired of the devil for non-attendance upon religious services. The discontent has, however, a basis in fact; but they who give utterance to it do not understand the underlying principle, and hence cannot formulate it.

With social inequality among members outside the church, there cannot be religio-social equality within it. The great human heart of the people comprehends in some measure the fact that Christianity is not a cement to hold a rich veneer to a body of inferior materials, but a furnace to fuse all elements into one homogeneous mass. Under present conditions it is sheer folly to talk about the rich and the poor meeting together in the house of God; the poor decline the invitation.

Beginning, then, with this assumption, we must glance once more at the play of the social influences which have brought us to our present confessed dilemma. When the "Mayflower" sailed from the mother country the church was an aristocratic institution. In this country the very reverse was true, as a gen-



eral rule. With our broad domain, under the stimulus of the Declaration of Independence, with unrestricted and unlimited access to the soil, and in the absence of monopolistic agencies and a moneyed aristocracy, all men here were in a position of substantial equality. The aristocratic spirit was, they believed, an old-world barbarism from which they had forever escaped. Men gained social and political elevation by their own personal merit and effort, were respected accordingly, and "one man was as good as another." But, with the flight of time and the development of our institutions, the character of society began to change.

In the first half of the century men were independent landholders, or, because of more profitable returns, were engaged in mechanical pursuits or in trade. They were independent, because they could always have recourse to nature to supply their physical necessities, regardless of "capital." Now the majority of men are landless. They cannot gain a livelihood with the gun or rod; they cannot cultivate the soil, because it is held in private ownership by others; their little shops are dismantled; they have nothing but their labor to exchange for the necessities of life; they must accept what wages are offered or starve; and hence they have fallen, by a simple train of events, from a position of independence into a condition of wage slavery which, in some respects, is worse than that of the black man in *ante-bellum* days. They are, in stern reality, at the mercy of employers; are compelled to stand in the market-place and sell their labor at a rate fixed, not by the golden rule, but by the ceaseless, grinding competition of the hungry unemployed. As a result of this condition, their situation is becoming daily more aggravated. One million of unemployed men, constantly recruited by the drift from foreign sewers, compete with those who are at work, content if they receive but a pittance for their toil. The iron law, universally accepted, that the tendency of wages is to the lowest point of subsistence, is in our time absolute.

Here, then, is developed the problem that confronts us, and in the statement of which is presented the relation of the church to labor. The two great classes of our population, capitalists and working-men, are separated by an irreconcilable antagonism in assault and defense of a system which, in the thought of the



masses, is founded on injustice and denounced by God's word. And while the economic law is not grasped in all its bearings by the working-men, its results are felt in their unceasing toil, the galling sense of deprivation and injustice, the sufferings of loved ones, and the overshadowing presence of the almshouse.

This state of things has given rise to two lines of sociological or politico-economic thought and expression. On the one hand we have the Malthusian doctrine of the increasing pressure of population against subsistence; that God, in nature, does not provide enough of food and raiment for all his children; that poverty cannot be abolished; and that war, pestilence, and famine, in reducing a redundant population, are blessings in disguise. This serves to obscure the real issue and to solidify opinion in favor of the doctrine of vested rights. Over against this theory is the instinctive belief that God has provided in nature all that is essential to the highest development of his children; that any industrial system which enriches a class at the expense of the mass is due to the ignorance and greed of humanity, is opposed to the spirit of revelation, and should be modified and brought into consonance with the doctrines of the Sermon on the Mount.

The churches, slow to accept ecclesiastical and economic reforms, have reached the last stage of conservatism; blinded, in some degree, by competition in the attainment of wealth and culture. They tacitly hold that the current economic theory is founded on sound principles, and is in harmony with the spirit of Christ's teachings. Thus believing, they teach that existing conditions—as arising from correct economic and moral principles—are unimpeachable; and are instant in condemnation of men who argue that a change must be wrought or our institutions will ultimately go down. They maintain, at least by implication, that the great fortunes of the day are the fruit of legitimate industrial enterprise, and belong to their possessors as against the world. Men who, under ancient legal provisions, have monopolized the store of wealth which God has placed in the earth, are upheld as possessing under divine sanction; while they who undertake to show that the masses are defrauded of their birth-right, are classed by many with communists, whose aim is the subversion of the rights of property.



With regard to poverty, leading religious thinkers hold that it is due to "laziness and inefficiency, waste, mismanagement, extravagance, injurious indulgence, and absence of a definite and resolute purpose to escape from poverty." \* The church appears to believe that the cure of present social ills will result from the reform of individuals, independently of any change in or by legislative enactments or industrial methods; which is to assert that the prosperity of a people will be better conserved by the charitable contributions of a class, than by securing equal opportunity and exact justice for all men. The working-man knows from experience that the position is untenable. The church says to the man who is supporting his family by his wages of one dollar per day, that he may become wealthy if he will; it points to the millionaire who began life in humble circumstances, and tells this man, who is striving to keep his dollar-a-day job against the competition of a freshly-imported Italian, that his poverty is the result of his own faults and deficiencies—that he alone is to blame. It preaches to him that his lot is providential; that God gives to some men (instance, Abraham) peculiar ability to secure wealth and withholds it from others; that poverty is a blessing tending to promote spiritual growth; that he must not become discontented, nor question the justice of God's dealings with men as observed in the affairs of society; and that, above all things, he must not antagonize the current doctrine of vested rights.

The one panacea hitherto administered for all complaints has proven ineffectual. To all questions has been returned the phrase, "the will of God." In this way is human agency absolved from responsibility. The working-man does not believe it. Looking around upon the apparent disorder, he replies, "God would have done a better job!" Submitting to an enforced reduction of wages, he believes that the industrial system is in some way responsible for his dependence upon his employer, and questions whether the system is just. If not just, of course it is unrighteous; then why does the church sanction it? He asks not for unfounded and illogical assertion, but for thought, discussion, reform, justice. Refused this, he turns away in disgust and lets things go. He asserts that God stocked the earth with good things,

\* Washington Gladden, "Chatauquan," May, 1888.



and gave it to the children of men. He sees that the majority of infants born into the world are trespassers. While there is enough for all, a few have the fruitage, the many the unrequited labor of production. All men are equal in the sight of God; why such inequality among his children? Christ teaches the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; why does his doctrine show so little outcome? To all these inquiries there is but one answer, "the providence of God!" Providence, then, he asserts, has overlooked him, and he turns to his labor organization or the secret society for relief and sympathy. In all his difficulties, and to all his bitter pleadings, the church returns decrepit generalities, and is earnest and definite only in the defense of vested rights when threatened by labor agitation. He believes that in the estimation of the church, gold, stocks, and bonds must be protected, while bodies, hearts, and homes are left at the mercy of erratic economic principles. All this may seem unreasonable, but the issue is joined. And when we remember Christ's example and words, can we censure the working-man for the stand he has taken?

The laborer is not unreasonable in his temperament. He does not dislike a wealthy man simply because of his prosperity. He is willing to do the heavy work, if need be; he rejoices in the merited advancement of his fellows, and is the staunchest supporter of our institutions. He objects to the industrial system, believing that the producer of wealth should retain that which is fashioned by his labor and skill, instead of handing it over to another man, to receive in return a pittance out of that which he has created.

In this crisis the church must choose one of three directions: It must (1) support the existing order of things; (2) champion the cause of the poor and oppressed; or (3) investigate the questions at issue, with a firm determination to follow wherever the doctrines of Jesus may lead.

With regard to the first, a policy of silence or neutrality is a virtual approval of the thing complained against; for whatever the church does not condemn is held to be by it esteemed just. All wealth is the result of the application of labor to natural opportunities; they who create it occupy the lowest and



most wretched level of existence; the few, who do not create wealth, but who take possession of it by means of indirect processes, constitute the highest class in society and the church. If the system which produces such results is sanctioned by religious teachers, they who suffer because of its operations will reject the teachers and the religion they profess. To champion the cause of labor would alienate at once the majority of those who possess wealth, and of the large class who hope at some time to secure riches. The reasons for rejecting the third course are somewhat difficult to define. The convictions of religious leaders may, perhaps, be stated as follows: The religion of Christ is the only agency for the salvation of souls; it would be unwise to adopt any line of policy that would create antagonisms, for such action might limit the usefulness of the organization. Leaders in religious enterprises, as well as politicians, are open to the suspicion of waiting for an issue to become popular before adopting it. The hesitation at the present juncture may, possibly, be owing to the fear that an impartial investigation of present vital questions in the light of the Word of God might result in a struggle that would, while advancing righteousness, involve the loss of the sympathy and adherence of the "wealthy class." Some such motive as this alone can explain the action of the churches on the late question of slavery.

The masses have lost their veneration for the church as an institution. The age is utilitarian. By stress of circumstances individuals are compelled to seek bread and butter first, and that secured, they are too weary and discouraged to think much about the crown laid up for the faithful. There is more anxiety about securing a home here, than about winning a title to "the home over there."

How can the church regain influence with the working-men? By teaching God's will concerning social questions while insisting upon purely spiritual matters. By presenting Christ as the Son of Man as well as the Son of God. By preaching morality along with religion. For what purpose did God fill the store-houses of nature? Are toil and poverty the outcome of God's intention, or are they the results of violations of divine laws? Has religion anything to do with business, social, and political



questions? Does God design the bounties of nature for the benefit of a favored few, or to supply the natural craving of all men? Did Christ intend that his doctrines should burn selfishness out of the human heart, secure justice for all, and abolish involuntary poverty from the world? Are present conditions just, and if not, where does the injustice inhere? Shall the church be supported by a "better class," and be constituted the protector of the rights of property, or shall it be the friend and champion of the poor and helpless?

The church is thought to have given exclusive attention to spiritual truths, and to be positive in its denunciation of only such evils as are prohibited by civil statutes. It has insisted upon the command, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy soul," apparently in the belief that the enforcement of this doctrine would result in the abolition of all the evils that afflict society; while the equally important and binding injunction, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," has been reiterated, but never thoroughly defined and explained. If a small percentage of the volumes in our theological libraries had been devoted to a discussion of man's duty to his fellow man, the thought and investigation essential to such a consummation would have brought light to great realms of present darkness. The church has been reaching down into a sin-polluted pool to rescue individuals, but has given little attention to the causes which render the pool impure. Why do covetousness and class distinctions prevail? Manifestly because the rewards of society—ease, pleasure, popularity—are heaped upon those who possess wealth. How does it happen that the bounty God has provided for all men is enjoyed by a class to the exclusion of the masses? The solution of this problem involves the examination of an industrial system which produces such results, and a comparison of it with the spirit of the teachings of our Saviour. Such a procedure would soon array all the forces of righteousness against the rulers of the darkness of this world, work the purification of society, and bring about the reign of universal peace.

Such are some of the questions that must be investigated, answered, or ignored. Evils are not righted by bulwarking those who profit by them, but by listening to the clamor of the op-



pressed. If they are ignored, the laboring-men will resolutely spurn the invitations of a gospel that has a promise for eternity, but that does not compel justice in the conduct of its professors here. If an honest and impartial investigation be made; if the toilers see that the church is sincerely anxious to protect them from the rich men who keep back their hire, to condemn the usury that devours widows' houses, to stand as a mountain cliff in the way of oppression and injustice, then they will flock to it as doves to the windows, and be loyal to it in the ultimate result. The social problem must be worked out by the followers of the peasant philosopher in whose doctrines the weary and heavy-laden find rest. The saints will again have charge of Cæsar's household, and men will no longer hate the name of God.

The church may refuse to hear the cry that comes up out of the depths of poverty and suffering; may prefer Dives to Lazarus; may attempt the reformation of the individual without regard to his environment, claiming that it has to do solely with spiritual matters regardless of the temporal well-being of humanity. Such a course is open to the church; but let it be remembered that no civil or religious system can long survive that permits, without protest, the exaltation of the few at the cost of the many. And in the great heart of universal humanity there can be no more horrid infidelity than the assertion that such involuntary poverty as now exists is in harmony with the will of God.

C. M. MORSE.



## IN THE YEAR 2889.

LITTLE though they seem to think of it, the people of this twenty-ninth century live continually in fairyland. Surfeited as they are with marvels, they are indifferent in presence of each new marvel. To them all seems natural. Could they but duly appreciate the refinements of civilization in our day; could they but compare the present with the past, and so better comprehend the advance we have made! How much fairer they would find our modern towns, with populations amounting sometimes to 10,000,000 souls; their streets 300 feet wide, their houses 1000 feet in height; with a temperature the same in all seasons; with their lines of aërial locomotion crossing the sky in every direction! If they would but picture to themselves the state of things that once existed, when through muddy streets rumbling boxes on wheels, drawn by horses—yes, by horses!—were the only means of conveyance. Think of the railroads of the olden time, and you will be able to appreciate the pneumatic tubes through which to-day one travels at the rate of 1000 miles an hour. Would not our contemporaries prize the telephone and the telephote more highly if they had not forgotten the telegraph?

Singularly enough, all these transformations rest upon principles which were perfectly familiar to our remote ancestors, but which they disregarded. Heat, for instance, is as ancient as man himself; electricity was known 3000 years ago, and steam 1100 years ago. Nay, so early as ten centuries ago it was known that the differences between the several chemical and physical forces depend on the mode of vibration of the etheric particles, which is for each specifically different. When at last the kinship of all these forces was discovered, it is simply astounding that 500 years should still have to elapse before men could analyze and describe the several modes of vibration that constitute these differences. Above all, it is singular that the mode of reproducing these



forces directly from one another, and of reproducing one without the others, should have remained undiscovered till less than a hundred years ago. Nevertheless, such was the course of events, for it was not till the year 2792 that the famous Oswald Nier made this great discovery.

Truly was he a great benefactor of the human race. His admirable discovery led to many another. Hence is sprung a pleiad of inventors, its brightest star being our great Joseph Jackson. To Jackson we are indebted for those wonderful instruments the new accumulators. Some of these absorb and condense the living force contained in the sun's rays; others, the electricity stored in our globe; others again, the energy coming from whatever source, as a waterfall, a stream, the winds, etc. He, too, it was that invented the transformer, a more wonderful contrivance still, which takes the living force from the accumulator, and, on the simple pressure of a button, gives it back to space in whatever form may be desired, whether as heat, light, electricity, or mechanical force, after having first obtained from it the work required. From the day when these two instruments were contrived is to be dated the era of true progress. They have put into the hands of man a power that is almost infinite. As for their applications, they are numberless. Mitigating the rigors of winter, by giving back to the atmosphere the surplus heat stored up during the summer, they have revolutionized agriculture. By supplying motive power for aerial navigation, they have given to commerce a mighty impetus. To them we are indebted for the continuous production of electricity without batteries or dynamos, of light without combustion or incandescence, and for an unfailing supply of mechanical energy for all the needs of industry.

Yes, all these wonders have been wrought by the accumulator and the transformer. And can we not to them also trace, indirectly, this latest wonder of all, the great "Earth Chronicle" building in 253d Avenue, which was dedicated the other day? If George Washington Smith, the founder of the Manhattan "Chronicle," should come back to life to-day, what would he think were he to be told that this palace of marble and gold belongs to his remote descendant, Fritz Napoleon Smith, who,



after thirty generations have come and gone, is owner of the same newspaper which his ancestor established!

For George Washington Smith's newspaper has lived generation after generation, now passing out of the family, anon coming back to it. When, 200 years ago, the political center of the United States was transferred from Washington to Centropolis, the newspaper followed the government and assumed the name of Earth Chronicle. Unfortunately, it was unable to maintain itself at the high level of its name. Pressed on all sides by rival journals of a more modern type, it was continually in danger of collapse. Twenty years ago its subscription list contained but a few hundred thousand names, and then Mr. Fritz Napoleon Smith bought it for a mere trifle, and originated telephonic journalism.

Every one is familiar with Fritz Napoleon Smith's system—a system made possible by the enormous development of telephony during the last hundred years. Instead of being printed, the Earth Chronicle is every morning spoken to subscribers, who, in interesting conversations with reporters, statesmen, and scientists, learn the news of the day. Furthermore, each subscriber owns a phonograph, and to this instrument he leaves the task of gathering the news whenever he happens not to be in a mood to listen directly himself. As for purchasers of single copies, they can at a very trifling cost learn all that is in the paper of the day at any of the innumerable phonographs set up nearly everywhere.

Fritz Napoleon Smith's innovation galvanized the old newspaper. In the course of a few years the number of subscribers grew to be 85,000,000, and Smith's wealth went on growing, till now it reaches the almost unimaginable figure of \$10,000,000,000. This lucky hit has enabled him to erect his new building, a vast edifice with four *façades*, each 3,250 feet in length, over which proudly floats the hundred-starred flag of the Union. Thanks to the same lucky hit, he is to-day king of newspaperdom; indeed, he would be king of all the Americans, too, if Americans could ever accept a king. You do not believe it? Well, then, look at the plenipotentiaries of all nations and our own ministers themselves crowding about his door, entreating his counsels,



begging for his approbation, imploring the aid of his all-powerful organ. Reckon up the number of scientists and artists that he supports, of inventors that he has under his pay.

Yes, a king is he. And in truth his is a royalty full of burdens. His labors are incessant, and there is no doubt at all that in earlier times any man would have succumbed under the overpowering stress of the toil which Mr. Smith has to perform. Very fortunately for him, thanks to the progress of hygiene, which, abating all the old sources of unhealthfulness, has lifted the mean of human life from 37 up to 52 years, men have stronger constitutions now than heretofore. The discovery of nutritive air is still in the future, but in the meantime men to-day consume food that is compounded and prepared according to scientific principles, and they breathe an atmosphere freed from the micro-organisms that formerly used to swarm in it; hence they live longer than their forefathers and know nothing of the innumerable diseases of olden times.

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding these considerations, Fritz Napoleon Smith's mode of life may well astonish one. His iron constitution is taxed to the utmost by the heavy strain that is put upon it. Vain the attempt to estimate the amount of labor he undergoes; an example alone can give an idea of it. Let us then go about with him for one day as he attends to his multifarious concerns. What day? That matters little; it is the same every day. Let us then take at random September 25th of this present year 2889.

This morning Mr. Fritz Napoleon Smith awoke in very bad humor. His wife having left for France eight days ago, he was feeling disconsolate. Incredible though it seems, in all the ten years since their marriage, this is the first time that Mrs. Edith Smith, the professional beauty, has been so long absent from home; two or three days usually suffice for her frequent trips to Europe. The first thing that Mr. Smith does is to connect his phonotelephoto, the wires of which communicate with his Paris mansion. The telephoto! Here is another of the great triumphs of science in our time. The transmission of speech is an old story; the transmission of images by means of sensitive mirrors connected by wires is a thing but of yesterday. A valuable in-



vention indeed, and Mr. Smith this morning was not niggard of blessings for the inventor, when by its aid he was able distinctly to see his wife notwithstanding the distance that separated him from her. Mrs. Smith, weary after the ball or the visit to the theater the preceding night, is still abed, though it is near noontide at Paris. She is asleep, her head sunk in the lace-covered pillows. What? She stirs? Her lips move. She is dreaming perhaps? Yes, dreaming. She is talking, pronouncing a name—his name—Fritz! The delightful vision gave a happier turn to Mr. Smith's thoughts. And now, at the call of imperative duty, light-hearted he springs from his bed and enters his mechanical dresser.

Two minutes later the machine deposited him all dressed at the threshold of his office. The round of journalistic work was now begun. First he enters the hall of the novel-writers, a vast apartment crowned with an enormous transparent cupola. In one corner is a telephone, through which a hundred Earth Chronicle *littérateurs* in turn recount to the public in daily installments a hundred novels. Addressing one of these authors who was waiting his turn, "Capital! Capital! my dear fellow," said he, "your last story. The scene where the village maid discusses interesting philosophical problems with her lover shows your very acute power of observation. Never have the ways of country folk been better portrayed. Keep on, my dear Archibald, keep on! Since yesterday, thanks to you, there is a gain of 5000 subscribers."

"Mr. John Last," he began again, turning to a new arrival, "I am not so well pleased with your work. Your story is not a picture of life; it lacks the elements of truth. And why? Simply because you run straight on to the end; because you do not analyze. Your heroes do this thing or that from this or that motive, which you assign without ever a thought of dissecting their mental and moral natures. Our feelings, you must remember, are far more complex than all that. In real life every act is the resultant of a hundred thoughts that come and go, and these you must study, each by itself, if you would create a living character. 'But,' you will say, 'in order to note these fleeting thoughts one must know them, must be able to follow them in their capri-



cious meanderings.' Why, any child can do that, as you know. You have simply to make use of hypnotism, electrical or human, which gives one a two-fold being, setting free the witness-personality so that it may see, understand, and remember the reasons which determine the personality that acts. Just study yourself as you live from day to day, my dear Last. Imitate your associate whom I was complimenting a moment ago. Let yourself be hypnotized. What's that? You have tried it already? Not sufficiently, then, not sufficiently!"

Mr. Smith continues his round and enters the reporters' hall. Here 1500 reporters, in their respective places, facing an equal number of telephones, are communicating to the subscribers the news of the world as gathered during the night. The organization of this matchless service has often been described. Besides his telephone, each reporter, as the reader is aware, has in front of him a set of commutators, which enable him to communicate with any desired telephotic line. Thus the subscribers not only hear the news but see the occurrences. When an incident is described that is already past, photographs of its main features are transmitted with the narrative. And there is no confusion withal. The reporters' items, just like the different stories and all the other component parts of the journal, are classified automatically according to an ingenious system, and reach the hearer in due succession. Furthermore, the hearers are free to listen only to what specially concerns them. They may at pleasure give attention to one editor and refuse it to another.

Mr. Smith next addresses one of the ten reporters in the astronomical department—a department still in the embryonic stage, but which will yet play an important part in journalism.

"Well, Cash, what's the news?"

"We have phototelegrams from Mercury, Venus, and Mars."

"Are those from Mars of any interest?"

"Yes, indeed. There is a revolution in the Central Empire."

"And what of Jupiter?" asked Mr. Smith.

"Nothing as yet. We cannot quite understand their signals. Perhaps ours do not reach them."

"That's bad," exclaimed Mr. Smith, as he hurried away, not in the best of humor, toward the hall of the scientific editors.



With their heads bent down over their electric computers, thirty scientific men were absorbed in transcendental calculations. The coming of Mr. Smith was like the falling of a bomb among them.

"Well, gentlemen, what is this I hear? No answer from Jupiter? Is it always to be thus? Come, Cooley, you have been at work now twenty years on this problem, and yet——"

"True enough," replied the man addressed. "Our science of optics is still very defective, and though our mile-and-three-quarter telescopes——"

"Listen to that, Peer," broke in Mr. Smith, turning to a second scientist. "Optical science defective! Optical science is your specialty. But," he continued, again addressing William Cooley, "failing with Jupiter, are we getting any results from the moon?"

"The case is no better there."

"This time you do not lay the blame on the science of optics. The moon is immeasurably less distant than Mars, yet with Mars our communication is fully established. I presume you will not say that you lack telescopes?"

"Telescopes? O no, the trouble here is about——inhabitants!"

"That's it," added Peer.

"So, then, the moon is positively uninhabited?" asked Mr. Smith.

"At least," answered Cooley, "on the face which she presents to us. As for the opposite side, who knows?"

"Ah, the opposite side! You think, then," remarked Mr. Smith, musingly, "that if one could but——"

"Could what?"

"Why, turn the moon about-face."

"Ah, there's something in that," cried the two men at once. And indeed, so confident was their air, they seemed to have no doubt as to the possibility of success in such an undertaking.

"Meanwhile," asked Mr. Smith, after a moment's silence, "have you no news of interest to-day?"

"Indeed we have," answered Cooley. "The elements of Olympus are definitively settled. That great planet gravitates beyond Neptune at the mean distance of 11,400,799,642 miles



from the sun, and to traverse its vast orbit takes 1311 years, 294 days, 12 hours, 43 minutes, 9 seconds."

"Why didn't you tell me that sooner?" cried Mr. Smith. "Now inform the reporters of this straightway. You know how eager is the curiosity of the public with regard to these astronomical questions. That news must go into to-day's issue."

Then, the two men bowing to him, Mr. Smith passed into the next hall, an enormous gallery upward of 3200 feet in length, devoted to atmospheric advertising. Every one has noticed those enormous advertisements reflected from the clouds, so large that they may be seen by the populations of whole cities or even of entire countries. This, too, is one of Mr. Fritz Napoleon Smith's ideas, and in the Earth Chronicle building a thousand projectors are constantly engaged in displaying upon the clouds these mammoth advertisements.

When Mr. Smith to-day entered the sky-advertising department, he found the operators sitting with folded arms at their motionless projectors, and inquired as to the cause of their inaction. In response, the man addressed simply pointed to the sky, which was of a pure blue. "Yes," muttered Mr. Smith, "a cloudless sky! That's too bad, but what's to be done? Shall we produce rain? That we might do, but is it of any use? What we need is clouds, not rain. Go," said he, addressing the head engineer, "go see Mr. Samuel Mark, of the meteorological division of the scientific department, and tell him for me to go to work in earnest on the question of artificial clouds. It will never do for us to be always thus at the mercy of cloudless skies!"

Mr. Smith's daily tour through the several departments of his newspaper is now finished. Next, from the advertisement hall he passes to the reception chamber, where the ambassadors accredited to the American government are awaiting him, desirous of having a word of counsel or advice from the all-powerful editor. A discussion was going on when he entered. "Your Excellency will pardon me," the French Ambassador was saying to the Russian, "but I see nothing in the map of Europe that requires change. 'The North for the Slavs?' Why, yes, of course; but the South for the Latins. Our common frontier, the Rhine, it seems to me, serves very well. Besides, my gov-



ernment, as you must know, will firmly oppose every movement, not only against Paris, our capital, or our two great prefectures, Rome and Madrid, but also against the kingdom of Jerusalem, the dominion of Saint Peter, of which France means to be the trusty defender."

"Well said!" exclaimed Mr. Smith. "How is it," he asked, turning to the Russian ambassador, "that you Russians are not content with your vast empire, the most extensive in the world, stretching from the banks of the Rhine to the Celestial Mountains and the Kara-Korum, whose shores are washed by the Frozen Ocean, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean? Then, what is the use of threats? Is war possible in view of modern inventions—asphyxiating shells capable of being projected a distance of 60 miles, an electric spark of 90 miles, that can at one stroke annihilate a battalion; to say nothing of the plague, the cholera, the yellow fever, that the belligerents might spread among their antagonists mutually, and which would in a few days destroy the greatest armies?"

"True," answered the Russian; "but can we do all that we wish? As for us Russians, pressed on our eastern frontier by the Chinese, we must at any cost put forth our strength for an effort toward the west."

"O, is that all? In that case," said Mr. Smith, "the thing can be arranged. I will speak to the Secretary of State about it. The attention of the Chinese government shall be called to the matter. This is not the first time that the Chinese have bothered us."

"Under these conditions, of course——" And the Russian ambassador declared himself satisfied.

"Ah, Sir John, what can I do for you?" asked Mr. Smith as he turned to the representative of the people of Great Britain, who till now had remained silent.

"A great deal," was the reply. "If the Earth Chronicle would but open a campaign on our behalf——"

"And for what object?"

"Simply for the annulment of the Act of Congress annexing to the United States the British islands."

Though, by a just turn-about of things here below, Great



Britain has become a colony of the United States, the English are not yet reconciled to the situation. At regular intervals they are ever addressing to the American government vain complaints.

"A campaign against the annexation that has been an accomplished fact for 150 years!" exclaimed Mr. Smith. "How can your people suppose that I would do anything so unpatriotic?"

"We at home think that your people must now be sated. The Monroe doctrine is fully applied; the whole of America belongs to the Americans. What more do you want? Besides, we will pay for what we ask."

"Indeed!" answered Mr. Smith, without manifesting the slightest irritation. "Well, you English will ever be the same. No, no, Sir John, do not count on me for help. Give up our fairest province, Britain? Why not ask France generously to renounce possession of Africa, that magnificent colony the complete conquest of which cost her the labor of 800 years? You will be well received!"

"You decline! All is over then!" murmured the British agent sadly. "The United Kingdom falls to the share of the Americans; the Indies to that of——"

"The Russians," said Mr. Smith, completing the sentence.

"Australia——"

"Has an independent government."

"Then nothing at all remains for us!" sighed Sir John, downcast.

"Nothing?" asked Mr. Smith, laughing. "Well, now, there's Gibraltar!"

With this sally the audience ended. The clock was striking twelve, the hour of breakfast. Mr. Smith returns to his chamber. Where the bed stood in the morning a table all spread comes up through the floor. For Mr. Smith, being above all a practical man, has reduced the problem of existence to its simplest terms. For him, instead of the endless suites of apartments of the olden time, one room fitted with ingenious mechanical contrivances is enough. Here he sleeps, takes his meals, in short, lives.

He seats himself. In the mirror of the phonotelephote is seen the same chamber at Paris which appeared in it this morn-



ing. A table furnished forth is likewise in readiness here, for notwithstanding the difference of hours, Mr. Smith and his wife have arranged to take their meals simultaneously. It is delightful thus to take breakfast *tête-à-tête* with one who is 3000 miles or so away. Just now, Mrs. Smith's chamber has no occupant.

"She is late! Woman's punctuality! Progress everywhere except there!" muttered Mr. Smith as he turned the tap for the first dish. For like all wealthy folk in our day, Mr. Smith has done away with the domestic kitchen and is a subscriber to the Grand Alimentation Company, which sends through a great network of tubes to subscribers' residences all sorts of dishes, as a varied assortment is always in readiness. A subscription costs money, to be sure, but the *cuisine* is of the best, and the system has this advantage, that it does away with the pestering race of the *cordons-bleus*. Mr. Smith received and ate, all alone, the *hors-d'œuvre*, *entrées*, *rôti*, and *legumes* that constituted the repast. He was just finishing the dessert when Mrs. Smith appeared in the mirror of the telephote.

"Why, where have you been?" asked Mr. Smith through the telephone.

"What! You are already at the dessert? Then I am late," she exclaimed, with a winsome *naïveté*. "Where have I been, you ask? Why, at my dress-maker's. The hats are just lovely this season! I suppose I forgot to note the time, and so am a little late."

"Yes, a little," growled Mr. Smith; "so little that I have already quite finished breakfast. Excuse me if I leave you now, but I must be going."

"O certainly, my dear; good-by till evening."

Smith stepped into his air-coach, which was in waiting for him at a window. "Where do you wish to go, sir?" inquired the coachman.

"Let me see; I have three hours," Mr. Smith mused. "Jack, take me to my accumulator works at Niagara."

For Mr. Smith has obtained a lease of the great falls of Niagara. For ages the energy developed by the falls went unutilized. Smith, applying Jackson's invention, now collects this



energy, and lets or sells it. His visit to the works took more time than he had anticipated. It was four o'clock when he returned home, just in time for the daily audience which he grants to callers.

One readily understands how a man situated as Smith is must be beset with requests of all kinds. Now it is an inventor needing capital; again it is some visionary who comes to advocate a brilliant scheme which must surely yield millions of profit. A choice has to be made between these projects, rejecting the worthless, examining the questionable ones, accepting the meritorious. To this work Mr. Smith devotes every day two full hours.

The callers were fewer to-day than usual—only twelve of them. Of these, eight had only impracticable schemes to propose. In fact, one of them wanted to revive painting, an art fallen into desuetude owing to the progress made in color-photography. Another, a physician, boasted that he had discovered a cure for nasal catarrh! These impracticables were dismissed in short order. Of the four projects favorably received, the first was that of a young man whose broad forehead betokened his intellectual power.

"Sir, I am a chemist," he began, "and as such I come to you."

"Well!"

"Once the elementary bodies," said the young chemist, "were held to be sixty-two in number; a hundred years ago they were reduced to ten; now only three remain irresolvable, as you are aware."

"Yes, yes."

"Well, sir, these also I will show to be composite. In a few months, a few weeks, I shall have succeeded in solving the problem. Indeed, it may take only a few days."

"And then?"

"Then, sir, I shall simply have determined the absolute. All I want is money enough to carry my research to a successful issue."

"Very well," said Mr. Smith. "And what will be the practical outcome of your discovery?"



"The practical outcome? Why, that we shall be able to produce easily all bodies whatever—stone, wood, metal, fibers——"

"And flesh and blood?" queried Mr. Smith, interrupting him. "Do you pretend that you expect to manufacture a human being out and out?"

"Why not?"

Mr. Smith advanced \$100,000 to the young chemist, and engaged his services for the Earth Chronicle laboratory.

The second of the four successful applicants, starting from experiments made so long ago as the nineteenth century and again and again repeated, had conceived the idea of removing an entire city all at once from one place to another. His special project had to do with the city of Granton, situated, as everybody knows, some fifteen miles inland. He proposes to transport the city on rails and to change it into a watering-place. The profit, of course, would be enormous. Mr. Smith, captivated by the scheme, bought a half-interest in it.

"As you are aware, sir," began applicant No. 3, "by the aid of our solar and terrestrial accumulators and transformers, we are able to make all the seasons the same. I propose to do something better still. Transform into heat a portion of the surplus energy at our disposal; send this heat to the poles; then the polar regions, relieved of their snow-cap, will become a vast territory available for man's use. What think you of the scheme?"

"Leave your plans with me, and come back in a week. I will have them examined in the meantime."

Finally, the fourth announced the early solution of a weighty scientific problem. Every one will remember the bold experiment made a hundred years ago by Dr. Nathaniel Faithburn. The doctor, being a firm believer in human hibernation—in other words, in the possibility of our suspending our vital functions and of calling them into action again after a time—resolved to subject the theory to a practical test. To this end, having first made his last will and pointed out the proper method of awakening him; having also directed that his sleep was to continue a hundred years to a day from the date of his apparent death, he unhesitatingly put the theory to the proof in his own person.



Reduced to the condition of a mummy, Dr. Faithburn was coffined and laid in a tomb. Time went on. September 25th, 2889, being the day set for his resurrection, it was proposed to Mr. Smith that he should permit the second part of the experiment to be performed at his residence this evening.

"Agreed. Be here at ten o'clock," answered Mr. Smith; and with that the day's audience was closed.

Left to himself, feeling tired, he lay down on an extension chair. Then, touching a knob, he established communication with the Central Concert Hall, whence our greatest *maestros* send out to subscribers their delightful successions of accords determined by recondite algebraic formulas. Night was approaching. Entranced by the harmony, forgetful of the hour, Smith did not notice that it was growing dark. It was quite dark when he was aroused by the sound of a door opening. "Who is there?" he asked, touching a commutator.

Suddenly, in consequence of the vibrations produced, the air became luminous.

"Ah! you, Doctor?"

"Yes," was the reply. "How are you?"

"I am feeling well."

"Good! Let me see your tongue. All right! Your pulse. Regular! And your appetite?"

"Only passably good."

"Yes, the stomach. There's the rub. You are over-worked. If your stomach is out of repair, it must be mended. That requires study. We must think about it."

"In the meantime," said Mr. Smith, "you will dine with me."

As in the morning, the table rose out of the floor. Again, as in the morning, the *potage*, *rôti*, *ragoûts*, and *legumes* were supplied through the food-pipes. Toward the close of the meal, phonotelephotic communication was made with Paris. Smith saw his wife, seated alone at the dinner-table, looking anything but pleased at her loneliness.

"Pardon me, my dear, for having left you alone," he said through the telephone. "I was with Dr. Wilkins."

"Ah, the good doctor!" remarked Mrs. Smith, her countenance lighting up.



"Yes. But, pray, when are you coming home?"

"This evening."

"Very well. Do you come by tube or by air-train?"

"Oh, by tube."

"Yes; and at what hour will you arrive?"

"About eleven, I suppose."

"Eleven by Centropolis time, you mean?"

"Yes."

"Good-by, then, for a little while," said Mr. Smith as he severed communication with Paris.

Dinner over, Dr. Wilkins wished to depart. "I shall expect you at ten," said Mr. Smith. "To-day, it seems, is the day for the return to life of the famous Dr. Faithburn. You did not think of it, I suppose. The awakening is to take place here in my house. You must come and see. I shall depend on your being here."

"I will come back," answered Dr. Wilkins.

Left alone, Mr. Smith busied himself with examining his accounts—a task of vast magnitude, having to do with transactions which involve a daily expenditure of upward of \$800,000. Fortunately, indeed, the stupendous progress of mechanic art in modern times makes it comparatively easy. Thanks to the Piano Electro-Reckoner, the most complex calculations can be made in a few seconds. In two hours Mr. Smith completed his task. Just in time. Scarcely had he turned over the last page when Dr. Wilkins arrived. After him came the body of Dr. Faithburn, escorted by a numerous company of men of science. They commenced work at once. The casket being laid down in the middle of the room, the telephote was got in readiness. The outer world, already notified, was anxiously expectant, for the whole world could be eye-witnesses of the performance, a reporter meanwhile, like the chorus in the ancient drama, explaining it all *viva voce* through the telephone.

"They are opening the casket," he explained. "Now they are taking Faithburn out of it—a veritable mummy, yellow, hard, and dry. Strike the body and it resounds like a block of wood. They are now applying heat; now electricity. No result. These experiments are suspended for a moment while Dr. Wilkins makes



an examination of the body. Dr. Wilkins, rising, declares the man to be dead. 'Dead!' exclaims every one present. 'Yes,' answers Dr. Wilkins, 'dead!' 'And how long has he been dead?' Dr. Wilkins makes another examination. 'A hundred years,' he replies."

The case stood just as the reporter said. Faithburn was dead, quite certainly dead! "Here is a method that needs improvement," remarked Mr. Smith to Dr. Wilkins, as the scientific committee on hibernation bore the casket out. "So much for that experiment. But if poor Faithburn is dead, at least he is sleeping," he continued. "I wish I could get some sleep. I am tired out, Doctor, quite tired out! Do you not think that a bath would refresh me?"

"Certainly. But you must wrap yourself up well before you go out into the hall-way. You must not expose yourself to cold."

"Hall-way? Why, Doctor, as you well know, everything is done by machinery here. It is not for me to go to the bath; the bath will come to me. Just look!" and he pressed a button. After a few seconds a faint rumbling was heard, which grew louder and louder. Suddenly the door opened, and the tub appeared.

Such, for this year of grace 2889, is the history of one day in the life of the editor of the *Earth Chronicle*. And the history of that one day is the history of 365 days every year, except leap-years, and then of 366 days—for as yet no means has been found of increasing the length of the terrestrial year.

JULES VERNE.



## IS OUR CLIMATE CHANGING?

So intimately is the idea of uniformity associated with all our notions of the world within ourselves and outside of ourselves, that the first thought of man with regard to any natural phenomenon is that it has always been so and will so continue. We believe that the sun has risen every morning for an indefinite past time; we believe that as it now shines it must always have shone. Our ancestors seem to have lived in a region where the weather was subject to very slight changes, and for ages there existed a quiet presumption in favor of the idea that climate is as unchangeable as the rocks and hills. To be sure, they acknowledged one authentic deluge when it had rained for forty days and forty nights, but at the close of that extraordinary catastrophe the reign of uniformity began, and thereafter all things had remained as they once were. Thus it happened that when, in 1812, Cuvier published his "Discourse on the Revolutions of the Surface of the Globe and the Changes thereby Produced in the Animal Kingdom," he was universally regarded as advocating changes in climate that were contradicted by all the traditions of antiquity and all the evidences of the senses. Now the changes that he had in mind were slow ones that are progressing during intervals of time much greater than the few thousand years of historical records, but the idea that a change in the general characteristics of the climate could occur began to take firm root in the minds of thousands of thinking persons. Since Cuvier's time numerous writers have arisen to demonstrate that such climatic changes have not only taken place on the grand geological scale that Cuvier had in mind, but also within much smaller periods of time; that in fact such changes were perfectly appreciable within one or two thousand years; and of late we hear much about changes that may have occurred within the life of a single generation of men.

Now, in order to have a definite matter for discussion, it is



absolutely necessary that the word "climate" should be most exactly defined. In common English use we all accept the definitions of Worcester and Webster, that the climate is the average condition of a place in regard to such atmospheric phenomena as affect vegetable, animal, or human life and activity; it is the general state of the atmosphere at the surface of the earth. In this use of the word, the distinction made between climate and weather consists mainly in this: that the weather is the condition of the atmosphere at any moment of time; climate is the general or prevailing condition of the important features of the weather during a considerable period. Thus, if in the course of a year 200 days are clear and sunny, 100 rainy, and 65 cloudy without rain, one person would say that the weather is generally clear; another would say that the prevailing characteristic of the climate is clear, sunny weather; and still another would have it that the annual average climatic conditions are, clear weather, 58 per cent., cloudy days without rain, 16 per cent., rainy days, 26 per cent. We have, therefore, the rudimentary idea that climate means the average condition for some length of time; but by common custom the word is very rarely applied to an average of one year, except in so far as that is a contribution toward an average of many years. In climatological studies of the better class the word is understood to imply that the average is taken for a number of years so large that the average for a succeeding similar number of years will not sensibly differ therefrom. By its very definition, therefore, the climate is the average about which the temporary conditions permanently oscillate; it assumes and implies permanence. The least knowledge of the subject shows that the averages and the extremes of temperature, rain-fall, cloudiness, or other atmospheric phenomena differ largely from year to year, and that one or two abnormal years would appreciably affect the average of any short series in which they occur; we therefore arrive at the idea that when the climate for any two series of years is to be compared, or when we would compare the climates of two distant stations during the same years, it will not do merely to compare simple numerical averages, but we must also take into consideration the possibility that these averages would themselves be materially changed if we had extended the



intervals of time a little longer, or been forced to make them a little shorter.

The fact that there is something else to be considered than the simple averages may be illustrated by two methods. We will first take three series of observations given by Hellmann in his "Variability of the Temperature in Germany." The following table gives in centigrade degrees the mean temperature of the air for February, as deduced from several observations daily, at three neighboring stations, year by year:

YEAR.	MEAN TEMPERATURES FOR FEBRUARY.			DEPARTURES FROM MEAN TEMPERATURES.		
	Berlin.	Frankfurt on the Oder.	Posen.	Berlin.	Frankfurt on the Oder.	Posen.
	Cent.	Cent.	Cent.	Cent.	Cent.	Cent.
1848	+1.63	+1.77	1.71	+0.89	+1.55	+2.61
1849	2.19	2.17	1.99	+1.45	+1.95	+2.89
1850	2.69	2.82	2.52	+1.95	+2.60	+3.42
1851	0.37	0.34	0.32	-0.37	+0.12	+1.22
1852	+0.60	0.74	0.87	-0.14	+0.52	+1.77
1853	-2.32	-1.88	-1.35	-3.06	-2.10	-0.45
1854	-0.23	0.04	0.06	-0.97	-0.18	+0.96
1855	-6.77	-6.60	-7.35	-7.51	-6.82	-6.45
1856	+0.72	0.89	0.54	-0.05	+0.67	+1.44
1857	-0.23	0.06	0.09	-0.97	-0.16	+0.99
1858	-3.79	-4.56	5.28	-4.53	-4.78	-4.38
1859	2.02	2.17	2.90	+1.28	+1.98	+3.80
1860	-1.16	-1.27	-1.13	-1.90	-1.49	-0.23
1861	2.35	2.30	2.35	+1.61	+2.08	+3.25
1862	-0.87	-1.45	-1.06	-1.61	-1.67	-0.16
1863	2.26	2.46	2.84	+1.82	+2.24	+3.74
1864	-0.90	-0.20	0.09	-1.64	-0.42	+0.99
1865	-4.82	-4.81	-4.66	-5.56	-5.03	-3.76
1866	2.57	2.65	2.87	+1.83	+2.43	+3.77
1867	3.00	3.10	3.08	+2.26	+2.88	+3.98
1868	3.12	3.08	3.16	+2.38	+2.86	+4.06
1869	3.64	3.61	4.04	+2.90	+3.39	+4.94
1870	-5.06	-5.87	-6.26	-5.80	-6.09	-5.36
1871	-1.74	-2.21	-2.87	-2.48	-2.43	-1.97
1872	0.65	0.61	0.67	-0.09	+0.39	+1.57
Mean.	+0.74	+0.22	-0.90	2.23	2.31	2.40

In the observations thus made, certain small errors, varying slightly from time to time, are introduced by changes of thermometers consequent upon breakage, by the change of exposure



consequent upon removals, by local changes in the trees or buildings, by the methods of reading peculiar to each observer, and by other causes. But all these are moderate compared to the still larger periodic changes in the actual temperature of the air from morn to night and from summer to winter, and the yet larger non-periodic changes that may suddenly occur at any time and are perpetually occurring at intervals of two or three days. Everywhere there are weeks and even months in which the daily means all tend strongly to show a deficiency or an excess of temperature, and these changes at our three stations have an appreciable effect on the monthly means from year to year. These variations are oftentimes quite similar at each of our three stations, whence we infer that a common cause affected the temperature of the air in all the neighboring region.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh columns of the table show the departures of each monthly mean temperature from the average of its series. Within each of these columns of departures the numbers vary much, but as the variations are alike at different stations we conclude that they represent, not errors of the observer, but actual variability from year to year in the local temperature of the air. Considering the great variability of the numbers in these columns, one is led to inquire how reliable are the mean temperatures given for each station at the bottom of the second, third, and fourth columns, and how much would these be altered if another group of years could be added to the list.

The laws of chance, or rather the laws of errors and variations, have been very carefully considered by mathematicians during the past hundred years. The results to which they have arrived have been experimentally tested in many ways, and among these results the following have obtained universal acceptance: First, if a long series of careful measurements of the same object be made, it is most likely that some of these measures will be in excess of the truth and an equal number in deficit, therefore the average value for the whole series is the most probable and the best result that we can get. Secondly, if we know of no reason why the whole series should be uniformly affected by one or more systematic errors, then our reliance on this average value depends on the intrinsic evidence given by the accidental



errors of the individual measurements, and may be deduced by the proper formula from the departures of the individual measures from this average.

In the above case, the mean temperature of Berlin in February is the object that has been measured in 25 successive years; the result is  $0^{\circ}.74$  centigrade. The individual departures from this average are given in the fifth column, and if they are controlled entirely by irregular influences, they may then be considered as the accidental errors that occur from year to year in nature's effort to maintain the uniform constant mean temperature peculiar to the present climate of Berlin. The mean of all these departures or accidental errors is  $2^{\circ}.23$ , as given at the bottom of the fifth column, and is called the mean variability of the February temperatures at Berlin. Nine of the departures are greater than  $2^{\circ}.23$ , and sixteen of them less than that, showing that the chances are in favor of the occurrence of numerous smaller departures to balance a few larger ones. The laws of chance show that there is a departure less than  $2^{\circ}.23$ , and such that on the average of a large number of observations we should have had an equal number of departures larger and smaller than it. This departure is a certain fraction of the mean departure  $2^{\circ}.23$ , and is  $1^{\circ}.89$ , which latter I therefore call the index of variability of the individual years in this series of temperatures. The similar indices of variability for the other stations are  $1^{\circ}.96$  for Frankfurt and  $2^{\circ}.05$  for Posen, showing that the irregularities in the temperatures at the latter place are appreciably greater than at Berlin.

This index of secular variability in any monthly temperature would be more precisely fixed if we had a longer series of observations, but it would not be very different from that thus found from 25 years. If, then, the probable variability of any one year is *plus or minus*  $1^{\circ}.89$ , what is the probable variability of the mean of 25 years? The laws of chance show that the precision of an average increases, or the index of variability of the average diminishes, as the square root of the number of years involved in the average; therefore the reliability of our mean  $0^{\circ}.74$  for Berlin is one-fifth of  $1^{\circ}.89$ , or  $0^{\circ}.38$  C., which number expresses the idea that it is an even chance (so far as these 25 years are concerned) that the average  $0^{\circ}.74$  C. is correct within thirty-eight



hundredths of a degree. Of course, some constant source of error, such as an unnoticed mistake in the graduation of the thermometer, may have thrown this whole series into an error of many degrees; but setting aside such sources of error, we say that the discrepancies of the individual years put an intrinsic limit upon the precision with which the ideal mean temperature can be determined. The figure  $0^{\circ}.38$  is the index of this precision. If the annual discrepancies had been smaller, this index would have been smaller. The actual value of the mean temperature might have remained the same, but the agreement of the observations among themselves and our confidence in the result would have been greater. In all refined measurements this index is called the probable error of the average, which expression is meant to imply only that the probability of the observer's committing such an error is one-half; but in meteorology this number is a limit imposed by the variability of nature, independent of the accuracy of our measures, and we will call it the index to the probable variability of the average.

The reader will understand, therefore, that 25 years' observations at one of the above stations give a mean February temperature such that if the series were continued with the same thermometers in the same place for another period of 25 years, it would be an even chance that the mean of the first series would agree with the mean of the second within *plus* or *minus*  $0^{\circ}.38$ ,  $0^{\circ}.39$ , or  $0^{\circ}.41$  respectively. If such a series could be maintained for 100 years, the resulting mean temperature would have a probable variability of *plus* or *minus*  $0^{\circ}.19$ , or one-half of that for the 25-year series, and one-tenth of that for one year, the number diminishing inversely as the square root of the number of years; consequently, for the three stations above given, it would require a series of 400 years to obtain a mean February temperature that should be affected only one-tenth of a degree by the variability of temperatures during successive years.

This long explanation will suffice to emphasize the point we wish to make, namely, that even if the mean temperature for 25 years should differ from that for the succeeding 25 years, or even should the differences for four such successive periods move steadily in one direction, this would not imply any change, per-



manent or otherwise, in the climate of a place, unless the four successive means should differ by quantities that appreciably exceed their indices of variability. Thus, suppose for Berlin we could have at our disposal a similar series of observations for 100 years free from instrumental and local peculiarities, and giving the following results: First quarter-century, mean temperature for February,  $+0^{\circ}.60$ ; second,  $+0^{\circ}.80$ ; third,  $+0^{\circ}.95$ ; fourth,  $+1^{\circ}.20$ . The index  $0^{\circ}.38$  shows that it is an even chance that the true mean temperature, as deduced from the first quarter, may have been between  $+0^{\circ}.22$  and  $+0^{\circ}.98$ ; but that, as deduced from the last quarter, it may have been between  $+0^{\circ}.82$  and  $+1^{\circ}.58$ ; so that the four quarterly values are consistent with a uniform temperature of  $+0^{\circ}.89$  for the whole century, with an even chance that it is anywhere between  $+0^{\circ}.70$  and  $+1^{\circ}.08$ .

The above will prepare the reader for the rather startling conclusion that, what with changes due to instruments and their exposures, superadded to this irregular variability in temperatures, the indices of variability for all the temperature records known to meteorology are so large and the constant errors are so insidious, that there is scarcely a single station with respect to which we have data competent to decide the question as to whether the mean temperature of any month may have changed  $0^{\circ}.2$  centigrade or  $0^{\circ}.5$  Fahrenheit during the past century. Even 111 years of observations at Philadelphia give a mean variability of  $4^{\circ}.2$  Fahrenheit for February and  $2^{\circ}.9$  for July.

It will be seen, therefore, that any satisfactory discussion of the question whether our climate has changed or not is rendered difficult, not by the crudeness or errors of our observations, but by the intrinsic variability of the climate itself, which is such that we can hardly determine what the climate is, as preliminary to the question whether or not it has changed. Experience shows plainly enough that in the course of a century there will be many cold years and many warm years; we may even have several successive warm years followed by several cold years, so that temporary changes are always going on; but permanent changes or permanent periodicities are not so evident, if by permanent we mean lasting for more than three or four years, or repeating for several periods.



If, then, temperature observations offer little hope of demonstrating a permanence or a change in climate, possibly some other climatic elements may be appealed to; and of all these the important one of rainfall is the most natural to look to. Our records of rainfall are in general sufficiently long continued and numerous and careful to justify their close examination. But the first glance shows that the irregularities in the distribution of rainfall for the same month in successive years are far greater even than the irregularities in temperature, so that the index of variability becomes correspondingly large, and disappointment awaits those who would demonstrate climatic changes therefrom. This may be illustrated by the following series of observations of rainfall made by W. Dawson, at Spiceland, Indiana. This series is one of the very few in this country in which one observer has done the work according to a uniform plan for many years at one station.

Year.	Snowfall.	Total Rain and Melted Snow.	Departures.	Year.	Snowfall.	Total Rain and Melted Snow.	Departures.
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.		Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
1860	23.5	33.9	— 5.5	1872	31.	23.6	—15.8
1861	22.5	40.3	+ 0.9	1873	57.	45.2	+ 5.8
1862	41.	45.0	+ 5.6	1874	30.	39.6	+ 0.2
1863	34.	37.0	— 2.4	1875	32.	43.9	+ 4.5
1864	34.	34.5	— 4.9	1876	42.	49.9	+10.5
1865	20.	47.3	+ 7.9	1877	14.	36.1	— 3.3
1866	24.	58.0	+18.6	1878	40.	34.8	— 4.6
1867	64.	32.4	— 7.0	1879	25.	35.7	— 3.7
1868	28.	45.6	+ 6.2	1880	33.	44.2	+ 4.8
1869	49.	44.0	+ 4.6	1881	38.	43.0	+ 3.6
1870	36.	30.8	— 8.6				
1871	20.	27.6	—11.8	Average	34.1	39.4	6.4

The average precipitation for these 22 years is 39.4 inches; but we may consider that nature, in her unsteady efforts to maintain an average uniformity, has varied from year to year through a range of from 23 to 58 inches, and it is possible for us to tell what average she was aiming at only within the limits indicated by the index of variability of this series. The mean variability, 6.4, is given at the bottom of the fourth column, whence the probable variability is 5.47 for any year, and the variability of the average of the series of 22 years is 1.17; or, in other words, there is an even chance that the intended or normal average is



somewhere between 38.2 and 40.6 inches. The measures at Spiceland may be somewhat affected by changes in local circumstances, the most important of which are the exposure of the gauge and the methods of observation of snowfall; but this series is a fair example of the difficulty of determining that normal rainfall which is called a characteristic of the climate.

Not to weary the reader with too many numerical examples of what has long been recognized among the statisticians, I will quote only the interesting series of measures, 1837-83, at Fort Leavenworth, lately corrected and published by Curtis. For this series I have computed the mean annual precipitation to be 32.48 inches; the mean variability for any one year, 7.08; the probable variability for one year, 6.02; the probable variability for the mean of 9 years, 2.01; of 46 years, 0.89; and of 100 years, 0.60. The intrinsic variability of the rainfall at Leavenworth is therefore somewhat greater than at Spiceland.

If the question of a change in climate depends upon determining whether the rainfall has changed in its total amount by 2 or 3 inches between two given epochs, then we must of course have the means of determining what the rainfall is at those epochs with an accuracy sufficient to perceive a change of 2 inches. Now both the above series show groups of years during which the rainfall was less than during other groups, and in so far justifies us in saying that there were temporary changes in the weather for the respective years, but by no means authorizes the idea of any permanent change in the climate.

The discovery of a genuine change in the climate (*e. g.*, as regards rainfall) can be established only by showing that the normal rainfall at two distant epochs differs by an amount greater than the square root of the sum of the squares of the two indices of precision at those epochs. Thus, if a century of observations at Spiceland a thousand years ago had given the average annual rainfall 39.0 inches, with a probable variability of *plus* or *minus* 0.7 as compared with the present century, for which we have the average 39.4 inches *plus* or *minus* 0.55, one would conclude that the apparent increase of 0.4 has itself an index of variability of *plus* or *minus* 0.9,\* and is therefore an illusion. Every effort

\* *i. e.*, the square root of the sum of the squares of 0.7 and 0.55.



that I know of to establish the fact of a change in the climate by means of instrumental observations has been thus baffled by this want of reliability in the normal values for distant epochs. This is true not only of temperature and rainfall, but of other records, such as the dates of early and late frosts, the freezing of rivers, the dates of cold winters and hot summers, the opening of navigation, and the temperature of the earth. So great has this difficulty been found to be, that recourse has been had to the periodic phenomena of animal and vegetable life, such as the dates of the flights of birds, the budding, blossoming, and ripening of plants, the productiveness of the vine, wheat, and other crops. But the study of each and all of these phenomena has failed to establish that there has been any sensible change in the climate at any point of the earth's surface during the past 2000 years.

It will be seen that rational climatology gives no basis for the much-talked-of influence upon the climate of a country produced by the growth or destruction of forests, the building of railroads or telegraphs, and the cultivation of crops over a wide extent of prairie. Any opinion as to the meteorological effects of man's activity must be based either upon the records of observations or on *à priori* theoretical reasoning. Now, the records of experience are exceedingly diverse in various parts of the world, and lead to no uniform conclusion. If the inhabitants of Chaldea have disappeared and the blooming wilderness has become a desert, we must not too hastily assume that it would have remained a blooming garden unless the climate had changed. Egypt and Arizona also present deserts where formerly were many inhabitants and blooming gardens. The fact is that the vegetation may in each of these three cases have been due to skillful irrigation at times of high water, and not to any more abundant rains or moister atmosphere.

Now, the drying up of such great bodies of water as formerly existed in the Salt Lake basin, the Dead Sea, the Caspian Sea; the demonstrated former existence of extensive glacial areas where now is productive land; the palaeontological evidence of the former existence of animals and plants where they cannot now thrive, show clearly that great changes have taken place during geological ages perhaps 50,000 years distant; but no im-



portant climatic change has yet been demonstrated since human history began. It is very common to find that questions which interest many in every branch of science are still too difficult for us to answer satisfactorily, and it is not derogatory to the dignity of meteorology to acknowledge that the question of recent changes in climate must be relegated to the future. The fault is not that of the modern meteorologist, but of the ancient meteorologist, who, so far as we know, kept no exact records whatever of the temperature, rainfall, etc. There is, however, one natural phenomenon, the annual rise and fall of the river Nile, that was observed in ancient times as carefully as now; and if ever we are able to discover among Egyptian monuments any record of the heights of this river, we may be able, by comparing it with our modern records, to show whether or not an appreciable change in the relative rainfall and evaporation has taken place in central Africa and the Nile valley. So far as our present information goes, no considerable secular change in the floods of the Nile is indicated; on the other hand, the modern records show a fairly regular periodic variation—five or six years of high water followed by five or six years of low water—a fact that was, I think, also known to the ancient Egyptian priests, and may have been utilized by Joseph in his interpretation of Pharaoh's dream.

The true problem for the climatologist to settle during the present century is not whether the climate has lately changed, but what our present climate is, what its well-defined features are, and how they can be most clearly expressed in numbers. The problem for the meteorologist is the detailed explanation of those slow changes indicated by geology as having existed, and whose general cause I am persuaded is to be found simply in the progressive alteration of the distribution of mountains, table-lands, continents, and oceans on the earth's surface. As to the *modus operandi* of the latter, I hope to speak quantitatively at some future time.

CLEVELAND ABBE.



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